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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXIX.

1884.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
ofiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
'd set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
'd cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
'd brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter-
to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CLVII.

ART. I.—SOME THOUGHTS ON THOMAS CARLYLE.

I AM not aware that Mr. Carlyle ever took much interest in India. In his Lectures on Heroes, he puts the question whether, if the English people had the choice, they should not rather give up the Indian Empire than lose the glory of having produced Shakespeare. And he intimates his own opinion that the loss of Shakespeare would be the greater of the two. To me it seems that this estimate is only the extravagance of a man of genius desirous of magnifying his order. Shakespeare was a wonderful man, but the Indian Empire is a greater product of English qualities than is the tragedy of Hamlet or King Lear. To give up the Indian Empire, in the sense of erasing from our annals the circumstances of its acquisition, would be to blot out nearly all the romance of our history. It would be like eliminating from Roman history every thing that took place out of Italy.

Carlyle's theories were more popular in India thirty years ago than they are now. In the præ-mutiny days, and for some time afterwards, men were fond of talking of the blessings of a benevolent despotism, and of deifying every thing that was, or seemed to be, strong. *Vis* was their idol even if it were *vis consilii expers*. Those were the days when the Panjab and the non-regulation system were held up as objects of admiration to us poor civilians in Bengal, who studied Beaufort and the Board's Series. The tide has turned now. The old English belief in representative institutions and local self-government has revived, and Mr. Bright's phrase, that force is no remedy, is

again held in honour. The change has affected the vogue of Carlyle. Perhaps men first began to doubt his wisdom when they found him making heroes of an unscrupulous filibuster like Frederick and of a half-insane pedant such as Frederick's father was.

The greatest blow, however, that has been given to Carlyle's reputation is the publication of his *Reminiscences*. These have so belittled him by exhibiting him as a querulous, fault-finding old man, that one can hardly continue to think of him as a hero. And the blow has been repeated by the publication of Mrs. Carlyle's letters and of the contemptible *Tour in Ireland*. The revulsion of feeling caused by these publications was perhaps not logically justifiable, and it may have gone too far. But the very fact that it occurred shows that it was natural and fairly reasonable. In the following pages I propose first to say something of Carlyle as a man, and then to treat of him as an author.

In the *Diary of Henry Greville*, under the year 1849, there occurs the following entry:—"Dined with the Ashburtons, and amongst others met Carlyle, the author, whom I had never met before. He talks the broadest Scotch and appears to have coarse manners, but he might be amusing perhaps at times." We wonder what Mr. Carlyle would have thought of this description of himself. The remark, that he might be amusing perhaps at times, would not have struck him pleasantly, especially when the amusee was a man of fashion like Mr. Greville. His thoughts would probably have gone back to Petrarch's account of Dante at the Court of Can Grande, and to his own comments thereon.

Mr. Greville's *Diary* was not published till 1883, and the personal characteristics of Carlyle were not much known during his lifetime. He did not come before the public except as an author, and outsiders had no means of judging what sort of a man he was at his own fireside. It was vaguely held that one who posed as a prophet and was familiarly known by the appellation of the "Seer of Chelsea," who was so unsparing in his denunciations of the age and all its works, and who seemed to regard civilization as a sham and as a wrappage which concealed the truth from our eyes, must be a man indifferent to luxury, a sort of John the Baptist who could live in the woods and be satisfied with locusts and wild honey. The surprise was great, then, when the *Reminiscences* and the *Life* were published, and it was found that Carlyle was no stoic, that he was querulous and fault-finding, and that he was particular about his comforts and more selfish in the pursuit of them than ordinary men. The public began to feel

that they had been taken in. This mighty philosopher who had all his life been denouncing the degeneracy of the age, who had appeared to stand on higher ground than other men, and had as from a serene height shown them their faults and errors, who spoke slightly of mere orthodox moralities as things which were matters of course, and which nobody could have any difficulty in observing or be entitled to any merit for acting up to, was found to be selfish and given to shrieking when any petty annoyance fell upon him. He stood revealed as a sour, querulous old man, who would see no merit but his own, and appeared to be full of envy at the success of others. He had made his wife, who was an only child and had been tenderly nurtured, and who had sacrificed so much to marry him, work for him like a galley-slave, and given her very scanty reward of thanks. He had taken her away from Edinburgh and all society, and buried her, so to speak, for seven years in the wilds of Craigenputtock. He, a stone-mason's son and born and brought up as a peasant, allowed himself to be made miserable by the crowing of a cock or the cackling of a hen, was horrified at the idea of having to put up with shop-eggs, and was too dainty to eat the bread of the Dumfries' baker, so that his poor wife had to sit up till one in the morning baking bread for him.

When these revelations were made, the wrath of the public turned itself upon the biographer, Mr. Froude. He was accused of indiscretion for publishing such things. He was told that he had violated the sanctuaries of private life. He was an iconoclast, who had rudely shattered a noble figure. We had pictured Carlyle to ourselves as a hero and a stoic, as an all-sided man, to use one of his own Germanisms, and now Froude had revealed him to us as a peevish hypochondriac—as a Smelfungus to whom all was barren from Dan to Beersheba.

But surely it was unreasonable and unjust to complain of Froude for doing this. Rather was he entitled to commendation for his courage and straightforwardness. He told us not only the truth but the whole truth, and made us feel that there was nothing worse behind. It has been the curse of biographical literature that hardly any specimen of it can be relied upon. Nearly every biographer has thought it his duty to hide the defects of his subject. He may have set down naught in malice, but he has very seldom followed the other precept of extenuating nothing. The consequence has been that biographies are seldom believed, and that their value as instructions in morals and as incitements to action and to go and do likewise, has been greatly diminished. We admit on reading such and such biographies, that the characters depicted are very fine, and the

4 *Some Thoughts on Thomas Carlyle.*

actions described are very noble, but we have all the time a lingering suspicion that the accounts are not true, and so they hardly affect us more than the brilliant descriptions of self-denial and benevolence to be met with in a novel.

Curiously enough, perhaps, the only quite true biography which ever was written is an autobiography, and that is so disgusting in parts, that one does not like to recommend its perusal.

Mr. Froude's book is, I think, to be taken as an indication that higher and more robust views are beginning to be taken by biographers of their duty. It is also a sign, perhaps, that Carlyle's work in this world has not been altogether wasted, and that the message which he had to deliver has not been all dispersed into the empty air. His onslaughts upon shams and flunkeyism have had their effect on his biographer. It would, indeed, have been sad if the record of the life of one who had devoted himself to exposing lies, and to the stripping-off of conventionalities had itself been a conventionality,—a thing false as a bulletin or the epitaph on a tombstone. And it is pleasing to think that Carlyle was great enough to wish that the whole truth should be told of him. He himself has drawn up the mightiest indictment against his character by the agonies of remorse which he has expressed in the *Reminiscences*, and by his preparing for publication his wife's letters. As Froude says, "I learnt my duty from himself; to paint him as he was; to keep back nothing, and extenuate nothing," and he adds, "I never knew a man whose reputation, take him for all in all, would emerge less scathed from so hard a scrutiny."

When the facts of Carlyle's life are disclosed to us, the first impression I think which we have, independent of his goodness or badness, is what a wonderfully lucky man he was all his life. When quite unknown, and but slenderly provided with scholarship, he gets, through the friendship of Irving, a tutorship where the work is very light, and the pay £200 a year. Then he marries a beautiful and accomplished woman who is an heiress to boot, and whose property renders him secure against want for the rest of his life. She slaves for him for forty years, and so enables him to devote his whole strength to literature. Edward Irving, Lord Jeffrey, and others are unwearied in their kindness to him, and the poor much-abused public crowds to his lectures, buys his books, reverences him as a prophet, and enables him to die a rich man. Really, what other literary genius was so fortunate? He was always moaning about his health, to be sure, but it seems very doubtful if there ever was much the matter with him. He was a hypochondriac

more than anything else. When an unfortunate Edinburgh doctor ventured to hint that he was dyspeptic and that excessive smoking had something to do with this, Carlyle dubs him a long, hairy-eared jackass. He went through life without any serious illness, and he died when over fourscore.

Carlyle was never tired of abusing the age in which he lived. He was for ever talking and writing of the 19th century as a period of degeneracy, and he affected to admire intensely the days of Puritanism. But would he have been really happy then? Would his darling Oliver Cromwell have allowed him the freedom of speech which he had in the 19th century? Would he not have been acute enough, and practical enough, to have discerned the inconsistency between Carlyle's precept of silence, and his practice of preaching, and would he not have called to one of his Ironsides to remove this babbler?

Carlyle professed to be a great admirer of faith and of religion. He was always contrasting, to the disadvantage of the present day, the fulness of faith of the Puritan times with the scepticism which now prevails. But surely this was a little unreasonable when he himself was one of the unsettling influences of the time. He reproached the world for not believing as the Puritans did, but he kept out of sight the fact that he did not do so either. And another piece of unreasonableness was, that while he exhorted people over and over again to be earnest and striving, he never clearly told them what to be earnest about. As Douglas Jerrold said, Carlyle is like a man who beats a big drum in front of my door, and who, when I rush out and want to know where the fire is, and what help I am to render, makes no answer, but goes on pounding at his drum. The great bitterness of Carlyle's life apparently was that people did not believe him. Like the prophet of old, he cried "Who hath believed our report?" and a few days before his death he said to Mr. Froude "They call me a great man now, but not one believes what I have told them." But Carlyle might have considered that a good deal of this unbelief was due to the character of his teaching. He told the world what they should not believe, but he did not give them anything else in its place. He was like the man in the Scotch song, who said over and over again "you're a' wrang, you're a' thegither wrang," but who never told his hearers what was the right way.

What was Carlyle as a man? Thackeray proposed that we should test the character of a man by considering how we should have liked to have lived with him. This is rather a hard test, and it is an uncertain one also, for it depends upon the character of

the person who applies it. Some men would be happy in the society of a careless prodigal like Oliver Goldsmith or Fielding, while others would not care to live even with a genius unless he shared their political opinions. The test is, however, worth something. We all feel that it would have been delightful to have lived with such sweet-blooded men as Martin Luther, or Sir Walter Scott, and that we could have liked and respected men like Cicero, John Knox, Edward Burke or Wordsworth. The answer in Carlyle's case is more doubtful. He had attached friends, such as Irving and Stirling, but his own mother who knew him best described him as "gey ill to live wi'." He was arrogant and selfish, and partly from temperament, and partly from habit, he was unsociable and a lover of solitude. When at work, says Mr. Froude, he could bear no one in the room, and at least through middle life, he rode and walked alone, not choosing to have his thoughts disturbed. The slightest noise or movement at night shattered his nervous system, therefore he required a bedroom to himself; thus from the first his wife saw little of him, and as time went on, less and less. It is no wonder that Mrs. Carlyle used to warn her young lady friends by saying: "My dears, never marry a man of genius." The fact that she herself was a bit of a genius, or at least a very clever woman, only made matters worse. Had she been simply an able-bodied woman who could have scoured floors, polished grates, milked cows, &c., she would have done better. Or, if she had been merely a fine lady and sat in her drawing-room and refused to budge, Carlyle might have learnt manners. In fact she spoiled him, and he spoiled her. She made him more selfish than he naturally was, and I am afraid that he made her a soured and fault-finding woman. However, she was so unhappy in her life, that her shortcomings should be gently dealt with. Her great mistake in life was in marrying him, and it was rather an inexcusable one, for she did not love him. She married him through ambition, and because her pride could not bear that people should say that she was pining for Edward Irving. As if a leap in the dark, such as hers was, or rather a leap in broad daylight into such a thorny bush, would stop people's tongues or make them think that she was whole-hearted. Her fate is a warning to clever women, and should remind them to trust to their instinct and affections more, and to their intellect less.

Mrs. Carlyle was much cleverer and more learned than her mother, Mrs. Walsh. But the latter knew better how to choose a husband. She chose one in her own sphere of life whom she loved, and so she was happy. Her daughter Jane unclassed herself and took a cold self-absorbed genius for her mate. She made

a mistake somewhat like that of George Eliot's Dorothea, when she married Mr. Casaubon, and she paid a similar penalty. Carlyle was not bad or immoral, but for the matter of that neither was Mr. Casaubon.

Carlyle was a good son and a good brother, and, as Mr. Froude says, he was in the weightier matters of the law without speck or flaw. His father and mother were worthy people, and brought him up carefully and, to use the fine phrase of Wordsworth, "The Scottish church had on him laid the strong hand of her purity." He never had to wrestle with the demons of lust and of drink, and to be overthrown by them like poor Robert Burns. He was a decent, pure-living man all his days, and he steadily preserved his independence. But he was essentially unlovable. He was wanting in sympathy with others, and he was arrogant and, I fear, envious. Genius though he was, his arrogance was greater than his genius and became even ridiculous. For what other epithet than ridiculous can be applied to the contempt which he poured on greater and wiser men than himself, on Wilberforce whom he styled the nigger philanthropist, on Darwin or on Comte?

The poet Swinburne has four sonnets on Carlyle. They are all very severe, and I do not accept them as just. But there is truth in them, and one is only sorry that they were not published in Carlyle's lifetime. We feel that, if Carlyle had read them, he would have found that he had met his match in the art of cursing. In one Carlyle is called—

"The stormy sophist with his mouth of thunder
Clothed with loud words and mantled in the might
Of darkness and magnificence of might."

In another, which is entitled? "A Last Look," he calls Carlyle, Malvolio, and ends with these lines—

"Now for all ill thoughts nursed and ill words given,
Not all condemned, nor utterly forgiven,
Son of the storm and darkness, pass in peace.
Peace upon earth thou knewest not; now being dead
Rest, with nor curse nor blessing on thine head,
Where high-strung hate and strenuous envy cease."

The thought expressed in these sonnets, and especially the expression "Son of the storm and darkness," remind us of Mr. Ruskin's phrase about Carlyle when he said that "Carlyle was born in the clouds and struck by the lightning."

I now come to the consideration of Carlyle as an author. This of course is the most difficult part of my task, and one which I feel little competent to undertake. There can be no doubt that Carlyle was a man of genius. If we are unable to see this for ourselves, or as justly diffident of our capacity of judging the

question, we can fall back with confidence on the opinions of many distinguished men. Carlyle would never have been so much admired by Goëthe and Emerson, John Stuart Mill and Matthew Arnold, Ruskin and Kingsley, Thackeray and Jeffrey, unless he had had great talents. And all of us can see that he is a writer of wonderful power. We may adapt to him the simile used many hundred years ago by a Roman poet when speaking of Pindar and say of Carlyle, that his descriptions of men and things rush on like a Highland river when in spate, and carry everything before them. He had not a calm or philosophic genius. He wanted the breadth and the sweet reasonableness, to use an expression of Matthew Arnold's, of a Shakespeare, or a Goëthe. Nor had he the power of touching the heart which was possessed by Sterne, or Robert Burns, or Charles Lamb. His analogues were vehement and intense geniuses, such as Dante or Swift. He was no lucid star of literature, like Virgil or Tennyson, for his light was murky like that of the red planet Mars. Or we may say that it was like that grim furnace-glare which he saw one August sixty years ago as he was trudging in darkness along the shores of the Forth. Most of all, perhaps, he resembled a Hebrew prophet, and I do not think it is fanciful to regard him as peculiarly resembling the prophet Amos. There was a similarity in the position and upbringing of the two men. Both were peasants and had been brought up among cattle, and on the hill side. There was a likeness, too, in their genius and in the spirit of their preachings. Both were for ever crying "Woe to those that are at ease in Zion, that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches." Both, to use an expression of Carlyle's own about Rousseau, were terribly in earnest. Amos relieved the pent-up feelings of his bosom by the delivery of his prophecies, and Carlyle expressed his by writing the French Revolution.

Carlyle was not a man capable of seeing two sides of a question. In his youth he was a fierce Radical, "partly hating, and partly despising the aristocracy," full of scorn for game-preservers and flunkeyism, ridiculing clothes, *i. e.*, civilization, and concentrating his wrath in biting sentences, such as those which compose the immortal epitaph on Count Zaedarer. In his riper years he became an advocate for despotism. He bowed down and became a hero-worshipper. Able and unscrupulous men, such as Cromwell and Frederick of Prussia, became his idols; and he poured, or rather vomited, forth contempt on all lovers of liberty. He degraded himself by abuse of such men as Wilberforce, and in the American struggle he sided with the slave-owners. Much of his later teaching appears to me to be wholly mischievous. He

deifies force and, by the use of opprobrious epithets, endeavours to discredit freedom of thought and speech.

His errors got worse with age, for he was one who bettered not with time, nor was he a man who would listen to others. He declaimed about the grandeur of silence, but he never thought of applying the remark to himself. The silence which he considered golden was the silence of other people, and he only proclaimed it in order that the arena might be cleared for his own eloquence. It has been well said that the attitude of scorn is a very dangerous one. Even if the scorn be originally a healthy feeling and be "the scorn of scorn, the hate" of hate described by the poet, it is apt to degenerate. There are precipices among the mountain peaks, and the man who chooses to dwell apart, who despises the love which is of the valley and prefers to live among the barren peaks, is apt to have an ugly fall.

Lord Byron began well. It is impossible not to sympathise with him in his gallant attack upon his critics. We have a thrill of pleasure in reading his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." We cannot help wishing that we could have seen the faces of those bullies of the Press, the Edinburgh Reviewers, when the poem appeared. They must have felt like the huntsmen of old when they were beating for deer and found they had roused up a lion. But Byron was ruined by his own success, or, at least, he indulged so long in contempt that he became at last contemptible. It was the same with Swift, and perhaps with all other satirists. Even the distinguished writer, Matthew Arnold, who is by some considered to be at the head of English literature, has indulged himself too much in scorn. He is always talking about sweetness and light, but he somehow manages to be wrong on most practical questions. He is, like Dr. Sargredo in *Gil Blas*, for ever puncturing people, being apparently possessed with the idea that blood-letting is the only cure for all evils.

Opinions are divided as to which is Carlyle's greatest work. His *French Revolution* is the work which first procured him fame and which is regarded as his most finished and artistic work. The writing of it occupied him for two years, and when it was ended, he said to his wife "What they will do with this book, none knows, my Jeannie, lass; but they have not had, for a two hundred years, any book that came more truly from a man's very heart, and so let them trample it under foot and hoof as they see best." "Pooh, pooh!" she cheerily answered, "they cannot trample that." The *French Revolution* is a poem in prose. It made a great sensation when it appeared, and I suppose did good by showing what an inevitable thing the Revolution was. When Burke deplored the French Revolution as an unmixed evil and wrote that well-known and beautiful passage about the

Dauphiness and about the age of chivalry being gone, Thomas Paine made a remark which showed that he too had a spirit of poetry. He said that Mr. Burke pitied the plumage, but forgot the dying bird. Carlyle's work brought the agonies of the dying bird before us, and showed us that we should not sorrow over much for the minor evils. Burke's mistake, if we may venture to criticise so great a genius and so noble a man, was like that of those who would make out that the Scottish reformation was an evil because it was accompanied by the destruction of some fine specimens of architecture. When we read Carlyle's work at the present day, I think we find that a good deal of its interest is gone. It is not a history, it is a rhapsody, and one does not see clearly what is the author's drift. The narrative swings on like a railway train at sixty miles an hour, but the motion is jolting and discomfoting, and we do not get a good view of the country we are passing through. It seems probable too, that some of his outbursts are based upon imperfect information of facts, and that the book has been superseded by further investigations. The French General said of the Balaklava charge that it was magnificent, but that it was not war. So we may say of Carlyle's French Revolution, that it is magnificent but that it is not history. John Stuart Mill considered *Sartor Resartus* as Carlyle's greatest work. It contains beautiful passages, for example the description of the sleeping city which Jeffrey so much admired. But the book culminates in extravagance, and I doubt if many have patience to read it through. When Carlyle offered it to a London publisher, the latter got a "reader" to report on it. Carlyle scornfully published the reader's opinion under the title of "Testimonies of Authors. 1. Highest Class, Bookseller's Taster," and considered that he had done a very severe thing by so doing. I confess, however, that the poor book-taster's opinion does not seem to me to be so very wrong or inadequate after all.

The first book of Carlyle's which I ever read, and which I like the best to this day, is his "Heroes and Hero-worship." The germ of his force-theories is there, but he was then speaking face to face with his fellow-men and was thus under some restraint. His vindication of Mahomet in this work is very fine and so also is his appreciation of grand old Samuel Johnson, and what is still more striking and forcible is his defence of poor Boswell. This reminds me that those two great authors, Carlyle and Macaulay, once dealt with the same subject, so that we have a means of judging of their respective merits. Both criticised Boswell's life of Johnson. Macaulay's essay is brilliant and full of facts, but it is too antithetical and epigrammatic. One feels that Macaulay in writing it was thinking more of himself than of his subject. He is more anxious that we should admire him

for his brilliancy and omniscience than that we should understand Johnson or Boswell. Carlyle's essay is not so brilliant, but it is far more noble. It does justice to Johnson and also to Boswell, the poor flighty Scottish laird who yet had a spirit of reverence in him, and could worship true greatness even when it appeared in the form of an ungainly and scrofulous schoolmaster.

John Stuart Mill admired this essay of Carlyle's very much and read it so often, that he could almost repeat it from beginning to end. Carlyle was genuine enough then to be much pleased with Mill's approbation and wrote in his journal, "Very kind letter from Mill, whose zealous and quite credible approbation and appropriation of "Johnson" gratifies me, I doubt, far more than it should. Unspeakable is the importance of man to man." "Let a million voices cry out, 'How clever!' it is still nothing; let one voice cry out, 'How true!' it lends us quite a new force and encouragement." I cannot say that I greatly admire Carlyle's Oliver Cromwell, or Frederick the Great. There is genius in them, of course, but really life is too short for the perusal of one-sided books. As there are some articles of food that cannot be partaken without something else being taken after them as correctives, so there are some books which it is dangerous to read, unless we read a great many other books which point out their errors. It is a little too much, for instance, to have to read Mr. Froude's History of England, and then find that his character of Henry VIII is so one-sided that we must go to some other history to get a true view of it.

Many of Carlyle's essays are delightful, though, as a whole, they are not to be compared to Macaulay's. One of his best is that on Robert Burns to whom he does full justice, though in his Reminiscences he professes to doubt whether his own father, James Carlyle, who had not a shred of poetic fibre in him, was not as great a genius as Burns.

His life of Sterling is an interesting book in many ways. It might be called "Memoirs of a disciple by his priest," for Sterling will chiefly be remembered as a disciple of Carlyle. By the way, it is singular how great geniuses seem to find even greater geniuses than themselves in people that to others seem but ordinary men and women. Carlyle discovers a genius in his father, though one never hears of any clever thing that he said or did, and knows only that he was a decent stone-mason and built a bridge. John Stuart Mill found unrivalled wisdom in the lady whom he, made his wife, and the great French philosopher, Auguste Comte, found two women superior to every body else in the world. One was a young lady who wrote a rather weak and sentimental tale, and the other was Comte's maid-of-all-work, Sophie Blot, who could not even read.

Carlyle's style has excited much, and I think well-deserved, censure. The historian Buckle spoke of it as being jargon, and certainly it often cannot be called English. It has generally been supposed that Carlyle acquired it from the Germans, and nothing can be clearer than that German has had much influence on his style. It is from it that he learnt his compound adjectives and his frequently involved and floundering periods in which we search about for verbs and for meanings as boys do for trouts under the stones of a burn, and like them too, we often feel what we are looking for slipping away from us. Carlyle's own account of the matter was that he got his style partly from Edward Irving, and partly from his father and mother. He says, "As to my poor style, Edward Irving and his admiration of the old Puritans and Elizabethans—whom at heart I never could entirely adore, though trying hard—his and everybody's dictum played a much more important part than Jean Paul upon it. And the most important by far was that of nature, you would perhaps say, if you had ever heard my father speak or my mother, and her inward melodies of heart and voice." One cannot believe, however, that it was in Arrandale that Carlyle learned his love for long-winded epithets and for involved expressions.

Carlyle tried his hand at writing poetry, but failed. Perhaps the failure was due, to use an expression of his own, to the want of a singing master in his youth. The best verses he ever wrote are those called "My own four walls" which Froude has published in his biography.

Will Carlyle continue to be read? The question cannot with confidence be answered in the affirmative. His reputation has already much fallen. The world has passed him by, and left him to be a voice crying in the wilderness. As he himself mournfully remarked to Mr. Froude not long before his death, nobody believes what he has told them. They have gone over Niagara in spite of his warnings, and as yet there is no sign that they have experienced the fate of Captain Webb. And yet it is difficult to believe that Carlyle will ever be wholly forgotten. Much of his teaching was erroneous, and will be deservedly rejected, but as he himself has said, we must not make too much of errors. There were great errors in the teaching of Buddha, Plato and Mahomet, but they are not forgotten nor likely to be so. Carlyle undoubtedly possessed a particle of that divine air which is genius, in other words, he was one of those who, to use Thackeray's expression, could see life as it really was, and not from behind blinkers. It will surely be long before the world loses the impress of the man who revived hero-worship, and who accomplished what Paley regarded as the impossible feat of answering a sneer. No man

is a hero to his *valet de chambre*, said the French proverb. That is true, answered Carlyle, but it is because the valet has a valet-soul.

The truths which Carlyle proclaimed were not new. They were simply the grand old truths of honesty and earnestness which had been written in the hearts of men thousands of years ago. But they had like other old things got covered over with rubbish, and with what Carlyle in his strong way called "heaps of damnable, dead, putrescent cant." He, like another Schliemann, disinterred the gold which had been hidden away and forgotten. Like the poor stonemason Robert Paterson (known to the world as Old Mortality), who too was a Dumfriesshire man, Carlyle went about removing moss and recutting time-worn inscriptions, and thus revealed to the world truths which it was in danger of forgetting.

It seems to me that his early writings are the most likely to be remembered. His Frederick is tedious and so obviously wrong-headed. One wonders why he undertook such a subject. I have somewhere read that it was Chevalier Bunsen who suggested Frederick to him. But surely it was a work of supererogation for an English writer to attempt the biography of a German king. The Germans are masters in the department of historical research and might safely be left to describe the events of their own country. Carlyle was far more at home in writing about Robert Burns, or in lecturing on heroes. With all his faults of style, there is a magic about his writing which disarms criticism. I have already remarked that on one occasion when Macaulay and Carlyle wrote on the same subject, and so were pitted against one another, as it were, Carlyle's work showed qualities beyond Lord Macaulay's reach. On another occasion they contended together and the result may be seen in Longfellow's Dante, where their essays are put side by side among the illustrations of the poet. It is, I think, impossible to read them without feeling that Carlyle's account of Dante is the finer of the two. It touches the reader far more and illuminates the character and work of the poet as with the electric light. Macaulay's essay on Dante leaves one cold. There are no tears in his voice, no ring of compassion or tenderness in his polished periods. When we read Carlyle, we feel the truth of what Matthew Arnold has said about natural magic in poetry and think of Wordsworth's "Solitary Reaper" and of the bird-voice—

Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides.

ART II.—THE AGNOSTIC THEORY OF RELIGION.—A REPLY TO MR. HERBERT SPENCER.*

RELIGION is a fact in the world, and needs to be accounted for. Historical records tell us that Christianity arose in a certain way, at a certain time and place, as the result of certain antecedent facts. Those who reject the explanation of its existence thus historically presented, are bound in reason to show some other way in which it might, at least, have come into being. Even when this is done we have only theory against history. However plausible the theory may be, it cannot stand as an explanation of Christianity, unless some proof be given that Christianity *did* thus arise, and not as commonly supposed. Apart from this, the theory is little more than an exercise of ingenuity.

Mr. Spencer has propounded a new Theory of Religion, which he would apply to all religious indiscriminately, but more especially to those higher religious ideas and sentiments which are found in connexion with Christianity. The theory, as far as can be gathered from the brief delineation of it with which we have been favoured, is somewhat in this wise: Men dreamt. They took their dreams to be realities. They dreamt about dead people, and inferred they lived. They transferred to them their expanding ideas of power and other human qualities. Thus they created a body of imaginary deities, to whom they attributed all but the most ordinary occurrences. Then they began to throw off the meaner ideas they had attached to their divinities, and to elevate these to a higher level. Thus, by successive processes of evolution and dissolution, were generated all those notions and sentiments which now are regarded as belonging to religion.

But the process must be continued. Every thing that savours of man must be thrown off, until nothing is left but the conviction of an Infinite and All-pervading Energy, of whom nothing can be known.

Now that there is some truth in the general idea contained in this theory will be conceded by all. On religion, as on other topics, "The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns." As men, as societies, advance in intellectual force, they gradually come to understand better the religious ideas which have been set before them. They expand them as their ex-

* *Vide* "Calcutta Review," January 1884, Art. IX., Religious Retrospect and Prospect.

perience expands, keeping always 'the idea of God more or less in advance of what they have learnt to think of as possible for man. They prune off from them all those excrescences which reflection makes them feel to belong to man alone, and not to God. And doubtless there is that in the mind of man, even in a very undeveloped condition, which gives rise to ideas having some resemblance to those that form the basis of religion. Mr. Spencer, indeed, asserts that the primitive man had neither religious ideas nor religious sentiment. With the proof of this we have not yet been favoured, but it appears to involve an assumption that the primitive man was in a condition analogous to that of the most degraded races now known, which ignores the many indications that development has been in some cases downwards and not upwards. But supposing it to be true that primitive man had no sort of religious ideas or sentiments,—does it not seem to follow that he must have continued without them to the end, unless he had received them from some source outside himself? Because religious notions grow in the course of intellectual development, it does not follow that they had their only origin in the intellect itself,—any more than the fact that a healthy child grows proves that he had his origin by the simple process of nutrition. Before you have growth you must surely have something that has the power to grow, and one hardly knows how the expanding mind can expand the non-existent.

The fact is, that Mr. Spencer's investigation, so far as it relates to the truth of Christianity, is vitiated by a preliminary assumption which he has no right to make. "How," he asks, "do these ideas concerning the supernatural evolve out of ideas concerning the natural?" *Do they?* That is just the question. If you assume that they do, you assume, but you do not prove, the falsity of the Christian religion, which accounts for these ideas, in great measure at least, as revealed by a revelation from above. Mr. Spencer having thus assumed that they have not been revealed attempts to account for them by a development from below. Let us just take this Ghost Theory of religion, and test it, as every theory must be tested, by facts.

Two questions have to be asked. First, does the process, as described by Mr. Spencer, agree with facts historical?—and secondly, does the result of it agree with facts existing? Does it give an adequate account of the notions about God that are actually presented among men?

1. As to historical facts. The Ghost Theory is intended to show how religion has actually arisen. But where is there any nation whose religion can be shown to have had its origin from the phenomena of dreams and imaginations about Ghosts? To

prove the theory it ought to be shown that the religion not of one but of all nations has actually arisen in this way. At all events it ought to be shown that there is a certain order and succession of stages in all religions, compatible with this theory, and with no other. But no such proof is forthcoming; and, indeed, the steps of the process, though asserted to be clearly traceable, have been by no means clearly traced, even hypothetically. Reference is made to the Egyptian religion; but that is a subject on which the most learned Egyptologists have not even yet arrived at any agreement. So far as that religion has been investigated, it does not seem at all to agree with the description given of it by Mr. Spencer, which indeed, on the face of it, demands that the history of the religion be conformed to the theory, instead of being taken simply as handed down to us. The reference to the religion of the Hebrews on this subject is a mistake. The Hebrews were never in the habit of calling Ghosts *Elohim*. The word in their language for Ghosts, *Rephaim*, has the meaning of *weakness*, and so is just the contrary of *Elohim*, the ordinary word for God, which seems to involve the idea of power. This indicates, if any thing, a development of ideas the reverse of that required by the Ghost Theory. Of course various nations are found in various conditions of religious thought. But there is nothing to show that these divers states have sprung out of one another, or that the more advanced nations have passed through all the succession of the lower ideas in the order demanded by the theory. Certainly the religious history of India gives no sanction to it. The earliest stage of religion known in this country was one of nature-worship, which does not seem to have any particular place in the Spencerian succession. The heroic stage, it would appear, came long after. Doubtless in a fuller expansion of the theory, its author would have something to say to these facts. But he could hardly alter their character except by making the hypothesis govern them altogether.

Look now at the actual origin of the religious ideas at present current among those whose religious consciousness has been most highly developed. Have these, as a matter of fact, been attained by any process of gradual development independent of influence from without? We cannot say so, unless we would ignore altogether the effect of the life and work of Jesus Christ. That there was a wonderful influence brought to bear thereby on religious thought, it is impossible to deny, however we may account for it. Men's minds were tending rapidly, history shows us, in directions quite different from those in which they have since advanced,—towards vulgar magic and theurgy, towards

atheism, towards a mixture of intellectual scepticism with grovelling superstitions. Then came the religion which Jesus taught, and which rested on His life and work. And thereby religious thought and feeling received that mighty impulse which has made it at once so definite and so spiritual, and which is very far from being exhausted even in the wide diffusion which it has now attained. This is a fact which does not fit in with the Ghost Theory, or any other theory that attempts to reduce religion to a mere development of imaginations. Mr. Spencer, however, seems to labour under a constitutional inability to understand Christianity, and seldom alludes to it without caricaturing it. This habit, perhaps, may have led him to overlook its import in relation to his argument.

2. As to contemporary facts. Does the Ghost Theory agree any better with what we see and know to exist in the way of religious ideas and sentiments, than it does with the means whereby these have actually been originated? Here, also, we find a striking discrepancy.

The theory is meant to account for religion as it is, and it attempts to do so on grounds wholly subjective. That which gives rise to religion, according to the theory, is wholly within man, and of man, in fact wholly imaginary. The only way in which the transition from the subjective to the objective—in this case from the imaginary to the real—is supposed to be effected, is the asserted belief of men in the very earliest stage of development, that what goes on in dreams is real. If such a belief exists, which at that stage it would be very difficult to prove, at all events there is no fiction of the imagination which is more promptly or more decidedly corrected. Man very soon learns that his dreams are essentially subjective and unreal. Or if he believes that revelations are made to him in dreams, is not this rather the result than the ground of a belief in some objective power that thus becomes operative on him? It is difficult to determine the sequence of ideas in a case like this. But certainly we may say that if the belief in external powers had no other basis than the idea of the objectivity of dreams, it would speedily be corrected by experience. For men immersed in things of actual perception the idea of God, if built on such a foundation, would surely flee away with the first disappointment, "as a dream when one awaketh." The belief in the reality of the superstructure could not long survive the notion of the objectivity of the foundation, which is by hypothesis a mere delusion.

But the data of spiritual religion are accompanied by a strong sense and impression of objective reality. Of this every true and

living Christian soul is witness, and multitudes who fall short of that description have a more or less definite conviction of the same. Delusions of course are rife, and not every man's belief in the objectivity of his experience can be taken as a demonstration that it is really objective. But it is too great a strain on our credulity to ask us to believe that *all* which men believe themselves to have experienced as the operation of objective and external spiritual powers, is simply a delusion, resting on man's own imagination, that his dreams are real. Mr. Spencer speaks of "developing man" as "regarding religious ideas as operative on him." Why should he so regard them, unless, in some degree and in some cases, they really are so? This sense of reality it is that hinders our assent to the idealism of Berkeley. All that is without us may be resolved into something within us—except the sense of reality, the conviction of objectivity, which common sense holds fast in spite of every argument to the contrary. It is easy enough to show that our sense of reality sometimes deceives us in religious as well as material things. But why? Because there is something *like* reality, from which our common sense does not always enable us to distinguish the unreal. But if there be *no* reality, there can be no likeness to serve as a basis for delusion. No counterfeits are current in a land where coinage is unknown.

But Mr. Spencer does concede a basis of reality for those ideas about God, which nevertheless he holds to be wholly imaginary and false. He declares the energy within us to be of the same kind as the energy without us, though differently conditioned. In other words, man, feeling a power within him, and discerning a power without him, is constrained to symbolize the external power in terms of the internal, simply from want of any other means of expressing what he feels. Here is a very real transition from the subjective to the objective, and one which seems at least to render the Ghost Theory, with all its elaborations, wholly unnecessary. If man is conscious of power without him, and knows that it is real although it cannot be explained, and if he knows nothing of what it is, save that it must be differently conditioned from that which he feels within him,—have we not here already a sufficient basis for the idea of God? We surely have a broad ground for religion ready laid when we have on the one side man, and on the other an Infinite and All-pervading Energy from which all things spring, and in whose presence man continually stands. For what is religion but the relation between man, and God, between the conscious subject and this Infinite Energy as object? Agnosticism can easily prove, what the Bible long ago proclaimed, that man, by no exercise of his own limited faculties, can ever attain to a knowledge of

what God is in Himself, nor bring himself into any such acquaintance with him as science can attain by analysis of earthly things. But that is no proof that the Infinite Energy cannot, if He will, bring man into a conscious relation with Himself, so close and real as to serve for every purpose of practical direction. The whole proof of Christianity, historical and experimental, is a proof that he has done so, and is doing so day by day. Nor can the reality of the relation, which Christian men bear witness to as actually operative in themselves, be denied, except on the ground that no such operation is possible. And Agnosticism cannot reasonably claim to know so much of God as to disprove the possibility at least of His revealing Himself to the consciousness of men, if he sees fit.

It is quite beside the point to maintain that the human intellect is not capable of raising itself to such a relation by its own endeavours. That no Christian would controvert.

Is there not, now, a little inconsistency in Mr. Spencer's mode of arguing as to things Divine? He holds that man is forced to believe in an Infinite Energy without him, because he experiences an energy within him, although he knows that that external energy must be differently conditioned from that of which he himself is conscious. It follows that a perception of difference is no reason for rejecting the inference that passes from the phenomena of consciousness to the objective existence of similar powers. If, then, a man from the consciousness of knowledge within himself infers the existence of Infinite Knowledge without him, which he is compelled to express in terms of his own consciousness for want of any other symbols, it is no answer to this to say that that Infinite Knowledge cannot be such knowledge as ours is. It may be surely the same in result, although differently conditioned, just as the energy is. In other words, it does not follow that because God's knowledge is not acquired piecemeal like ours, therefore He has no way of knowing at all. So likewise of God's willing. Because His will is not conditioned like ours by partial knowledge and particular motive, it cannot reasonably be argued that he has no power of self-determination of any kind. We may continue to believe in God's intelligence and will as firmly as in our own, in spite of the Agnostic arguments, which really attempt to prove nothing more than that God's intelligence and will are not like ours. This is a mere truism, which no thoughtful Christian for a moment doubts.

If the Ghost Theory were true, the *data* of religion must be wholly subjective, imaginary, and unreal. But the experience of Christians shows that Christianity is operative, real, and objective. It is vain to sneer at "a so-called way of forgiveness of sins," when

every believing Christian knows, that through "Christ and Him crucified,"—however hard it may be to explain the efficacy of that great fact,—he has received a great and real blessing, even an entire change of his relation to his God. It is vain to caricature the doctrine of retribution, when every awakened sinner knows that the justice of God is a terrible fact, involving consequences unknown in detail indeed, but awful in their reality. Why talk of God suddenly demanding to be praised, when all that He does is to bid man exercise the blessed privilege of his permitted relation with the Most High, by realizing and acknowledging his greatness? For man, and not for God, is the benefit in all these things. How great and how real the benefit is, the experience of countless men of God declares.

Nor can the testimony of godly men as to the reality and operative-ness of their relation with God, be set aside as mere subjective evidence without force, save to those who have experienced it. These men are no intentional deceivers, neither can they all be fools. Their word is worthy surely of some weight. Neither is there any reason in explaining, as a mere subjective impression, that is as a groundless imagination, a change that transforms Saul the persecutor into Paul the preacher of the Gospel. But thousands of changes, as real and unmistakable as this, if not so striking, are being brought to pass around us day by day through the power of Christianity. Are these all the fruit of falsehood and imagination, built on the "baseless fabric of a dream?" To regard them as such is necessary for the support of the theory we are considering, but it is hardly worthy of a serious investigation, which ought to take full account of all the facts.

Thus, then, the Agnostic Theory of Religion is consistent neither with itself nor with facts. It makes subjective ignorance the measure of objective reality, even while it quarrels with religion for describing objective facts in terms necessarily drawn from subjective analogies. It ignores the historical facts of actual religious development, including the great world-changing fact of the life and work of Jesus. It takes no notice of the experimental facts of religion as it is, even the internal operations of which Christians are directly conscious, and of which the world may be indirectly assured by their results. Not yet has been laid the philosophic dynamite that has power to shatter the Rock whereon the Christian Faith is built.

W. R. BLACKETT.

ART. III.—POLICE AND POLICE COURTS IN BRITISH INDIA.

AN article in this review some months ago drew attention to a very important subject, the use and abuse of the Courts of Justice appointed under the British rule in India. The writer particularly urged the necessity of reform in one direction, *viz.*, the regulation of the crime of perjury, which, it is admitted on all sides, has now become so rife as to be almost a public scandal. It will be our object in these pages to look at the question of criminal justice in India a little more broadly, and to enquire whether its condition as a whole can be regarded as satisfactory, and, if not, what measures are especially needed for its purification. A comprehensive view will require that we take into consideration both the executive and judicial branches of the organization for the suppression of crime, *i. e.*, Police as well Courts. The transcendent importance of the subject will not be denied,—the protection of life and property must always be the first care of the administrator, but, except in special localities, it has not attracted much attention in any country of late years. It would not, however, be a very extraordinary thing, if, on balancing the results of the free discussion which now takes place all over the world on public affairs, we should find that while a “fierce light” of enquiry has been brought to bear on a number of comparatively unimportant details, some weightier matters have been neglected.

It will create some surprise, perhaps, that the criminal law of India should furnish food for criticism. Those comprehensive codes, of which we are justly proud, might be held up as a model to administrators anywhere. The Indian Penal Code, in particular, is almost perfect as a punitive statute. Its very omissions seem as pregnant with meaning as its direct provisions, and with the exception of a few trifling misapprehensions of the conditions of social life in the country, it most admirably supplies the wants which called it into being. But in practical working many departments of our administration fail, notwithstanding their theoretical perfection, and when this is the case the reason usually is that the primitive and semi-barbarous condition of Indian society has not been sufficiently taken into consideration. One good result of the otherwise deplorable controversy which the past year has witnessed is, that attention has been called to a number of defects in the apparently complete machine of Indian Government,

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and our present rulers have earned the gratitude and good will of every section of the community by their readiness to welcome free discussion of public affairs, even though resulting in fault-finding.

The entire fabric of criminal administration in India, as at present constituted, owes its foundation to the reconstruction of society after the mutiny, on what may be called Imperial lines, on the formal transfer to the crown of the power so long vested in the "old lords" of Leadenhall Street. The decade immediately succeeding the rebellion saw the publication of the laws and regulations which are still the practical basis of the existing machinery for the suppression of crime. The power of the official organisation for the pursuit and capture of the wrong-doer, and of the courts which were to try him, were defined, legalised, and, in many instances, curtailed; and, what was perhaps the most important change of all, the one was separated from the other. This divorce of the judicial and executive authorities was the one item of the new programme which was considered the most needful reform of all. But of all others it was perhaps the most open to criticism, and, for the the usual reason, namely inapplicability to rude half-fledged societies like that of Hindostan, of maxims derived from the experience of highly-civilised countries. Such an amount of friction, indeed, was produced by the new régime in some districts of Bengal, as to lead to a deadlock, and necessitate a modification.

But notwithstanding that the principal civil officer of each district (in whom is always vested the highest *original* criminal jurisdiction) has been now formally declared to be also the head of the police, yet the peculiar, undefined and anomalous position of this body practically remains in many localities. To this cause may be referred two characteristics of the service, its enormous powers for evil, now that its control has been removed from the hands of that agency, which, after all that can be said against it, must always remain the truest protector of the interests of the people; and its disrepute as a profession, in large measure attributable to the same fact. To these must be added as unfavourable points in comparison with that more primitive, perhaps, but more effective system which was superseded, the introduction of a complicated office machinery and application of paper and statistical tests of efficiency.

While the constitution of the police force was thus subjected to radical change, the operation of the courts of criminal justice was likewise materially altered by two circumstances, one of which is directly due to the codification of the law, and the other, though not distinctly traceable to the same cause, is yet

a consequence of the introduction of the general principles under which the criminal codes were produced. The first of these circumstances was the creation of new crimes, in consequence of which the interference of both police and courts, in disputes which had hitherto been settled without reference to them, was legalised; and the other, the disuse of the time-honoured oaths on the Korān and Ganges water, by which the oral evidence, the principal basis of the procedure, has tended to become more and more unreliable. While, therefore, the machinery for the repression of crime became less efficient, it was more frequently used, with a result on the welfare of the people at large which there will be little difficulty in conjecturing. The old system was vulnerable in many respects, no doubt, rough though ready, and, while benefiting the community as a whole, often perhaps despotic and oppressive to individuals, it thoroughly suited the conditions of the country, and when guided by some of the magnificent specimens of District Magistrates which the old days produced, secured a degree of protection for life and property which was often unexampled. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the disorganisation of society lately witnessed in British Burmah would hardly have been possible under the old régime.

But it is not so much the spread of violent crime that we have to complain of under existing arrangements, as a result, which, if less conspicuous, is equally deplorable. Serious offences, if not always traced home to the right person, are at least made sufficient fuss about to create the impression that their commission is a dangerous game to play at, and this, in a primitive society, is ordinarily quite enough to check them; and the people, usually patient under minor kinds of misgovernment, are in the habit of asserting themselves when allowed to become the prey of the criminal classes.

The complaints which we have to make against the existing protective organization (for it will have been gathered that our criticisms are mostly unfavourable) may be conveniently presented in a tabular form.—

First.—The personnel of the Indian Police force is inferior to what it used to be.

Secondly.—The force itself is less efficient—(We have pointed out above that both these results are in large measure due to the change in controlling agency).

Thirdly.—The wide extent to which perjury has now spread deteriorates both branches of the administration.

Fourthly.—The additions to the list of crimes have unnecessarily increased the interference of the governing power with the everyday life of the people.

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Fifthly.—An enormous stimulus has been given to malicious complaints.

Many of the abovementioned defects in the working of the new organisation can be observed even where the supervision is thorough and effective; but the principal cause for dissatisfaction arises from the state of affairs where this is not the case, and where the new-fangled police and newly-created courts are left to their own devices. This forms the sixth and last item in our list, and may be summarised in the following words:—

The elaborate organisation of the new service, and multiplicity of regulations and details, furnish an engine of oppression of the most exquisite and pernicious kind when placed without due control in the hands of a dishonest man.

We proceed to consider the various causes of complaint already tabulated a little more in detail.

I. The disrepute and unpopularity of the police force is undoubtedly a very frequent cause of its demoralisation. It is curious that a service which exists ostensibly for the benefit of the public, should stand so low in public estimation. This is more or less the case all over the world, and is a phenomenon which may be explained in many ways which we cannot now linger to consider. In India, however, there are special reasons for the bad odour which attaches itself to the very word "police." The force is invested with enormous powers, and paid at inadequate rates of salary, and at the same time very little care is exercised in the selection of candidates for the various posts. The Police officer, when once appointed, has ordinarily little to fear in the way of really efficient supervision, and, as a natural consequence, he too often systematically preys on the people from the date of appointment to that of retirement. This alone would be enough to make the service unpopular with the best class of natives. Moreover, as we have already noticed, men of good family will not readily serve, except under the direct superintendence of the chief District Officer, whom they look upon as the representative of the governing power and fountain of honour. The result is that the best appointments constantly fall to low-caste men, who have, as such, far greater powers for evil than an aristocratic incumbent would possess, because of the injury they can inflict on any high-caste person who should happen to offend them: and, besides, from the accident of their birth they are restrained by no sanctions and no considerations of any kind from making their appointment as lucrative as possible.

II. It may be described as an almost necessary consequence of the employment of an inferior class of men, that the force itself is less efficient than under the old rule. The inefficiency, however,

is not perhaps patent to a superficial* observer. There has been of late years a great impetus to inspection work of every kind in all departments of Government service, and therefore it would not be surprising if the outward shell, so to speak, of police administration, as evidenced by condition of arms, accoutrements, knowledge of drill, &c., were found to present an appearance of improvement. This is perhaps also partly due to the fact that the condition of a district is too often judged by these outward appearances. But it is to be feared that the most important branches of the working of the service, those which re-act upon the well-being of the people, would hardly bear scrutiny so readily. Not to be tedious, we will consider only one item of the annual work of an officer in charge, of, say, an outlying, or according to Anglo-Indian parlance, a *Moffussil* station. The most important branch of such an officer's duties would be the supervision and control of the criminal classes. This, in India, is certainly the backbone of successful police administration, and it is by no means such a difficult and hazardous task as in Europe. We are now considering, it must be remembered, the work of an officer who tries on the whole to do his duty honestly, and reserve for the last the sad tale of the evils which can be wrought unpunished by a dishonest man under the present system. Each officer in charge of a station is furnished in Northern India, and we believe also in other parts of the Peninsula, with a private register, supposed to contain the names of the bad characters resident within his jurisdiction. Now the object of every Inspector should, of course, be, to make this register as complete and truthful a record of the dangerous classes and individuals he has to watch as possible. But what are the facts? In the majority of stations the register is either blank, or contains a few names for the look of the thing, the owners of which are in many cases on the verge of the grave, or have long ago given up any evil practices of which they may have been guilty in the past. The reason of this is either carelessness, the ordinary insouciance which characterises the subordinate staff of Indian officials, or it is a conscious omission of a duty which the delinquent will perhaps admit to be such. The writer was once told by a conscientious Police officer (it is quite a mistake to suppose there are none such) that it was clearly impossible to write up this register properly—"Why," he exclaimed, "if we were to enter the full complement of names, we should be expected to visit the whole number once a month!" and thus, to save trouble and avoid a task which really, considering the low rate of salary, and absence of allowance for travelling, is almost too much to demand, the most important work of all

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is habitually neglected. Lax supervision is probably accountable for this state of things to a large extent, but the complicated and unsatisfactory system of statistical tests of efficiency works towards the same end. For instance, a Police officer who honestly tried to fill his register with bad characters, and found he could not visit more than half of them, might be charged with neglecting 50 per cent. of his work, and so, to escape these fallacious tests, not only are statistics fabricated, but real work is left undone. An objection of a similar nature can be urged against judging police work by reported crime. Figures can easily be manipulated here as in the former case, and it is quite possible for the figures themselves, even if corresponding with the facts, to create a completely false impression. For example, crime is sometimes temporarily stamped out in a local area by energetic police action (so easy is administration in India if done in the right way) ; this, of course, sends down the reported crime, and the police are blamed, as the figures are supposed to point to a diametrically opposite state of things—concealment of offences ! But it is needless to linger over these subjects as we believe that the absurdity of the tests is now admitted.

But there is another cause of inefficiency in this service, and indeed in almost every branch of the executive, which is also due, in great measure, to the new régime, and which is a much more serious matter. We refer to the decline in that personal knowledge of subordinates which was so conspicuous and useful a feature in the old state of things. The average European officer is usually apt to take one of two views of the native police, both equally to be deprecated. Either he looks upon them as a much and unjustly abused class, to be supported through thick and thin ; or else, as hopelessly inefficient and corrupt. Fallacious views like these are the consequence of the unfortunate habit of passing class criticisms too common in every country, and especially in India. Such judgments (of which we have heard a great deal during the recent controversies) are nearly always founded upon defective experience, and lead men to make mistakes in practical life. The result on the service we are discussing of holding views like these is, that it is believed 'in either too much or too little, both contingencies being equally deteriorating to its character. The only true method of obtaining efficiency seems to be one which was certainly more practised in old days than at present, though, of course, its adoption is as possible now as then. It is to start with the assumption that there are good and bad individuals in the Police force, as in every other collection of human beings, thoroughly to know the characters of all, and then make sure that the round man is not put into the square hole, *i. e.*, that the good are

not "wasted," so to speak, on routine office work, and that the bad are either weeded out, or else kept under such strict supervision as to be powerless for evil. But we shall reserve further proposals as to the measures necessary for correcting the evils to which attention is directed for another place. We proceed to the next heading of our indictment against the existing state of things.

III. This, the extent to which false swearing has now spread in the Courts of Justice, has been very fully discussed in the article to which we originally referred. The magnitude of the evil has certainly not been exaggerated, though we venture to doubt whether the remedy suggested is likely to be as effectual as Mr. Hooley seems to think it would be. We shall not continue the subject, and indeed it raises collateral issues which are foreign to our purpose, and would require volumes for their elucidation. There cannot be a doubt that appearance in a British Court of Justice is considered as a sort of *carte blanche* to use speech "for the purpose of concealing thought," and in some parts of the country to take the oath is considered an eternal disgrace. But we must trust to the gradual spread of education and civilisation to remove these evils, rather than to any specific measures. We may remark, however, in passing that three methods of circumventing a false witness are open to the use of any Court which chooses to practise them. First, it can employ cross-examination, and the other engines which the law and theory of evidence furnish for the extraction of the truth; secondly, it can have recourse to the old oaths in addition to those in general use under the present judicial system; and thirdly, it can adopt the expedient of confronting witnesses, one most useful in this country. At the same time every clear case of perjury or false accusation should, of course, be taken up in the interests of the community.

IV & V. But the evil of the growing tendency to the fabrication of false evidence is immensely aggravated by the circumstances which form the fourth and fifth counts of our indictment against the preset system of criminal justice, and which we shall consider together, *viz.*, the multiplication of crimes, and increase in the habit of bringing malicious charges. Any one at all acquainted with the working of the courts will be able to illustrate this by the results of experience. Taking our system of justice as a whole, it may be described as at once too easy and too difficult of access, as exactly suiting the requirements of the fraudulent, while too often failing to reach those most in need of relief. A competent observer, visiting a portion of the interior where the administration was lax, would find that while real crime was habitually concealed, all sorts of fictitious offences were daily

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invented in order to bring to bear upon an enemy that peculiar engine of oppression known as the "pressure of the Criminal Court." There is a three-fold sting in this procedure. Once accused of crime it is difficult for an innocent person to throw off the stigma which attaches to it, and, by merely incurring the charge, he is exposed to the ravages of the venal police, by whom the orders of the Court are executed, and the oppression of the underlings of the Court themselves, often quite as hard to bear. Not only does the existing elaborate machinery of justice make it easier to bring a deliberately false charge than was formerly the case, but the over-refinement of the codified law has largely increased the list of occasions on which the interference of the governing power into private life can be evoked, a contingency nearly always to be deplored. In other words, technical offences have been created, and the man who would not perhaps dare to make a totally fictitious complaint can still set the Court at work upon his enemy, when by what is perhaps, a purely innocent act he has brought himself within scope of some of the wide definitions of a penal statute. A single instance will illustrate what we mean. Suppose two persons are disputing about the ownership of the same article, and a scuffle arises, or a kind of serious game of "tug-of-war," both parties attempting to obtain possession of the bone of contention. Without telling any deliberate falsehood, each of these persons might charge the other with offences under the Indian Penal Code: he who had original possession of the disputed property would probably state that his opponent had committed, or attempted to commit, robbery, and the other would reply with a countercharge of wrongful restraint! Neither of these charges would be likely to end in the punishment of the accused, but the facts could easily be coloured so as to ensure his being dragged into Court, which would ordinarily be all that was wanted to injure him. One of the offences mentioned in the above example was positively created by the Code, and the definition of the other is so large as to include in its letter a number of cases not contemplated by its spirit.

This introduces us to the principal reason why these evils are now so rampant. It is that the conduct of criminal cases is largely entrusted to inexperienced English officers, or to natives. Native Magistrates, in particular, show an astonishing want of discretion in their performance of this important branch of work. Their superior knowledge of the country and its people ought to give them a peculiar power of diagnosing a false or doubtful case. But their generally lax conduct of business, and their inability to use the weapon of cross-examination for the purpose of testing the validity of complaints made in their courts, cause them to summon or arrest an enormous number

of quite innocent persons. Again, they seem quite unable to distinguish between those classes of offences, which affect individuals only, and those which call for punishment in the interests of the community. Nor do they at all understand, apparently, the importance of preventing the courts from becoming mere facilities for the excitement of gambling in justice, or of ensuring that orders issued should be really deterrent and preventive of crime, and not sow the seeds of future litigation.

Having now briefly surveyed the objections to the system of criminal justice as at present administered, on the supposition that everything is done in good faith, we proceed to what is really the most important part of our subject, the evils traceable to it when deliberately used as a means of illicit gain. In what has gone before we have considered both what may be called the purveyors of criminal cases, and the courts that try them, but as we do not believe that any very widespread system of corruption exists in the regular tribunals of the country, we shall now confine our attention to the police. We blame the courts for aggravating the inefficiency of the police by ignorance of the proper sphere for their interference, and for ministering to their dishonesty by sending them trumpery cases to investigate, but we cannot, without sufficient evidence, join in the complaints sometimes made against them of uniting with the "guardians of the public peace" in a regular system of judicial plunder. But we fear that the obnoxiousness of the police to such charges is too widely known and undeniable to be overlooked, and, as has been stated above, we believe the over-elaboration of the present plan of administration to be largely responsible for the disgraceful state of things which undoubtedly exists in many districts. Before proceeding to consider the various degrees and phases of dishonesty which are found among the native police of India, we wish to notice one argument which is sometimes put forward to prove that things are not after all quite as bad as is generally thought. This is that public opinion exerts a pressure which it is impossible to resist, and, in spite of themselves, keeps the force straight. Now, this would be a perfectly fair and valid argument in a civilized country, but unfortunately it is by no means always the case in India that public opinion takes the side of law and order. The masses are so phlegmatic, and have so little property to lose, that unless things are very bad indeed, they will not make themselves heard, and often not even then, and in no sense can they be said to exercise any sort of pressure. The middle classes, or in rural districts, the peasant proprietary, too often support the criminal classes, and derive a regular income from their payments. If the proprietary body are not in league

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with the bad characters, they are very often afraid of them, and this is just as fatal to the administration as collusion.

The dishonest policeman, like his rival in crime in other branches of the Government service, may be described as falling into one or other of the following classes:—

The first and worst class includes all those who look upon their profession as a mere means of making money, who are utterly unscrupulous as to procedure, and who, moreover, bring both talent and industry to the task.

The second class are those who, with no greater integrity than the former, are yet so unskilful or so lazy as to be unable to effect the amount of mischief caused by the first.

In the third class are those who do a certain measure of good work, where the chance of gain is insufficient to make the risk of illegal practices worth while, but are, nevertheless, always to be bought when dishonesty is fairly marketable.

The fourth and best, or least bad, class are those who will scorn a small bribe, and only accept what is really a considerable sum.

Though this latter class of rogue is sometimes quite popular with the masses of the people, he is just as unscrupulous as any of his *confrères* when occasion arises. If, however, we only had him to fear, we should not have any real cause for complaint; and, perhaps, this much may be said for the force, that the majority of officers belong to the last two classes, and that villains of a really deep dye are rare. But, unfortunately, under the lax supervision which is usually found in the service now-a-days, the third and fourth classes continually tend to lapse into one or other of the first two, as attention to duty is not rewarded, and dishonesty is found to enjoy a practical immunity from punishment. The result is that the police are usually useless, that is, they are paid by the State for no appreciable services to the community, or else they are a positive evil.

We will now suppose an officer of the bad kind newly appointed to the charge of an outlying station where the chances of detection in illicit practices are small. We will also suppose the proprietary body of the circle to be some in league with, and others under the influence of terrorism from, the criminal classes, recruited, as they too often are, from men of good family, driven into practical outlawry by our civil courts. His first care is to become acquainted with the owners of land in his neighbourhood, and to win over the most influential individuals to his views of plunder. It must be premised that this will generally require time, and that, until it is done, the hungry "Darogah" will have to content himself with the minor pickings to be had off summonses and warrants, complaints between

individuals, rumours affecting family honour, and the like, or the ordinary reports at the police station (the rates payable on which vary from six-pence to a year's income) with perhaps an occasional false case by way of variety. It is not too much to say that if police officers would content themselves with illegal gratifications of this sort, the condition of the people at large would be really happy, compared with what it is at present—here and there a wretched complainant would have to sell his miserable brass utensils or his bed to feed a rapacious constable or officer visiting his village to investigate the charge he was rash enough to make, but the mass of the population would be at peace. It is for these reasons that officers, who are unable to control the force properly, are so constantly urged by persons of experience in Indian life, who see things through other mediums than the official spectacles, *to keep continually changing the Inspectors in charge of stations*. It is a great mistake to imagine that the organized system of committing crime, under which Thuggee, for example, flourished, has died out in India. The offences perpetrated are not so heinous, but the barefaced encouragement of, and income from, the criminal classes by persons who still retain the appearance of respectability, and the extraordinarily large ramifications of the system still continue. When a long residence in a station has given a dishonest policeman a connection with the owners of land, their encouragement of crime, and the evils attendant on it, become doubled or trebled by the support of the Government official, and they are enabled to carry on a quite distinct mode of plunder on their own account. This consists in obtaining all sorts of forced contributions from the unfortunate peasantry *in the name of the Police Officer* for his food, travelling expenses, goodwill in case of need, and the like. At the same time the exactions of the Inspector himself find an unrestrained field in consequence of the unholy combination of the only two powers in his circle, *viz.*, himself and the zemindars. We have stated above that to ensure a thorough working combination of this sort, time is required, but sometimes circumstances so favour the policeman as to enable him to begin, almost as soon as he is appointed, a regular system of making money by the encouragement of that crime which he is paid by Government to suppress.

The following facts occurred but a very short time ago within the personal knowledge of the writer, and will serve to illustrate the above remarks. They will be regarded perhaps by some persons as an exaggeration or worse, but in reality, containing as they do only bare details actually brought to light, they probably fall far short of the truth, which would most likely reveal things not dreamt of in the philosophy of Government reports. As they

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are, they disclose a state of things which is deserving of close attention. It could be easily believed that a corrupt official should take money to abstain from performing the duty for which he is appointed, but that he should deliberately set about inverting the whole purpose of his office, and gain an income from fostering practices which it is his duty to stamp out, at least proves that the system under which such disorganisation is possible requires amendment. The case we have in view was as follows :—An officer was appointed to the charge of an outlying station. It so happened, that he found there ready to his hand an influential clique of zemindars to whom he was related, who had already, under lax supervision, established a system of organised crime and terrorism. In a very short time there was absolutely no protection to property whatsoever. The thieves were let loose upon the cattle and other wealth of the unfortunate people, and it became the regular custom for the blackmail payable by the owners to be settled and delivered over *in the Police Station itself*, the “guardian of the public” taking whatever share he chose to appropriate. So impudent had the thieves become, that they usually arrived at the station *before the complainants*, and quite openly, and without fear. It is needless to remark that reporting of crime, at least independently of the wishes of the confederation, ceased altogether. It has been stated above that violent crime is apt to be resented by even the patient victims of oppression who form the bulk of the population of Hindustan. These worthies, accordingly, principally confined their operations to this kind of plunder, in which property was seized not with the intention of permanent appropriation, but in order to levy tribute on the owners. If these confederations arrange the commission of serious offences, it is usually far away from their own residences. But once stimulated to daring, the criminal classes are apt to become troublesome even to their own leaders. And in the case referred to, the thieves took to wandering about in gangs armed with *latties*, and extorting various sums from the peaceful inhabitants by means of terrorism. Had not the maladministration of the circle been put a stop to, the population might have lost patience and taken the law into their own hands. The hero of the above tale, it may be added, is now working well *under strict supervision* in the very circle which he had reduced to such a state of anarchy. No legal proof was forthcoming of his misdoings, and the past was accordingly forgiven under promises of amendment for the future. Not a stalk of sugarcane is now stolen in a locality where hardly a day formerly passed without a theft of considerable magnitude.

It remains now only to notice what remedies for the defects

described above suggest themselves. Three defects have been noticed in the Police, its deteriorated personnel, inefficiency, and the necessity of applying other tests of the character of its work than the prescribed ones; and three defects also in the working of the Courts, the increase of perjury, the multiplication of offences, and spread of malicious charges.

First, as to the constitution and conduct of the Police, it is obviously necessary to draft a better class of men into the service. We do not advocate an absolute change in the superintendence of the force, but we do think that district officers should take more direct control of this all-important part of district administration, at least to this extent, to be aware of the good and bad officers in their districts and to satisfy themselves that the former are adequately rewarded, and the latter either punished or placed in such positions as to minimise their powers for evil. And with the object of inducing men of good family to take service in the Police, it is necessary that the Magistrate should have the patronage and promotion of the force more under his own control than at present. Moreover, it seems indispensable that the pay of a Police officer, at least in the higher grades, should be raised to a respectable figure. It is probable that the owners of property pay to the Police, in an underhand and unauthorised manner, an amount which, if collected legitimately, would go far to remunerate them on a reasonable scale. Some such tax as this would be the fairest possible way of compelling those who have derived the greatest benefit from the administration by acquiring property under it, to contribute something to the expenses of Government; or, the Imperial revenues may, in course of time, be able to bear the additional charge. Even if nothing could be done in the way of "raising the wind," we cannot help believing that half the number of officers adequately paid would be infinitely more useful than double the number on insufficient salaries. It may be almost said of every branch of our Administration that depth is sacrificed to surface, and before long it will be found necessary to take cognisance of the speculation by which every native member of our underpaid executive supplements the ridiculous sum on which he is supposed to live, and to put him more out of the reach of a temptation which is now irresistible. One or other of the three methods suggested will probably have to be resorted to, before our Police force can be made into a useful service. Integrity, we fear, usually varies directly with salary, and Lord Cornwallis would hardly have purified the European element in the Civil Service, had he not boldly recognised this somewhat pessimist but very practical maxim, and determined to act upon it. It will be in vain to hope for the acceptance of posts of importance

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In the Police by a high class of natives, until the salaries attaching to them are such as to confer a certain amount of dignity and pecuniary emolument. Besides, the possession of a good horse is a *sine quâ non* for an Inspector, and it is quite impossible to keep one on the rate of pay now customary. While his interference in the private life of the people should be minimised, he should yet have the means of reaching any portion of his circle at a moment's notice. The great object to be aimed at in criminal investigations in India, is to get hold of evidence before there is time to tamper with it. Again the unexpected visit of an Inspector to even a few villages is generally enough to create the impression that there is a watchful eye over the whole neighbourhood. Thus a good mount will ensure two most important objects, the efficient investigation of serious crime, and that constant surveillance which is necessary, and ordinarily sufficient, for keeping the thieves quiet.

Were it not that the practice is apparently overlooked, it would seem obvious that an Inspector should take every opportunity of wandering about his circle *in plain clothes*. To obey the letter of the departmental rule which we believe makes this the important kind of inspection actually irregular, the officer should have his uniform with him, or near at hand, to be used if required. But the occasions on which uniform is really necessary are rare, and ordinarily it acts as effectually in preventing the acquisition of real knowledge by the Police out of Court, as the formal oath does in throwing a veil over facts when they form the subject of a regular judicial investigation.

While we recognise the importance of a Police officer obtaining an intimate *knowledge* of all classes of the community, it cannot be too strongly insisted on that he should just as carefully avoid intimacy with residents in his circle, as with the criminal classes. Too close a connection either with the latter or with the proprietary body, will be almost certain to lead to *their* oppressing the people in the name of the police, even if the officer himself leaves them alone. It is better to resign a certain amount of detective efficiency than to permit this, for we have to aim at the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

But it is quite useless to expect any subordinate, however well mounted, and however elaborately supplied with rules for conduct, to work well, unless he feels that the eye of his superior is constantly on him. And this not only in the matter of office inspection, although that is constantly done in a most perfunctory manner, and not made to disclose the state of the administration even to the extent possible. But no system of mere station inspection, however searching and efficient, will be of real use, unless

supplemented by an investigation which aims at discovering what the real effect of each officer's work is on the well-being of the people. This need not entail very laborious enquiry on the part of the controlling agency. Just as it is ordinarily sufficient to keep the criminal classes in order, that they should feel that the avenging hand may be upon them at any moment without notice, so is it usually enough to keep the subordinate staff straight, to feel that there is no knowing to what extent their superior may have been enquiring into their conduct, and who may have been his informant. The one necessary and sufficient condition for this state of things is, of course, that the District Police Superintendent, like the District Magistrate, should be always accessible to the people without the intervention of officious underlings. This should be thoroughly well known. Complaints of course should not be encouraged, but every one should feel that anything he may wish to say will be sure at least of patient hearing. The superintending officer should make a point of finding out by a little intelligent personal enquiry how each station is worked, whether the criminal classes are properly supervised, whether the Police have any suspicious relations with influential residents, and whether they bear a good general reputation. By this means alone can that thorough knowledge of subordinates be obtained, which is so absolutely indispensable in this country, a knowledge that not only distinguishes the good from the bad, but actually often practically obliterates that distinction, by causing the bad to do good work in spite of themselves. With really efficient supervision it is quite possible almost to stamp out crime in a district, at least temporarily. It is wonderful how soon the Indian thief can be made either to take to honest courses, or to leave the neighbourhood, if thoroughly well hunted down. A very large number of persons, too, take to crime, because the utter absence of all checks on lawlessness incites them to try it as a sort of pastime.

It is because percentages, statistics, and all the paraphernalia of scientific investigation of recorded facts, have been substituted in the present for this efficient, though perhaps unscientific, system of administration, that we have so much to complain of. As long as the people of India continue in their present primitive condition, we should be sparing in our dependence on such things, though they may be most useful as aids. But without aiming at theoretical perfection, we should be content if we can give the masses a government which keeps them fairly prosperous and happy. These principles have to be borne in mind in judging of Police, as of other kinds of work, and in selecting individuals for praise and blame.

The foregoing considerations apply as well to the working of the

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Courts of Criminal Justice as to the Police. The object we have to aim at in both, is a maximum of efficiency with a minimum of interference. To ensure the former desideratum, it is most desirable that the Courts should narrow the surface of their action and increase its depth, that they should not be so ready to issue process, and that when they do, it should be more certain to result in punishment. Their punishments again should be more deterrent. It is no use fining a man a few shillings in India. Such a sentence only inflames his passions without restraining his hands, and he never rests till he obtains an opportunity of trying to get his opponent mulcted in a similar sum. It would be a good thing for the country if the "third class" of Criminal Courts, those, that is, whose sole function is to inflict these small punishments, were abolished altogether. The evil they inflict by entertaining false or frivolous complaints, and sowing the seeds of future litigation and crime, more than counterbalances any good that they do. It seems almost a premium on litigation, especially with regard to these petty tribunals, to open the petition-box daily. We cannot help thinking that the people at large would be benefited if their applications for justice were not heard so readily. At the same time the Courts want leisure to try really important cases properly. A petty case often takes a good deal of time, and the final order in it is very unlikely to be a wise one, unless passed or suggested by some village elder. Taken up on the spot in the cold-weather tour, it can generally be disposed of in a way satisfactory to all parties, but the facilities for throwing dust in the eyes of a distant tribunal are so great that we think such work should be always cautiously undertaken. A rule of nearly universal applicability is to interfere promptly when the interests of the public seem to demand it, and to be slow to take up matters between individuals. The proper machinery for the disposal of these cases would certainly be a system of village courts, and until such a system is instituted, it will remain a matter of difficulty to combine that accessibility of justice to which the public is entitled with prevention of its abuse.

It is undoubtedly a matter of extreme regret that our courts should be so unsatisfactory in their operation, but while the fact remains, the only thing that we can do is to be sparing in the use of them.

But there are two things which every Court can do towards the great object of stamping out the detestable abuse of justice which so widely prevails in India. The first is to make the preliminary examination, which the law enjoins on them, as full and complete as possible, by compelling complainants to disclose the relationship between themselves and their opponents of all

sorts, the existence of previous disputes between them, the connection of the proffered witnesses with either side, and, most important of all, *the version of the story which falls from the lips of the opposite party*. This, in particular, it might appear well nigh impossible to elicit from an intentional false witness. But when a man rushes into Court breathless with haste to make a complaint and forestall his adversary who is most likely on a similar errand, he rarely has time to invent many lies, and the weapon of cross-examination is seldom used against him in vain. Such a priceless opportunity of getting at the truth should never be neglected. If all efforts fail to diagnose the truth or falsehood of a charge, it is better to institute a preliminary enquiry before issuing process, than run the risk of dragging an innocent person into Court. By this method of procedure it is true, individuals will occasionally suffer, but the large majority, whose interests we are bound to consult, will be free from the fearful dread of false accusation. It is sometimes urged that complaints should be freely entertained in order to coerce the criminal classes, as if it was necessary to drag nine people, who have committed no offence whatever, into Court, in order to catch one criminal! No argument, however, is too absurd to be put forward in defence of an untenable position. But a defence of the practices we are describing usually arises from fear of losing their illicit gains by those who derive an income from them. Of course it is needless to remark that if the police and the courts work together properly, the coercion of the criminal classes is the care of the former.

That supervision which is the root principle of all successful administration has to be exercised by District Magistrates in order to be satisfied that their subordinates have some intelligible plan of criminal procedure designed to defeat the false accuser. But until the all-important reforms which we have been advocating are effected, namely, the better payment of the police, and their thorough supervision, and the establishment of local courts for the arbitration of cases which do not concern the public at large, we fear that the criminal law will continue to be too often a curse instead of a blessing, and well-wishers of India will look back with regret to the old days of "paternal" Government. The reformer of the day will do well to attack a system under which a notoriously venal service is paid on a scale of remuneration which is practically an invitation to "help yourself," and the supervision of which is carried no farther than the four walls of a police station; a system which makes it possible for cases to be bought and sold as if they were property, and for a gang of disreputable hangers-on to foster the already too

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deep-seated passion for litigation which characterises the Indian peasant, to his ruin. We have abolished the settlement of quarrels by physical force, and it behoves us to see that the still more pernicious warfare of the courts which has taken its place is kept within due bounds. We have made the law and its administration both omnipotent, and put an end to the state of things under which the oppression of either could be resisted in the last resort by an appeal to the God of battles. It is, therefore, a sacred duty for us to be sure that the law works for the good of the people, and that the executive is as pure as circumstances will permit.

ART. IV.—PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH LAND LEGISLATION IN INDIA.

EXACTNESS in the discussion of land legislation may best perhaps be secured by a previous understanding of the necessary limitations of the subject. Bearing in mind that Indian land legislation under British Rule means not merely the fixing of the mutual relations of various classes of persons interested in land, but also a declaration of the extent to which particular relations of any kind can be upheld under the general principles which underlie all British rule, it will not be thought a waste of time to glance briefly at the constitutional attitude of British law towards land before considering land in Bengal as affected by English law. That attitude is clearly defined by Mr. Joshua Williams, whose authority on the point will be allowed to be conclusive. He prepares the way for the denial of all absolute private property in land by showing how, in Britain, sovereign rights in land have been conserved. "In these grants," he says at page 2 of his *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, "the Norman king and his vassals followed the custom of their own country, or what is called the feudal system. The lands granted were not given freely and for nothing; but they were given to hold of the king, subject to the performance of certain military duties as the condition of their enjoyment." Loss of tenure for failure of fulfilment of terms would thus not wear an aspect of confiscation, but rather be what, in Indian experience, we know as a "resumption"—the owner reclaiming his property. How deeply this fact penetrates the law of English property in land may be seen from the warning given on page 17 of the same work:—"The first thing then the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership. Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands. He can only hold an estate in them." The age and strength of the popular superstition which in England confounds the hereditary tenure of an estate with absolute ownership of soil—a superstition which has influenced so scrupulous an economist as Mill, in more than one strange ascription of sacredness to the English landlord's rights in land—form a sufficient reason for emphasising the real facts in the memory of Indian readers. "The giver and seller of an estate in fee simple," Mr. Williams repeats at page 118, "is then himself but a tenant, with liberty of putting another in his own place. He may have under him a tenant for years, or a tenant for life, or

even a tenant in tail, but he cannot now, by any kind of conveyance, place under himself a tenant of an estate in fee simple. The statute of *Quia emptores* now forbids any one from making himself the lord of such an estate; all he can do is to transfer his own tenancy; and the purchaser of an estate in fee simple must hold his estate of the same chief lord of the fee, as the seller held before him.* * * It is a fundamental rule that all lands within this realm were originally derived from the Crown (either by express grant or by tacit intendment of law), and therefore the Queen is sovereign lady, or lady paramount, either mediate or immediate, of all and every parcel of land within the realm." The real significance of a sovereign right of this kind—which inheres in the Crown as the head of the State, and is so inalienable that it is inferred from "a tacit intendment of law" where for any reason, or for no reason at all, it is not saved by special stipulation in a grant—may be coloured from the characteristics of the feudal tenures from which it first expressed itself, but it is not derived from or dependent on them. Though it came with it went through, and exists beyond them. It is of the essence of the British constitution in the sphere of its relations to land. It cannot apparently be changed by legislation except by some abrogation of the constitution. The relevancy of this consideration in any discussion of Indian land legislation at the present day, when shafts weighted with the "sacredness" of English tenures are freely fired into the fight, lies so much on the surface as hardly to call for elucidation. At any rate the familiar arguments, in which an appeal has so often been made to the popular conscience, on behalf of the special sanctity of proprietary rights in land, find their logical climax in the simple statement that no British legislation in India can make the Indian Zemindar more of an English landlord than the original type at home. Whatever British law may concede to Indian habitudes, the strength of all appeals based on English analogies must obviously depend on the real meaning of English facts. There are obvious and radical distinctions between the English landlord and the Bengali zemindars which no one can overlook; but it is hardly necessary here to do more than put in an objection against the solemn pleasantry of those opponents of the "Ilbert Bill No. II," as it has been called, who maintain that the Bengali Zemindar is more of an English landlord than the English landlord at home.

Approaching the subject from this direction it is interesting, and must at last prove useful, to understand what the Indian "proprietor" of land, the zemindar, really is. So far as he may be a creature of tradition, historical evidence, if not legal proof,

of the necessary tradition must be forthcoming. But so far as he is a creature of law, the whole must comprehend its parts; he cannot transcend his maker. It may be of some importance for enthusiastic controversialists on this and kindred points to bear two important principles in mind. One is that, in all generations, men standing round exciting conflicts, naturally break up into groups of devotees of this or that particular shade of belief regarding them; and that the most earnestly held and solemnly avouched beliefs of such spectators amount to neither tradition nor historical evidence. The learned Dr. W. W. Hunter's generous, but most probably unjust, conviction regarding the wisdom of subjecting European British subjects to the jurisdiction of Native Magistrates because many of these are more English than Englishmen, whatever weight it may carry as an argument, is no more binding on future generations of Englishmen in India, as tradition or as historical evidence, than Sir John Shore's personal views regarding the claims of Bengali Revenue Collectors in 1793 are binding on Indian legislators, or, indeed, on any one but the executors of Lord Teignmouth's will, to-day. The other principle is that no subordinate court or legislature can commit any fraud upon any statute of the High Court of Parliament. When the authors of the Indian Evidence Act, innocently enough no doubt, but none the less really, attempted to steal a march on the British constitution by declaring that an announcement of a fact in an Indian *Gazette* was to be accepted as legal evidence of that fact, and sought to establish that, in this way, the Indian Viceroy could give away to any Native Chief any territory belonging to the Queen, they were disappointed. The manner in which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the prerogative of the Crown in the Bhaunagar Cession case is full of instruction for practical minds. The facts of the case and the judgment of the court will be found set out at length in the *Weekly Reporter*, xxv, page 261. The following extract from the abstract of the judgment may be quoted here:—Held that, as the Governor-General in Council is precluded from legislating directly as to the sovereignty or dominion of the Crown over any part of its territories in India, or as to the allegiance of British subjects, no legislative act, purporting to make a Government notification conclusive evidence of a cession of a territory, could exclude a judicial enquiry as to the nature and lawfulness of any such alleged cession." On the principle of this decision, there is reserved a right of enquiry into the validity of any administrative act which involves an encroachment on any prerogative of the Crown. If it were in any sense true, therefore, that the code of 1793, which, in relation to the British Parliament,

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was a mere expression of executive authority in relation to a circumscribed territory, had really impinged upon any sovereign right of property, the question for practical statesmanship at the present moment would be, not, as is oddly supposed, shall the fraud stand? but, what have the innocent sufferers from the mistake to be paid? But evidence is wholly wanting that any mistake of the kind was ever made.

It is a sound principle of historical criticism that the landmarks of communal development are to be sought, not in the irresponsible records of the irresponsible activities of periods of growth, but in the responsible legislation which the conservative instincts of human societies have thrown up in such periods as a safeguard against excesses. The laws of a people tell more to the ear of reason regarding the conflicts which have raged over disputed rights than their stories or their songs. Early British Indian legislation differs of course from all pure national legislation, in being the provision made by foreign rulers for the needs of alien subjects; but so far as the literature of British Indian rule contains any evidence at all of popular movements which Anglo-Indian statesmen have controlled, truer reflections of the real character and tendency of their control will be found in the Regulations, which did duty for statutes, than in the essays of rival officials bent on recommending their individual prejudices to the ruling power in England and to posterity. Every one who has studied the subject at all must know, that conflicting views of equal antiquity and authority are to be had on every disputed point of Indian land legislation. If it is not necessary to go behind the legislation which has preserved, as in fossil forms, the evolutions of the land revenue policy of the Indian Government, it is at all events necessary to understand it thoroughly. The famous Code of 1793 is one of the simplest charters in existence. It is the palimpsest of the decennial settlement, which preceded the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and shows nothing more plainly, perhaps, than this, that the Indian Government of the day sought to speak peace to the Indian masses wholesale. It conferred on the revenue collectors, whom it found in possession of estates, the legal title of proprietors, on the condition of their improving their estates and extending to their under-tenants the benevolence shown to themselves. A few sentences taken from Section VII of Regulation I of 1793 will serve to show this clearly. "The Honourable the Court of Directors," we read from the proclamation which was embedded in the law, "have, with a view to promote the future ease and happiness of the people, authorised the foregoing declarations. * * * The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land,

sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, &c. * * * To discharge the revenues at the stipulated periods without delay or evasion, and to conduct themselves with good faith and moderation towards their dependent talukdars and rayats, are duties at all times indispensably required from proprietors of land, and a strict observance of those duties is now more than ever incumbent upon them, in return for the benefits which they will themselves derive from the orders now issued." It is never an easy matter to fix the exact proportions of a contingent claim which rests on conditions whose fulfilment is uncertain, or partly so ; but whatever was conferred in the proprietary right on Bengal zemindars, the mere fact that the whole right often collapsed by a single day's delay in meeting the public demand for revenue, shows that the right was not an absolute one, which held good against all possible contingencies. The moment the strictly contingent character of the right is realised, it becomes easy also to realise that, in equity, every claim reserved against it, at its inception, was a claim that could be asserted against it at any stage of its development. Otherwise the language of the Proclamation is unmeaning. It either means all it says, or nothing. This is a view which is not always realised or remembered by those who think that the Perpetual Settlement merely conferred certain privileges without enjoining any obligations on zemindars. Any impartial view of the provisions of the Code of Lord Cornwallis must surely set against the boons it conferred on zemindars, the duties it imposed on them. Modern dreams of the hereditary privileges of the landlords of Siraj-ud-daula's day, when lives and property were alike dependent on the word of a despot who could make and mar fortunes at will, must at any rate be discounted by the legal responsibilities which British rule has laid on its subjects. Those whose sense of humour may be so blunted by partisan aspirations as not to be able to recognise the incongruity of the assertions now so often made regarding the established titular and inherited status and emoluments of the zemindars of 1750-80—assertions which any sober examination of facts will scatter into air—must at least accept the sober fact, that the greatest good of the greatest number was the object of the Cornwallis Code and found plain expression in its provisions.

In looking for traces of the public recognition of individual relations in the legislation of the past, no honest and careful historian can afford to overlook the history and structure of Act X of 1859. Until it can be shown that we have access,

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twenty-five years later, to information which was denied to its framers, it were mere wantonness of criticism, at once demoralising and revolutionary, to go behind its clear and simple provisions. There never can be any finality in legislation, or any stability in public policy, if past legislation is not to be admitted to have laid a foundation on which present and future legislation must build. Act X of 1859 was enacted in the full light of public criticism, directed upon it, not merely from friendly and hostile members of the Legislative Council, but also from friends of the ryot and friends of the Zemindar outside the Council, and if not also from the ryot himself, certainly from the interested Zemindar. Whatever reason there may be to fear that the ryots' view of the matter may not have been fully stated and considered, there can be no doubt that justice was done to the view of the zemindars. The petition of the British Indian Association was before the Legislature, and some of its arguments were ably echoed by Sir Barnes Peacock. It is very interesting at the present day to trace out the residuum of fact which survived the elimination of conflicting argument and statement in the debates of 1857 and the two succeeding years. There are two vital questions connected with Act X of 1859, regarding which any satisfactory evidence must be of real value. One is—under what specific compulsion was the Government of the day moved to legislate for landlords and tenants? The other is—were the special provisions which were enacted creative or declaratory? Now, as regards the former question, the following evidence from Mr. E. Currie's speech on the 10th October 1857 may be considered at once authentic and satisfactory. "It was thought," he said speaking of the law as it had been up to 1857, "that in furnishing landholders with powers to compel the payment of rents, on which their ability to pay the Government revenue depended, sufficient regard had not been had to the protection of tenants from the abuse of those powers. The consequence of this omission had been a large amount of oppression inflicted by the more wealthy and powerful, upon the poorer classes." Doubts have lately been raised regarding the extent to which a landlord in Bengal can oppress his tenants, and more or less successful tenant combinations in Pubna, and other places in Eastern Bengal, since 1872, have been pointed to in triumphant vindication of the hypothesis that landlords need to be protected from tenants more than tenants from landlords. On this plan of reading history, the tyrannies which have driven oppressed populations into rebellion may be said to afford evidence of the need of protecting despots from revolutionary retribution. It is impossible to maintain serious argument

with victims of such hallucinations. That the Pubna rioters may have committed excesses is certainly possible. That the Noakhali agitators of four years later exceeded the bounds of legitimate reprisals is even probable. But the origin of all such movements lay in antecedent grievances—they were all essentially recuperative; and putting together the significant expressions, and the still more significant silences, of the legislators of 1857, 1858 and 1859, they speak with unmistakeable meaning of the need, then universally recognised, of protecting the tenant from the landlord. If that be true, then all relaxation of engagements originally made with landholders by the State, which can be traced in Act X of 1859, must be regarded as the legal forfeit following neglect of stipulated conditions.

But it does not appear from a careful examination of the text of Act X of 1859, and of the debates which preceded it, that any penalty in the nature of confiscation was exacted by the legislature. The Government seemed to feel that it had not taken proper care of the weaker party, and it set in motion arrangements for correcting this mistake. Only two distinct steps of any importance were taken in Act X of 1859. It established a summary jurisdiction in rent suits—subject to suitable precautions in the way of appeal—and restored it to the Revenue Courts, from which jurisdiction in rent suits had twenty years previously been transferred to the Civil Courts: and it formulated the terms on which certain individual rights could be asserted and enforced. This brings us to the second question—whether the provisions of the Act were creative or declaratory. Certainly, as regards the matter of jurisdictions, they were neither. They transferred to Revenue Courts, with certain modifications, a jurisdiction which they had previously possessed. They did not for the first time either reserve to the State, or confer on any Court, any power to make or mar any distinct proprietary right. But as regards the relative claims of landlords and tenants, it has been said that Act X of 1859 created for the tenant a right of occupancy which he had never previously enjoyed. A statement of so grave a kind ought not to be put forth without convincing proof: and certain it is that, whether because those who maintain this view consider it a self-evident truism, or for any other reason, no satisfactory proof of it has ever been given. If there is any, it ought to be forthcoming now. And no statement of the case on this side, without this connecting link of evidence, can again be listened to with respect or even patience. For there is a region in public responsibilities in which solemn trifling may become culpable, and even wear the aspect of crime.

The onus of proof is not thrown on the advocates of this

view because no evidence^{*} on the matter is available at all, and the friends of the tenant find it convenient to shift their burden to other shoulders. The plainest proof to the contrary is available, and men who desire to be strictly impartial naturally refuse to close their eyes to facts on compulsion from mere sentiment, and that of a doubtful character. Section VI of Act X of 1859 begins as follows:—"Every ryot, who has cultivated or held land for a period of twelve years, has a right of occupancy in the land so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not, so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same"; and while the rest of this section goes on to specify the private zemindari lands on which no ryot can have such a right of occupancy, subsequent sections lay down the conditions on which ryots, having the right of occupancy, may claim certain important privileges, such as exemption from enhancement of rent. But apparently to prevent ryots, not having the right of occupancy, from accidentally gliding into the acquisition of such a right, to the prejudice of the Zemindar, by a mere tenure of twelve years, Section VII protected the landlords' interest by allowing "any written contract for the cultivation of land entered into between a landholder and a ryot, when it contains any express stipulation contrary" to the presumption of a right of occupancy, to rebut such a presumption. The significance of these careful provisions is very striking, and must appeal with great force to every really unprepossessed mind. The law declared in effect that unless some written agreement between landlord and tenant contained in itself proof of the temporary character of the tenure, the fact of a twelve years' continuance in a holding should establish a right of occupancy. Where a ryot had no such right, it was impossible for one to accrue, for, apart from its being impossible for such a right to come into existence, in any case, on khamar, nij-jot, or sir-lands, which are the private holding of the landhold, the Zemindar could prevent its growing up on any other lands on which it did not exist, by protecting himself with a written agreement. It has grown a fashion of late to talk much of the ryots' power of combination, and the helplessness of the innocent proprietor. It cannot be denied that ryots have in recent years learned the secret of strength in unity. But, in the first place, although a dishonest combination of tenants might seriously embarrass, and possibly even under unfavourable circumstances ruin, a landholder, yet no combination can either obliterate evidence of the existence and extent of khamar and nij-jot lands, or create evidence of the existence of occupancy rights which do not exist; and, in the second place, such combinations were wholly unknown before

1872, and were certainly not anticipated in 1859, when the law stereotyped the relations which it found to be previously in existence between landlord and tenant. If it put an engine of power in the hands of the tenant which he had not before, it may have done ill, or it may have done well; but until evidence is produced to characterise, more distinctly than mere declamation can well do, a particular adjustment of the balance of power, it is instructive to turn to Mr. Currie's remark in the speech already quoted from, and read there of the new law that "it declared that all resident ryots had a right of occupancy in the lands held or cultivated by them, so long as they paid the rent legally demandable from them." "These sections," added Mr. Currie, "contained nothing more than what had been the law since the time of the Permanent Settlement." The history of Act X of 1859 is a remarkable one. Two dissents were recorded against it after the third reading of the Bill; one by Sir Barnes Peacock, the other by Sir Charles Jackson, but neither of these, nor any other opposition offered against any of its provisions, touched the claim openly and distinctly made on behalf of it by Mr. Currie that, as regards the mutual rights of landlords and tenants, it was not creative, but declaratory—merely providing means for better enforcing mutual relations which had existed from the time of the Permanent Settlement. The final evidence which will be offered here in support of this view of the facts—a view which was never called in question until the zemindars began to find facts sometimes inconvenient—will be found in Lord Canning's recorded assent to the Bill, dated 29th April 1859, and read out as a message from the Governor-General at the session of the Legislative Council on the 30th April. In that assent we read as follows:—"No one doubts that it has long been desirable that the important questions connected with the relative rights of landlord and tenant, dealt with in this Bill, should be settled: no objection is suggested to the nature of the settlement which the Bill contemplates." No doubt his lordship immediately added:—"The Bill is a real and earnest endeavour to improve the position of the rayats of Bengal, and to open to them a prospect of freedom and independence which they have not hitherto enjoyed, by clearly defining their rights, and by placing restrictions on the power of the zemindars, such as ought long since to have been provided"; and the party which has lately risen in Bengal, with the avowed object of advocating the claims of landlords against those of tenants, are welcome to any consolation which they can extract from such language as this: but it is difficult to see how any fair mind, anxious only to alight upon the truth in the controversy,

and to gain for it general acceptance, can extort from it a single argument in refutation of the fact that, in its assertion of the rights of the tenant, Act X of 1859 was declaratory and not creative.

If Act X of 1859 was declaratory and not creative—if it invented no new relations, but only gave legal solidity to relations which previous legislation had left it to the right feeling of zemindars to recognise, but later experience had found it necessary to protect—it unmistakeably struck the key-note of future legislation on the subject, and, from this point of view, possesses an importance which no observant person can overlook. The finality which partisans loudly claim for land legislation was indeed attained in 1793, when Lord Cornwallis, recognising in the zemindars the natural social leaders of the masses, charged them to extend to their tenants the benefits which the Perpetual Settlement conferred on all alike, according to their relative status. But if, half a century later, further legislation was needed to re-affirm the mutual relations announced in 1793, but not fairly carried out by the more powerful of the two parties recognised by the Legislature, not only has it become unnecessary for the Legislature ever to go behind the legislation of 1859, but it is impossible for it to take any other direction than that struck out in 1859, and then solemnly declared to be the one to which every consideration of duty had forced the Indian Government. The modern talk of the sanctity of property is appropriate and seasonable indeed; but if every temptation to dishonesty is to be held a sufficient excuse for digging up foundations which have been carefully laid, and for trusting to modern ignorance for occasions and opportunities of ignoring compacts to which public faith has been pinned, the foundations of all society must be sapped, and proclamations and legislations alike will become a farce. What the law of 1859 declared that earlier legislators had undoubtedly recognised, was the lasting and beneficial interest of all classes of persons connected with actual tenures in land. No device of language can erase this fact from history.

But the evidence that has sprung up in recent years regarding the real extent of beneficiary interests, and the influences which affect them, is very remarkable. It is so remarkable, and so full of pitfalls for minds unaccustomed to weigh evidence and thus easily seduced into prejudiced views of material advantages, that some principle of studying this evidence must be laid down plainly before it is examined in detail. If Australian legislation in 1830 had invested the sheep-farmers of Melbourne with absolute rights in the pasture lands in which gold was subsequently found, on condition of their paying an

annual quit-rent to the Government, and without reserving any royalties, it is hardly open to question that the later gold finds would have limited the future duty of the Legislature to the provision of conditions under which the new rights accruing to the old owners could be safely enjoyed by themselves. The parallel is not complete—historical parallels rarely are. But this much may be extracted from the hypothesis just advanced, that no advantage which has accrued to any Indian beneficiary, of whatever degree, from any improvement of his own property, independently of special human efforts, can invest any other beneficiary with power to despoil him of his rightful share in the gains. The majority of those who speak of zemindars reclaiming lands from jungle at vast expense, unless they are speaking in profound and reckless ignorance, ought to know perfectly well that what they say is not true. Not only was the Indian Government very early disappointed in its hopes that the moneyed classes would invest wealth in the improvement of estates, but even when, on the strength of this discovery, it enacted what are known as the Tuccavy laws, for advancing money to persons with beneficial interests in land, in order that they might improve and reclaim land, it found their laws a dead letter. The correspondence which preceded Lord Mayo's proclamation on the subject of Tuccavy advances, in 1871, shows plainly, what every experienced District officer knew before, that Indian landlords will be at no trouble or expense to improve their estates, even though the gains to be so secured seem most promising. One reason for this striking fact probably is that, even in Bengal, in consequence of the incidence of the Sale Law, under which estates have been and still are remorselessly sold for failure to meet the public demand, the *Towjihs* of the districts contain a number of permanent revenue contracts with a variable human element in them : family after family having been washed out of the fossil form of the Zemindar, while the fiscal proportions of his estate have remained unchanged. Another reason may be found in the notorious mixture of improvidence and usury which enters into the agricultural life of the people. A man who makes money will buy land or let out his money on usurious rates of interest, acquiring, in time, a competence which his grandson will dissipate in a few years. But no landlord will spend money on what is to him the more or less visionary improvement of his estates. The contrast between estates saved from ruin by the Court of Wards, and often converted from deeply involved into handsome properties, on the one hand, and on the other, the mismanaged estates of nine-tenths of country families with any claim to social distinction, has often formed the subject of comment

in official reports. There are districts from which old families have almost disappeared, their places being taken by retired native officials, who have purchased estates with fortunes acquired by doubtful means; or by money lenders and successful tradesmen. Where old families still exist, they either exist, for the most part, in an impoverished and indebted condition, or have been saved from such a condition by the tutelage of some recent minor their under the Court of Wards. But to speak of the whole body of zemindars of Bengal as an hereditary aristocracy is to court the ridicule of every collector in the country; and to treat them as provident landlords, who have launched their capital on the improvement of their estates, is to make a mockery of facts. It would be interesting to contrast the official correspondence which preceded Lord Mayo's Tuccavy proclamation in 1871, with the experience of the Court of Wards on the subject of the reclamation of waste lands. Certainly no examination of this kind would be complete which did not take into account the suspicions which found expression in official records, very soon after the institution of the Permanent Settlement, as to the real character of much of the land which was originally recorded as waste, and for that matter made to look like waste, in the settlement survey, but which sprang into miraculous cultivation immediately after the settlement. The probability is that, in an agricultural and densely populated province like Bengal, there was never much waste land, properly so called, at all: though doubtless evidence may be demanded on the subject before generalisations can be recorded on it. At the same time, unfounded statements, to the effect that an hereditary aristocracy have expended vast sums of money for generations on the improvement of their estates, involve such a singular outrage on the truth, as is known to all well informed people, and ought to be known to every one who intrudes into any public discussion on the subject, that it is impossible to treat persistent dealers in them with patience.

It does not of course follow that because zemindars have done little for their estates, the value of property has remained stationary in Bengal. The unearned increment is as solid a fact in India as in Ireland. No more interesting evidence on this point has been offered in late years than that contained, or referred to, in Sir (then Mr.) Auckland Colvin's elaborate *Memorandum on the Revision of Land Revenue Settlements in the North-Western Provinces*, published in 1872. The writer dwells mainly on the condition of districts to which it had been proposed to extend the Permanent Settlement, and which, as lying outside the sphere of this settlement, suggest an elementary differentiation from the conditions which prevail in the Lower Provinces

of Bengal. But much of the value of his evidence lies in his tracing the relation of cause and effect between an improvement visible in particular places, but by no means confined to them, and laws in operation all over the country; and it is easy to show that no strain on truth is involved in the simple extension of his process to any district to which it is manifestly applicable. This memorandum first plainly placed before the public, in the form of official evidence, what has every year since been increasingly perceptible to every one, that there has been a vast increase in the marketable value of land, *firstly*, from improved government generally, wholly apart from any specific public works, an improvement resulting from increased security of person and property, and the like abstract considerations; and *secondly*, from public works, such as canals, roads and railways, and especially the last, to which the landlord, as such, has simply contributed nothing whatever. One way of weighing the value of evidence of this kind, apart from the prejudices of more recent controversies, may be to consider its effect on the mind of Sir W. Muir, who was himself a firm advocate of permanent settlements, but was so impressed with the growth in the value of land, apart from any effort on the part of proprietors, as to feel the necessity of deferring the extension of a Permanent Settlement to Hindustan. "The sacrifice of revenue under a Permanent Settlement," he wrote, "would be gratuitous and indefensible, for the increase of income to the proprietor would not represent the profit of capital invested on the faith of such Settlement, but the mere assertion by the proprietor of a larger and more legitimate share in already existing assets; and under these circumstances it becomes my duty to ask His Excellency in Council to sanction a deferment of the measure, and to authorise me, instead, to treat the assessment on the basis of a Temporary Settlement. The lesson may also fairly be learned from the history of the Settlement, that the two conditions enjoined by Her Majesty's Government for Permanent Settlement are not sufficient. I do not here advert to the policy itself of making Settlements in perpetuity: that policy has been definitively adopted by Her Majesty's Government, and announced, if not promised, to the people; and I should not, had I not myself concurred in the policy, have felt at liberty to question it on the present occasion. It is evident, however, that the sacrifice to which Government, in conceding a Permanent Settlement, has consented, is one of future revenue from improvements accelerated by the increased investment of capital by proprietors when secure of the whole result. But in the case of a settlement like the present, based on an imperfectly developed rental, the sacrifice would be of immediate revenue

created by no such expenditure, but simply by the exertion of proprietary power in increasing the relative share of the produce which constitutes rent. This is a process which, in the nature of things, will come to pass equally whether the Settlement be in perpetuity or for a term, and the sacrifice would be consequently gratuitous, made without any corresponding object of return." The Minute from which this quotation is made, and which was dated February 1869, having been laid before the Government of India, produced an evident and deep impression which is found recorded in their Resolution of May 1871, from which the following quotations are made:—"It may be doubted whether the same distinction, which was so justly drawn between the essentially different causes which may give increased value to the land, should not be carried further: and whether any reasonable ground exists for treating the extension of canal irrigation as if it were the only means by which the value of land may be increased, without any expenditure of labour or capital on the part of the occupant. It is admitted that a Permanent Settlement ought not to be made when we know that the annual value of land will, within a given period, be greatly increased by the extension of irrigation, in providing which the occupant of the land has borne no part. The grounds for refusing a Permanent Settlement * * do not appear to be less strong, when the increase in the value of the land is brought about, not by the construction of canals, but by the construction of railways or other public works, or by other causes independent of the action of the occupant of the land. Great as the additional value given to land by works of irrigation undoubtedly is, it is hardly greater or more certain than that which is given by railways and canals of navigation, and by the opening out of new and profitable markets. When the Permanent Settlement was formerly under discussion, the magnitude of the economical revolution through which India is passing was less obvious than it is now. It may be doubted whether any parallel could be found, in any country in the world, to the changes which have taken place during the last ten or fifteen years in India; to the diminution of the value of the precious metals, and the enormous increase in the prices of agricultural produce." It is uncertain whether Sir Auckland Colvin has since departed from his first love for settlements in perpetuity; but in 1872, when he was still a willing victim in its sweet thralls, the passage quoted above drew from him this sigh of almost comical despair:—"If the conditions of a Permanent Settlement require amendment in the sense of" the paragraph quoted, "they may be dispensed with altogether. The amendment, in plain words,

is that a Permanent Settlement be deferred so long as the country continues to improve by any causes independent of the action of the occupant of the land."

For us, at the present day, the interest of such expressions of opinion, based on facts, resides in their practical applicability to similar facts everywhere. It is not now the policy of the Permanent Settlement that is in question, but the superior occupant's share in an improvement in land which has unquestionably taken place, not only in the North-Western Provinces, but also in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. It would hardly do to attribute to local causes conditions of universal prevalence, even though evidence were wanting of a general concurrence of similar causes everywhere to produce the universal result. But evidence is not wanting to show that the improvement in the value of land, observable everywhere in India, where a fair proportion of population has given improved administration a chance of telling on the prosperity of the country, has not been contributed to, except in the rarest instances, in any appreciable degree, by the money or effort of the landlord. Later experience—for day unto day has been uttering speech on the subject—has supplied every link in the chain that was wanting in 1872. If it is a mistake to say that the Bengali Zemindar's claim, in his rôle as ancestral landlord, to have carefully nourished his estates and multiplied their value, has been exploded, it can be so only because that claim has never been gravely upheld in any presentation of the facts which could pretend to be authentic. At any rate the irresponsible statements anonymously shot forth on the subject in newspapers can hardly be expected to weigh with the Legislature, until some evidence is laid before the public.

But it must be obvious to every careful observer that the duty of the Legislature, in relation to land, cannot cease with the discovery that throughout the country there has been an increase in the value of land, coincident with the depreciation of the purchasing power of precious metals, and in no way attributable to the efforts of zemindars. In provinces not permanently settled, the inherent sovereign right of a share in all prosperity to which improved government has contributed, has unquestionably to be asserted in the interests of the masses,—“the greatest number” of the economic and sociological formula. In permanently settled provinces, it is equally the duty of the State to see that no class entitled to a share in this increased increment is wrongfully deprived of it.

If the occupancy right carries with it some beneficial interest in the soil—and it is difficult to reconcile the distinct provisions of the Code of 1793 with any theory of the occupancy ryot's

entire exclusion from such interest—the discovery of the best conditions for its safe enjoyment is a question of practical politics, to the solution of which experience and evidence must be brought without hesitation. And this is a question, in respect of which the advocates of simple justice to the weaker of two contending parties may rightly poach on every preserve for arguments that tell jointly in favour of this measure of justice and any other cause. It is unreasonable to say that the ryot has rights of occupancy which convey no idea of property whatever in the restricted sense in which any subject can claim rights of property in land against the sovereign power. The right of occupancy is admitted not in satisfaction of some shadowy ideal or sentiment, but in recognition of some tangible interest; and so far as this interest may form the subject of a money claim for rent on the part of a superior landholder, so far may it also form the basis of precautions designed to preserve its integrity, and secure the owner in its full enjoyment and use. If the landlord's right of property, so called, is not neutralised by his payment of revenue to the State, neither is the tenant's right of property—for what is occupation apart from property?—rendered void by his payment of rent to his superior landlord. Once admit that a tenant cannot be ousted while he pays his rent, and you at once invest him with a partial proprietary right, as good, in its way and within its own limits, as that of the superior landholder who cannot be ousted while he pays his revenue. It is the clearer recognition of the privileges flowing out of the right of occupancy, which Act X of 1859 has brought to a focus, that constitutes at once the explanation of the present agitation of the superior landlord and the unfairness of his motive. In the years 1857, 1858 and 1859, when the claim was openly advanced on behalf of the ryot, that he had an uncontested right which no one could gainsay, and that the Legislature simply desired to protect it from abuse on the part of the superior landholder, we have the authority of Lord Canning for saying that the claim was received without objection. The objections since forged against it in the fire of discussions fomented by apparently selfish motives, must be treated like all other devices of indiscreet partisanship.

It is when consideration is directed to the concessions involved in the investiture of the under-tenant with a right of occupancy that the duty of the State, and the object of the Zemindari party, respectively, become more and more clear. In his famous Famine Report of 1861, Colonel Baird Smith, when enlarging on the advantages of perpetual settlements of agricultural property, pointed, with keen insight, to the "market value" of land and "its value as a security," as the pivots on which

the possession and enjoyment of such property turned. And what is true of the whole is true of the part. What is true of the higher is not less true of the lower tenure. What the mutual relations of landlord and tenant, under a different code from that of 1793, may have been, it is superfluous to speculate. Acting under the provisions of that code, recognising its concern for the under-tenant, whose right to be treated by the landlord as the landlord was treated by the State, it plainly enforced, the course of the Legislature has been perfectly plain. Whatever tends to improve the market value of land and its value as a security, forms a fit subject for legislation, in the interests of the landlord as well as in those of the tenant. It is one of the rudimentary maxims of political economy, that the right of transfer or freedom of sale or mortgage forms an important element of the proprietary right. To refuse to recognise it, because it may, in the case of the tenant, throw some shadow on the fanciful sovereignty of the Zemindar, while fully recognising it, although in the case of the Zemindar it throws a shadow on the real sovereignty of the State, is to challenge condemnation for inconsistency of which no serious defence is possible. The relative positions of zemindar and ryot in Bengal do not remain to be defined. They have existed for many years, and were recognised at least ninety years ago in the Cornwallis Code. Fresh legislation has from time to time become necessary to secure the landlord in the enjoyment of his right, and the tenant in the enjoyment of his. It would be introducing a principle of legislation at once inconvenient to all concerned, and in itself undoubtedly immoral, to allow hostile interests in a commonwealth to encroach on each other on pretexts so flimsy, and so obviously the result of dishonest afterthought, that no presentiment of them was conceived when the mutual relations of parties were first formally regulated, and no right to urge them was reserved even when, sixty years later, legislation reasserted the principle of the first adjustment. A season in which there is a sound of disruption in the air is not wisely chosen for the vociferation of an untenable claim.

W. C. MADGE,

ART. V.—MEDIÆVAL INDIA ;

THE EARLY MUSLIM EMPIRE OF HINDUSTAN.

IT has been shown in previous numbers of the *Calcutta Review* how the early Aryan invaders from beyond the Hindu Khush poured, or filtered, through the Alpine barriers of the Punjab, and spread slowly in the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges till they formed the mighty kingdoms of Kanauj, Kosila, Palibothra, and elsewhere. Aryan civilization was not then very much advanced; it took root in an uncongenial soil; the invaders—like the early Hebrews in Palestine—mingled with the heathen, and learned their ways. The early inhabitants of the country were barbarous, multilingual, indolent, worshippers of many gods—say rather of many devils. The nature of the Aryan settlers became injuriously affected by the intercourse; the want of commercial communication by land, and still more by sea, tended to produce and to perpetuate social stagnation.

That was the state of things upon which the tide from Central Asia began to rise with resistless pertinacity after the Mongolo-Turkish power became established on the Oxus and the Helmand rivers. It was not from the proselytising fervour of the early Arab Khaliphs that India suffered; for some reason their conquests spread no further than Makrân and Sindh. It was Násir-ud-din Sabaktigin—certainly a Merv captive, and popularly believed to be a scion of the old Sassanian dynasty of Persia—by whom the first Muslim invasion of Hindustan was made. He founded a power in the Punjab, and is said to have even penetrated as far as Benares. On his death, in 997 A. D., his son, the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, succeeded to the empire, extending from Báikh to Lahore. During a reign of over thirty years he invaded India no less than twelve times, inflicting terrible carnage on the Hindus, desecrating their idols and demolishing their temples. His enterprises reached to such divergent points as Kanauj on the Eastern border of Hindustan, and Somnáth on the western verge of Gujarát.

Mahmud died 1030 A. D., and was buried at Ghazni, where his tomb is still to be seen, though the doors—apocryphally called “of Somnáth”—are in the museum at Agra. For the next hundred years his dynasty gradually declined, and in 1187 A. D., was finally superseded by the mountaineers of Ghor. A prince of that tribe, called Muhammad Bin Sâm, in 1191 led an army south of the Sutlej river where he was encountered by Rai Pithora, or Pirthi Raj, a leader of the Chanháns, who had lately possessed themselves of Delhi. Pithora defeated the invaders, who retired on Lahore.

But next year they returned, bent on conquest. They had a considerable force, mainly composed—according to the testimony of an eye-witness—of not less than one hundred-and-twenty thousand heavy horse, in addition to which was a body of light cavalry, which amounted to forty thousand more. The scene of the final struggle was near the City of Sirhind (half way between Ludiana and Ambala) and it resulted in a complete victory for the Muslims. Rai Pithora, alighting from his elephant, mounted a swift horse and galloped from the field; but the enemy succeeded in overtaking and arresting his flight. He was sent a prisoner to Ghazni, but is said to have soon after committed suicide. He is celebrated as the patron and hero of the Bard Chand, who shared his fate. He also deserves particular notice as the first Hindu who is known to have used masonry in fortification; the walls that he raised round old Delhi are still traceable.

On the defeat of the Chauhán Raja, the country seems to have yielded, much as England did after the battle of Hastings. The strongly-walled towns of Meerut and Delhi made little or no resistance. In the year that followed Kanauj and Benares fell. At this juncture Bin Sâm heard of his brother's death, on which he repaired to his own country, leaving the affairs of Hindustan in the hands of his favorite Mameluke Kutb-ud-din Aibak. He returned no more, and died in 1206. One of Aibak's first cares was to commemorate his master's triumphs and his own loyalty by building a mosque. And he further resolved that the tower, from which was to be uttered the Muezzin's call to prayer in this sanctuary, should be that vast structure which still commemorates its founder in its popular designation ("The Kutb-Minar.") Round its base runs a band of bold and graceful arabesque—still sharp and clear—embodying inscriptions in honour of his Lord, Bin Sâm; but for the last posterity the tower is still "the tower of Kutb." From 1192 to 1206, the year of Bin Sâm's death, Kutb-ud-din Aibak ruled as Viceroy. But it is recorded that the next emperor—feeling the difficulty, perhaps, of exercising any sort of rule over so remote a dependancy—sent Aibak a patent as "Sultan," accompanied by a canopy of state, a throne and a diadem. Becoming Sultan of Hindustan, the distinguished and fortunate Mameluke founded what is known as the "slave dynasty." He is stated in the *Tabakat-i-Nâsiri* to have been "a brave and liberal ruler;" but from what follows it is clear that this involved no care of his Hindu subjects. "The realm," proceeds the Chronicle, "was filled with friends and cleared of foes: his bounty was continuous, and so was his slaughter."

Aibak died at Lahore in 1210 from an accident at the game

now known as "Polo." He was contemporaneous with the great Mughol leader Changiz Khân, by whom, however, he was not molested. The chief event of his reign is his successful campaign in Behar and Northern Bengal. The conquest was begun by a leader of the Khilji * tribe named Bakhtyar, who died in Kanauj, A. D. 1205. The first settlement was of a blood-thirsty nature: when he had taken the town of Behar, Bakhtyâr found a large quantity of Hindu books; but it was found quite impossible to get them read because "all the men had been killed" (*Tabakât*). The Musalman power was not universally and firmly established in the Eastern Provinces till the reign of Balban (*circ.* 1282.)

At the death of Aibak the Empire was divided into four great portions. The Khiljis represented the power of Islam in Behar and Bengal; the N. W. Punjab was under a viceroy named Ilduz, a Turkmân slave; the valley of the Indus was ruled by another of these Mamelukes named Kabâchâr; while an attempt was made at Dehli to proclaim an incompetent lad (son of the deceased) as Sultan. But the master of the horse, a third Mameluke named Altîmsh, was close at hand; and hurrying up at the invitation of influential persons there, speedily put down the movement. The qualities of Altîmsh, as of all the men of his class, were those which contributed to success in life. He was sold by his brothers (as we are told) to a merchant of Bokhâra when very young. Eventually purchased by Aibak, at Dehli, he rapidly distinguished himself so that he became chief of the bodyguard and obtained the daughter of Sultan Aibak in marriage. It is as well to notice these things once for all, as they are typical of the singular workings of the slave-trade of Islâm in those days.

Altîmsh, having deposed his feeble brother-in-law, became Sultan of Dehli and lord paramount of the empire. But his satraps were not disposed to obedience, and bloody wars broke out, into the details of which we need not enter. It will be sufficient to note that Ilduz was defeated and slain in 1215. Two years later Kabâchâr came up from Sindh, where he seems to have enlisted some of the Mughol hordes in his service. These formidable barbarians, of whom more anon, were now occupying the adjoining Province of Khorasân. Changiz was present with them, accompanied by two of his sons; and they drove the young Sultan of Khwarizm over the Indus, and overran the plain-country of Afghanistan. This is not the place to detail the adventures of the Khwarizmiân Prince, which are among the most romantic

* The Khiljis were a Turkish tribe settled in Afghanistan.

parts of Oriental History. He attempted to establish himself in the Punjab, but Altimsh and Kabáchar combined and expelled him in 1223. Two years later Altimsh moved against the Khiljis in the Eastern Provinces; occupied Gaur, their capital; and, making that his base, proceeded thence to make further conquests, north and south, at the expense of the Hindus. In the year 1228 he returned to Dehli, and thence turned against Kabáchar, the mighty satrap of Sindh. Kabáchar did not shrink from the encounter. Routed near Bakkar, he committed suicide, or was accidentally drowned. In 1232-3 the Sultan reduced Gwalior, in spite of a stout resistance on the part of the Hindus, who neither asked for quarter nor gave it. Seven hundred of them were slaughtered after the fighting was over at the door of the Sultan's tent. In 1234 he conquered the Province of Málwa, where he demolished the great temples of Bhilsa and Ujain. In the following year this puissant champion of the Crescent succumbed to the universal conqueror, dying a natural death at Dehli after a glorious reign of twenty-six (lunar) years. His metropolis, like that of his former master, Aibak, was in the reconstructed City of Rai Pithora, of which nothing but the fortifications remained unaltered. He beautified the part about the mosque, completing both that and the adjoining tower—the *Kutab Minar*—and also building a college and a tomb, of which considerable portions still exist. Though little more than a barbarian chief to modern eyes, he must have been a sound old soldier according to his lights. His eldest son died before him, and the Empire devolved on a younger son named Rukn-ud-din Firoz. This was a dissolute young man, born in the purple, and misled by his mother, a Turkish lady much given to religion and revenge. In a quarrel with her own daughter she was worsted, and thrown into prison. Her son, the Sultan, attempting to deliver her, met with a similar fate. His sister assumed power, with the title of Sultán Razia, in November 1236. She appears to have done her best, in times too stormy for a woman or for any but the strongest man.

Assuming male attire Razia shewed herself to the people, mounted on an elephant; with the aid of the Turkish nobles, she conducted the affairs of war and peace. A rebellious chief overthrew and imprisoned her in 1240; but she captivated her captor and became his wife. In the meantime a third son of the deceased Altimsh—whose name was Bahráam—had become master of Dehli; and on Razia and her husband endeavouring to dispossess him, he gave them battle in the neighbourhood of Kaithal. He prevailed in the fight; Razia and her husband flying from the field were murdered by some peasants in a

village, in October 1240. Next year Lahore was taken by the Mughols with terrific carnage ; other troubles ensued ; Dehli was attacked by the very army which had been raised to defend it against the Mughols ; in May 1242 the city was stormed and Bahrám slain.

His successor, Ala-ud-din I., was a grandson of Altimsh, incompetent and apathetic as young men in his position are apt to be. The land was parted among Turkish satraps, and overrun by the Mughols, who penetrated as far as Malda in Bengal. Another horde, led by Mangu, grandson of Changiz, and father of the celebrated Khublai Khán, ravaged the Western Punjab. The Sultan marched against them and met with a partial success. This turned into evil courses the little intellect he possessed ; he became arbitrary and indolent to an intolerable extent. A plot was formed for his destruction—assassination being the only remedy for bad government in such conditions. He was removed and his uncle Násir-ud-din placed on the vacant throne, in June 1246. Násir's reign was long ; and, so far as his personal performances went, uneventful. But the risings of Hindus and the incursions of Mughols kept the empire in turmoil, and called out the great qualities of a valiant officer who was destined to a long career crowned by the highest triumph. Ulagh Khán was of the ancient stock of the Turkmán Khákáns of Albari in Turkestán. Falling into the hands of the slave-dealers, he was taken into India and sold with a number of other young Turkmans, to Sultan Altimsh in 1232. After the manner of Mamelukes he soon began to mix in political intrigues, and under Sultan Razia became Grand Huntsman, in which post he was confirmed by her successor. He obtained in succession the fiefs of Riwári and Hissár. In 1242-3 he was made Head of the Palace, which seems to have involved primacy in civil and military administration. He now conducted a campaign in the Duáb, in which "he fought much against the infidels" (that is to say, the Hindu inhabitants,) and in 1245 he defeated the Mughols under Mangu in the Punjab. He then returned to Dehli and took part in the revolution that seated Násir-ud-din upon the throne. The remaining history of the reign is little more than a record of his administration, and his warrings with the Hindus and Mughols—sometimes combined, sometimes acting separately. Balban, to give Ulagh the name by which he became subsequently known, had the prudence and good fortune to surround himself with kinsmen and friends, who were both capable and faithful ; indeed, it may be doubted whether, in all history, there is an instance of more durable prosperity than that which marked his career. He made enemies—

as was but natural—and he fell into disgrace in the year 1252, but after some obscure conflicts he was restored to his former station. It is observed by a contemporary that a drought of great severity ceased on Balban's return to Dehli; and "it was no wonder that the people looked on his return as a happy omen, and all were grateful to the Almighty."

A rising of the Hindus, fostered by a Turkish rival of Balban's, was suppressed in 1255; and a similar event, in the neighbourhood of Mount Abu in Rajputana, met with a similar end in 1257. In the same year a dangerous conspiracy was detected and brought to nought at Dehli. In 1259 occurred another incursion of the Mughols, by the usual route of Sindh and the Western Punjab. Indeed, so formidable was it deemed, that special steps were taken, among which we find that poets were commissioned to produce patriotic odes, in order "to stir up the feelings of the Muslims."

Whether the Tyrtæan appeal succeeded, or whether there had come some failure in the spirit of the successors of Changiz, it is certain that the Mughol attack was warded off for the time, and the minister had leisure to turn once more upon the Hindus of the Duâb, with whom certain malcontents of the Turkish nobility had made common cause. These latter were conciliated and called to court; and then the hand of Balban fell heavily upon their deserted allies. Meanwhile, Hulâku Khân, the chief of the Mughols, having taken Bâghdâd, and overthrown the Caliphate, sent an embassy to the court of Dehli. The motive of this was, probably, the death of his brother Mangu, and the consequent desire in his mind that he might retire to his country and establish his power there.

Balban embraced the opportunity, and caused the Mughol envoys to be received with every circumstance of pomp. He had removed the court of the Sultan to a new palace in the suburb of Kilokhri on the Jumna, to the eastward of Old Dehli, where it had hitherto been held. The gates of this palace were decorated with stuffed skins of Hindus who would seem to have been slaughtered for the purpose. Twenty lines of armoured soldiers—horse and foot—guarded the approaches, rendered still more impressive by being flanked by caparisoned elephants. When the envoys came into the enclosure they were received with honour, and led to the throne-room. The place was richly adorned with tapestry and silk; the nobility and officials were gorgeously arrayed. After the ceremony the astonished savages were solemnly conducted to their lodgings. The unhappy Hindus, once more deserted by their allies, met with their usual reward. Having sent off the Mughols, half alarmed and half made

admirers, Balban had leisure to attend to the Hindus whom he drove into the hills, and there pursued them with unrelenting severity. Twelve thousand were massacred,—men, women, and children.

The rest of the acts of Násir and all that he did are written in the word used by a native historian. Balban used his late master's son as "a show," says Barni, writing of him a century later. It is probable that this maintenance of a *roi fainéant* was useful to Balban while he was menaced by the rivalry of his associates (known in history as "The Forty," and also called "Shamsis," from the prænomen of their original Lord, Shams-ud-din Altamsh). But, as these grow older and more indolent, his own great merits rendered Balban more and more conspicuous and able to stand alone. We do not, it is true, know exactly what occurred; for Minhaj, the author of the *Tabakát* (who was able to have told us) has kept silence upon the matter; and other contemporaneous history is not forthcoming. But, in 1266, the quiet monarch disappeared: we cannot say by what way, but captivity is indicated, and poison may be surmised.

Balban the Minister ascended the throne by the style of Sultán Gharás-ud-din, just forty-four years after his first arrival in India, and must have been at least sixty years of age. His reign was distinguished by the same qualities that had marked his conduct as a Minister, with the additional pomp and splendour that belonged to his new rank. Barni,—who is the principal authority on the reign,—was not strictly contemporary; his work, however, may be all the more impartial. It was avowedly designed as a continuation of the *Tabakát*; and the author assures us that, in what relates to Balban's reign, he has recorded only what he received from his father and grandfather, and from those who had held high office in the State.

During the thirty years that had elapsed since the death of Altamsh, the quarrels of the nobles and the weaknesses of the various rulers had given scope for abuses and excesses, and for consequent demoralization among the people. But such was the prestige of the new Sultan, that insubordination and insolence at once began to abate under his rule. He remodelled the army, placing the best officers in command. He established a rigorous administration of justice, not scrupling to punish severely offences, even when committed by his old comrades of "The Forty"; as when one of these, having slain a man, was given as a slave to the widow, but was allowed to redeem his freedom by payment of a lavish ransom. A less worthy step was the forming of a large body of spies, by whose means he obtained, or was supposed to obtain, universal knowledge of events. He gave

up drinking, to which he had been somewhat addicted ; and he thought it proper to assume such personal magnificence and dignified etiquette, that his private servants never saw him without his robes. He allowed no joking in his presence, and was never seen to laugh. Instead of wasting the resources of the State in aggressive wars, he kept an efficient army in constant exercise for defence only, and warded off Mughol invasion, that chronic malady of mediæval Hindustan. To those who objected that such an attitude was derogatory, he replied "I have devoted all my revenues to the army, I never leave the kingdom, and I hold myself prepared."

It is plain that among those who benefited by this expectant policy we must reckon the Hindus. "If this anxiety were only removed," cried the Defender-of-the Faith, "I would soon despoil the *Rais* and *Rânas*." Not that the troops were kept quite idle ; the Sultan was too experienced a commander to fall into such an error. He went into sport with characteristic earnestness and solemnity. For forty miles around the capital the country was made into a preserve—where, during the cold season, he had beats of big game all day long, employing thousands of his soldiers in the mimic campaign against elephants and tigers. Hulâku heard of these doings at Baghdad. "Be not deceived," he said to his courtiers, "Balban is too much of an old soldier to waste his time ; there is more in this hunting than a mere peaceful pleasure."

And, indeed, before the reign was ended, hunting of a serious kind was resumed, though Hulâku's tribesmen were not its first prey. The Mewâtis on one side, the perennial dacoits of Patîali,—whose descendants are still heard of,—on the other, were scourged with fire and sword, and reduced to good behaviour for the time.

The Sultan's eldest son, Muhamad, was worthy of his father. To the military tastes of a prince he added a love of culture which was peculiar to himself, and a special purity of conduct and manners rare in men born and brought up in his condition. Anir Khusrû, the celebrated poet, was his favourite. He invited Shekh Sâdi to visit him, but the great Shirazi excused himself on the score of age. At the prince's table loose talking was unknown ; and he is a singular instance of a Muslim of rank, who used wine without abusing it. To this accomplished prince was committed the protection of the N.-W. Frontier, his head-quarters being at Multan. Second only in danger and importance were the Gangetic Provinces of Behar and Bengal, which, by reason both of their distance from Dehli and their great fertility, were constantly offering

temptation for viceroys to aim at independence. That course was adopted in the present reign by a Turkish Governor named Tughril Beg. But the old Sultan, after two ineffectual campaigns had been conducted there by deputies, resolved to march in person against the rebels.

The recalcitrant viceroy took refuge in the hills of Tipperah, but his flight was vain; he was pursued and slain in his retreat. The government was then entrusted to the second son of the Sultan, a frivolous man of unformed character, called Mahmud. The Sultan, who was sternly pitiless when policy seemed to require such a mood, made a frightful example of those who had borne a share in this rebellion; and the streets of Gaur ran, literally, with blood. Before leaving, Balban drove home the moral. "Didst thou see, Mahmud?" he asked; and getting no answer from the scared worldling, he reiterated his question twice more. "Didst thou see my punishments in the bazaar?" he explained. "Shouldst thou ever feel inclined to waver, then remember the sights of these days."

Parting from his son with this grim warning, the old Sultan returned to Dehli and tried some more culprits of whom he proposed to make an avenue of gibbeted carcasses that should lead into Rohilkhund. But in all his apparent fierceness, there was entire self-control. The Kâzi of the army making intercession for the prisoners, Balban, who saw that the moment for leniency had arrived, at once granted their pardon.

About this time the heir-apparent, who had been administering his charge wisely and well, remitted to Dehli the last of those convoys of treasure which he had been wont to send with his annual reports. Disaster arrived at last, as sooner or later it will come in the most prosperous career. A formidable invasion of Mughols took place. Muhamad, the good prince, repelled it, but lost his life in a battle in which his friend Khusru fell into the invaders' hands. The aged monarch bent beneath the blow. Feeling his end approaching and aware of all the perils of an interregnum and a struggle for the throne, he sent for the chief of his council, set aside the futile Mahmud, who was engaged in Bengal, and made the Lords promise that Sultan Khusru, son of the deceased Muhamad, should be recognised as his successor. They affected to acquiesce, but no sooner were Balban's eyes closed in death, than they broke their promise, sending the young prince to take up his late father's charge at Multan, and raising to the throne the son of the absent, Mahmud. These events took place in the years 1286-87.

The new Sultan's name was Kai Kobád, and he was

destined to give one more proof of the futility of man's best schemes. Educated by his austere grandfather, and chosen, apparently, for his imputed virtues, his lips had never touched those of girl or goblet. But his sudden elevation stirred the sunken poison of an evil nature. He caused his cousin Khusru to be murdered, gave himself up to debauchery, and was killed at Kilokhri after a reign of three years, as he lay sick of the palsy. His end was also that of the Mameluke Empire of Hindustan.

The next ruler (1290) was an officer of the army, of the Khilji tribe of Patháus, named Jalál-ud-din Firoz. He was a clement and convivial old soldier, who conquered in Bengal a son of Mahmud's, but spared his life. His armies were commanded by his able nephew, who finally murdered the Sultan, and assumed the throne in 1296 by the title of Alá-ud-din II. From the commencement of this reign the testimony of the historian Barni is that of an eye-witness. We have, in addition, that of the Poet Khusru, the associate of Balban's eldest son. Of him it has been said by Dowson that "his authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only a contemporary with the events which he describes, but was a participator in many of them, and * * * Barni appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions."

According to these observers Alá-ud-din administered the empire with great skill and proportionate good fortune. Like his predecessors he warred against his Hindu subjects. For these chronicles are like parts of the *Pentateuch* in the mention that they make of the chastisement of the heathen. From the recurrence of the expression "Rais and Ranas" it would seem, indeed, that some sort of indigenous Government continued to exist, and even to be recognised. But we meet with no relations between them and these early Muslim Emperors, save those of warfare. Probably there were faults on both sides which hindered agreement. Alá-ud-din, on his part, was unrelenting. "When he advanced from Karra" (a place in the Duáb), "the Hindus descended into the ground like ants. He departed thence towards the garden of Bahár to dye the soil as red as a tulip. He cleared the road to Ujain of vile wretches, and carried consternation into Bhilsa He destroyed the temples of the idolaters, and substituted pulpits and arched mosques," (Khusru). The great temple of Somnâth, which had sprung up, phoenix-like, from the ashes of the Ghaznevide conflagration, was plundered and desecrated. Chita was stormed and made a scene of mourning. The Rai of Deogir submitted, and was pardoned. This was before Alá-ud-din's

accession. Afterwards ensued a mutiny of the army, originated by a body of converts—whether of Hindu or Mughol origin is not stated, probably the latter. It was put down with frightful severity: the present Sultan was not disposed to share the fatal clemency of his uncle and victim.

In the third year of the reign occurred a new incursion of Mughols, under a son of the ruler of Turkistan, who had embraced the faith of Islâm. The invaders came straight on from Multan towards Dehli without opposition by the way. As it seemed plain that their object was to seize the capital and subvert the Government, the Sultan lost no time in gathering together his forces, and encountering the enemy before the latter could arrive near the metropolis. He met them at a place called Killi, probably near Bahâdurgarh: one of the best of the Imperial Generals was surrounded and slain, but the Mughols fell back during the night, and their invasion finally came to nought.

The Sultan, who was an illiterate, though a valiant and energetic, soldier, became much inflated with his continual success. He fancied himself a second Alexander; assumed the God, and proposed, in his cups, to found a new religion. He completed the demolition of the Hindu sanctuaries in old Dehli, and enlarged the great mosque by use of the carved stonework thus obtained. On the south side he built the beautiful gateway which still bears his name, and forms the finest specimen of the early Muslim or "Pathân" architecture. On the other side of the mosque he laid the foundations of a tower that was to be, in all respects, of double dimensions to those of the *Minar* of Kutb-ud-din. He also strengthened and extended the walls cementing the masonry with the blood and bones of his Mughol prisoners of war, thousands of whom he slew for the purpose. He suppressed several formidable plots in his own family and court, and introduced a very rigorous system of administration intended to strike at all accumulation of wealth, whether in the shape of private estates or of endowments. He adopted the system of espionage to which Balban had been so much indebted, prohibited wine-parties and gambling, and discouraged hospitality and social intercourse among the higher classes. For the spoliation of the Hindus (though it does not appear that they had taken any part in the plots and rebellions that were the pretext) special measures were adopted. From the details of these measures, which are minutely recorded by Barni, it would seem that amid all previous persecution the people of the country had maintained their property and their territorial usages. Under the new system "the Hindu was to be so reduced as to be unable to

keep a horse to ride, or to bear arms, wear good clothing, or enjoy the comforts of life." The land was measured and assessed to pay *half the gross produce*—one-tenth being, in the common experience of almost all times and countries, the average surplus. "Men looked upon revenue-officers as something worse than fever;" and no wonder. The Sultan seldom consulted lawyers—a deadly heresy in Islām—professing to have a higher law in his own views of expediency. But on an occasion when he did, for once, condescend to inquire of a chief Kāzi as to the rights of the Monarch in the taxation of heathen subjects, he got an opinion which, though more favourable than he seems to have expected, by no means satisfied him. For the learned man only assured his majesty that the Hindus were taxable to the extent of the lawful tribute, so long as they received the protection of the Muslim ruler, the duty of whose officers was confined to levying the same with every circumstance of ignominy and contempt. Such was the law of Harrifa, which was the law of the Empire, and substituted a fixed tribute for the old alternative of "Islām or Death." "Ah! Doctor," cried the Sultan, "thou art a sage, and I but an unlettered soldier. I know nothing of lawful tribute, but I have seen a great deal; and of this I am resolved, that no Hindu shall have more left to him than will buy the flour and milk necessary to keep him alive. No Hindu property or tribute for me." On many other points the Kāzi tried to enlighten the Sultan, and he did so in fear of his life. But the Sultan was too wise to show his anger, and contented himself with saying that the law of the prophet was one thing, and the policy of a great State another.

Another measure which must appear strange to us was the enactment of a fixed tariff for the price of food-stuffs. The way in which this economical heresy—perhaps more startling to modern statesmen than the one about law—was made to work, was this. The Sultan established great granaries, well filled and guarded. When bad seasons came and grain could no longer be produced in the markets at the prescribed price, the stores of the States were thrown open and their contents were sold at the old rate. What happened if the famine lasted after the stocks had been thus exhausted does not appear.

In these occupations, varied by successful defences of the Northern country against the Mughols, the early and middle part of this extraordinary reign passed on in a sort of dull tranquillity. The awe-struck people ceased to conspire or rebel; the army was maintained in efficiency; the invaders were kept away. But there were two men preparing, one of whom was to avenge the oppressed, and the other to subvert the oppressor's

dynasty. The worm was already at the root of the great blood-watered tree that was overshadowing the land.

Among the captives brought back from Cambay in one of the early expeditions of the reign, was a fair youth who obtained the Sultan's favour and was advanced under the name of Malik Káfur. The first occasion on which he distinguished himself was in the campaign against Deogir, already mentioned; and the pardon (and indeed restoration) of the Raja which followed is such an unusual occurrence, as to suggest that the promoted captive had Hindu sympathies. In 1309, Káfur was entrusted with another expedition of a like kind against the Hindu ruler of Arangal in the Deccan. Supported by the Raja of Deogir, the army arrived at its destination, and laid siege to the enemy's fortifications which were covered by an earthwork. The earthwork being stormed, the Raja made his submission, which was accepted, in the same manner as had been that of the chief of Deogir. These peaceable settlements are new features in the Mahommedan warfare of the period. In 1310-11, Káfur, whatever may have been the vices of his private character, continued to conduct himself like a wise and valiant general.

The prosperity of the Sultan, however, now began to decline. Undermined by bad habits he became the victim of dropsy. Secluded with Káfur, he was only heard of when some deed of blood was ordered from the interior of the palace. At last all was over. "Some say that the catamite Káfur helped his disease to a fatal end." The strong self-willed warrior, who had known no law but his own ideas of the State's welfare, passed away. His system, centered in him as it was, passed away at the same moment.

We have seen that, with all his wickedness, Káfur was a resolute soldier, and in the commander of the N.-W. Frontier, Gazi Malik Tughlak, he had a comrade who was (for a wonder) too patriotic to be a danger to him. But he conceived a strong suspicion of danger nearer home, and entered on a course of protective bloodshed in which he was ere long cut short by his own guards who slew him and opened the door to a fresh revolution. It has been observed that Káfur was from the Western Coast, and probably a Hindu. Another man of his class, Malik Khusru by title, was the leader of the new movement, which was decidedly in the Hindu interest. For some five months Delhi became a scene of idolatry and Hindu rejoicing, which the stern Warden of the Marches, Tughlak, did not dare to interrupt, because his son Juna was living, an unwilling hostage, in the desecrated capital. At last Juna contrived to effect his escape, and his father met him in the Punjab. Advancing then

on Delhi, he had little difficulty in defeating the untrained Hindus and the mercenary Muslims who affected to serve them. Khusru was killed; and the general forthwith convened a council and demanded that the heir of the Khilji dynasty should be brought forward. None such appearing, Tughlak was unanimously called upon to reign. This took place in 1320. The old soldier only ruled five years, during which he was usually at war. At last, on returning from a campaign in the Eastern Provinces, he was killed by an "accident" contrived by Juna, his ungrateful son.

In spite of unusual abilities, Juna, or Tughlak II., was wholly unsuccessful in his wild attempts to administer the Empire that he had been so impatient to seize. He presented a combination, rare in those days, of literature without religion, and culture without humanity. That is his character as drawn by Barni, who knew him well and had no personal grievance against him. Having produced a famine in the country about Delhi by his mischievous and meddlesome management, he proposed to remedy matters by deporting the population to Deogir, in the Deccan. Myriads died on the way. He then tried to re-people the Delhi territory from other localities. His harshness was not systematic or strong like that of Balban, or even of Alâ-ud-din. Consequently, revolts arose, and many provinces were lost. Many times he tried to justify himself in conversations with Barni, for his literary instincts led him to feel that he was on his trial at the bar of posterity. But his conduct became no wiser and no more humane. After a reign of fifteen years he died of fever in Sindh, leaving in the awe and horror of the public mind a monument in the title of *Khuni Sultân* (the "Bloody Lord,") which will mark him to the end of time.

Among the nobles who were with the Bloody Lord at the hour of his death was his cousin Firoz, whom he had educated with a view to the succession. Firoz was at once acclaimed Emperor by the army, and marched at its head to Delhi, where he assumed the government in 1340. Being of orthodox piety, he has endeared himself to the Muslim historians; but he has also left a true and most pleasing picture of himself in a short memoir by his own hand. In spite of his unquestioning puritanism, he cherished the memory of the free-thinking patron who had made the Empire a Golgotha, and caused the cities of the faithful to run with Muslim blood. He buried Juna in a magnificent tomb, having first sought out, as he informs us, "all who had been maimed by my departed lord, and the surviving kindred of such as had been slain by his command. These I compensated, and took from them letters of acquittance which I placed by him in the grave." Tender thought of a despotic ruler to provide

a dead patron with these vouchers for the Great Audit ! He chose out the names of the best of the early rulers to be recited in the Weekly Litany before his own. He repaired their tombs when broken down, and completed the structures that they had left unfinished. Not till all this was done, till the wishes of dead kings had been cared for and their fame secured, did Firoz turn to projects of his own. Then he began building on his own account. A list of his various works would be tedious (and most of them have crumbled into dust), but he abandoned the blood-stained cities of the past, and founded one on the Jumna bank extending from the plain of Indarpat to the south, as far as what is now known as the "House of Hindu Rao" upon the northern ridge, a distance of some ten miles long. This extensive new town contained eight public mosques, each accommodating, on an average, ten thousand worshippers. This would imply a Muslim population of some 350,000 souls besides the heathen.

Towards the latter, Firoz was little more inclined to show indulgence than the worst of his predecessors. We may learn from the history of the ancient Israelites, that toleration of idolatry was no part of the Shemitic ideal of good government. Remitting a number of taxes, estimated at three millions of *tankas* (whatever that may have been) Firoz indemnified himself by a rigorous incidence of the capitation in lieu of death which, as we have already seen, formed the peculiar device of the Hainfi School that regulated the law of the Empire. This tax he extended to the Brahmans, who had apparently hitherto obtained exemption. His intolerance did not by any means stop here : he informs us that he destroyed Hindu temples wherever found, and put to death all who adhered to idol worship after due warning. But the best of men cannot be successful unless they are of their age.

After a long reign Firoz abdicated, being succeeded by his grandson, and died on the 21st of September 1388, aged upwards of eighty. After a series of short and troubled reigns, the dynasty was brought to an end by the last of the mediæval Mughol invasions under the terrible Taimur Lang ("Tamerlane") who, on the day of his attack on Dehli, massacred no less than three hundred thousand Hindu captives. By this time all the Mughols had been converted to the faith of Islâm, but their conversion had by no means tamed their hereditary ferocity. Taimur was no milder than Changiz ; and after the sack of Dehli,—for which, however, he had the grace to express regret—a new massacre took place, chiefly of Muslims.

Taimur then returned to Turkistan, retaining a titular suzerainty over Hindustan. Dehli shrank to the dimensions of a petty

principality which left few traces, and which gave way to an Afghan dynasty known as the line of Lodi. The first ruler of this line was Bahlol, grandson of Malik Buhrám, who had been Governor of Multan under Firoz. Becoming satrap of Sirhind, he incurred the hostility of the Dehli king, Sultan Muhammad, and on that sovereign's death, took advantage of the absence of his son to seize Dehli, and proclaim himself Emperor: the date is believed to be the 19th April 1451. The Empire by this time existed but in name; rulers of Turkish and Afghan blood having partitioned the Provinces among themselves; and the Lodi power originally was one of these, and established in the Punjab.

The dwindled dimensions of the crown-dominions under the "Sáyad dynasty" may be judged of by the distich (preserved by tradition) which was current at the time:—

Padsháhi Sháh-'Alam
As Dehli ta Pálam.

As if one said—

"Great Britain extends to the East and West ends."

The reign of Sultán Bahlol, which succeeded, was more important. That ruler extended the Empire, especially to the east and south. He founded the city of Agra. He made use of some of the indigenous chiefs in administration. He is described, by writers of the time, as a temperate, amiable, and most courageous prince; much of his success being attributed to his appreciation of Mughol troops—twenty thousand of whom he is said to have entertained in his own service. He died on 1st July 1489, and was buried at Dehli, where his tomb is still extant.

Sultán Bahlol was succeeded by his son Sikandar, who transferred the capital to Agra. His time is remarkable as the period when the Hindus first applied themselves to the study of Persian. After a prosperous reign of twenty-one years, he died a natural death at Agra, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. The date of his demise is 17th February 1510. Firishta—apparently on the authority of the *Tarikh-i-Dandi*—gives 1517 as the year; but Beale, in the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, shows this to be an error. As Sultan Ibrahim's reign is chiefly remarkable for the conquest of the empire by Bábar, and the consequent foundation of the so-called "Mughol Empire of Hindustan," it will be well to bring this paper to a close with a summary of the state of the country, and a few points regarding the invaders by whom it had so long been harassed, and was now to be conquered and ruled. We shall be in a better position to judge of the character and causes of the revolution.

It will have been observed that the early Muslim conquerors of

Hindustan have been spoken of as "Turkmán," or Turkish, while the tribes who, after overrunning Turkestan, came down to disturb them in their conquests, have been designated as Mughols. It may be inferred, perhaps, that a Turkmán was a Mughol who had gone through the civilising processes of Islám, and the inference would be correct, so far as it goes, only there was another factor, and the resulting difference, altogether, was considerable. We have reason to believe that the Turkmán aristocracy in Hindustan were a handsome and not uncultured race. Khusru, for example, occupies a high place on the Persian Parnassus. What the "Mughols of Changiz" were we may learn from this very writer's description, written after his return from the captivity into which they led him after the death of Balban's eldest son.

The Mughols of Khusru's day were undersized, yellow, flat-faced, beardless, swarming with vermin, feeding upon carrion, of offensive odour, speaking a monosyllabic jargon, ignorant of agriculture or architecture, living in tents, and worshipping felt dolls. No doubt, under Khublai Khán, a certain rude splendour had been attained at Court; but the nomads of the steppes must have been much what Khusru described the hordes who captured him to have been. Yet the poet seems to have been conscious of consanguinity; at least, he calls them "Turks."

The following explanation may be perhaps accepted. All inquiries seem to confirm the statement made by Major Raverty in the paper contributed by him to the Oriental Congress of St. Petersburg in 1876,—namely, that according to the traditional genealogies of Central Asia, it has always been held that it was the yellow race of mankind that was descended from Japhet—known there as Hazrat Yáfith. Japhet, it is said, had eight sons, of whom the eldest (named Turk) moved down from the north-east and settled near Lake Issi Kol, to the northward of the Alatan range, about 43° N. Lat, and 78° E. Long. From him the country, of which Tashkand may be taken as the centre, got the name of Turkistan. The fifth in descent from this Turk was Alinja, in whose time the people became idolaters. Alinja made a division of his heritage between his two sons, Tátár and Mughol. Under these were formed two separate *Aimáks* or septs, which were known as Tátárs and Mughols from the names of their respective founders. A third tribe, retaining the name of the original ancestor, Turk, went south-west, and associated with the Sarts or Tájiks (Aryan cultivators and townsmen) of Khwarizm and Khorásán; the mixed race becoming known as Turkmáns, or "Turklike." As a matter of sober history it is known that two Turkish hordes, the Seljuks and the Kais, did wander westward, as long ago as the second century of the

Christian era ; and, having in due course embraced Islâm, having moreover had Aryan wives for several generations, they became as much objects of hatred and contempt to the Mughols, when these in turn began moving west, as if they had not traced their common pedigree to Japhet. The "Turanians" were all exogamous, and practised marriage by capture.

In the learned Introduction to Erskine's History of India may be found a summary of what followed. Successive waves of the sons of Yâfith poured westward. Europe was, as a rule, too strong for them. In Asia they produced a profound effect, acting sometimes as individuals, sometimes in united bodies ; in either case amalgamating socially with the descendants of the earlier settlers whom they found there.

Numbers, also, were caught and sold by the slave-hunters ; and these were often enrolled in the body-guards of Asiatic sovereigns, and formed the source from which those princes loved to select their most trusty officers. In the decline of the Caliphate of Baghdád, these men conducted frequent revolutions. In Ghazni we have seen the case of Sabaktizm, in India, those of Aibak, Altimsh, Balban and others. Such, in later days, were the Mamelukes of Egypt.

"In India," continues Erskine, "the Turks never affected to monopolise all authority of the kingdoms which they obtained. The natives shared in the administration of the country and in military commands. They found a country already populous and its territories fully occupied by civilised inhabitants. * * * They had none of the exterminating ferocity of Changiz, and were not so insane as to have a wish to expel the cultivators from lands the value of which was solely owing to their labour."

That the Turks in India were not very mild at first, we have had some reason to believe. Still, under the pressure of invasions by barbarians worse than themselves, the various dynasties, Turkman and Pathán, of which we have above taken a rapid review, contrived to rule Hindustan and some of the outlying provinces,—sometimes more, sometimes less—for over three hundred years, during which the Hindus followed their own laws and made their language the basis of a new vernacular.

It will, however, be necessary to admit that we know but little of the flesh and blood of those days—excepting so far as relates to wars, palace-intrigues, revolutions, and a certain amount of architecture.

Of the condition of the Hindus and other indigenous races we have occasional glimpses, but no more. It may be supposed that the bulk of the people lived a quiet, industrious, frugal sort of life, only interrupted by occasional calls to arms from

their native leaders, the "Rais and Rânas" whom we sometimes see chastised on account of rebellion or plundered of their goods. They would regard their foreign masters, generally, as a burden laid upon them by the will of the gods, and would pursue their humble but necessary callings, so far as military license would allow—under that natural compulsion which bids men to work—even under conditions the most depressing. The origin of the *Urdu*, or "Hindustani" language, which dates from this period, tells us that there must have been intercourse between them and the Muslims; and the fact that it was during this period that the two great schools of Hindu law arose, which still share between them the allegiance of the entire Peninsula, shows that, like the Greeks under the Osmanlis, the subjugated people maintained practical autonomy. It is not until the later epoch of more earnest and enlightened Muslim rulers, that we hear of any attempt at introducing any *lex loci* on the part of the conquerors. And we know that the attempt failed.

Of the general contemptuous estimation of the Hindus under the early Muslim empire there can be no doubt. And the analogy of the Osmanlis in Greece shows that it was owing to that contempt that autonomy was left to the conquered. This illustrates the well-proved maxim that good comes out of evil: for most assuredly the feelings of those narrow bigots were little attuned to compassion or human sympathy. Thus, a Muslim lawyer delivered the following opinion to one of the Sultans who consulted him on taxation:—"Whenever the Hindus are called upon to pay taxes, let them do so with all humility and submission. And, should the Collector offer to spit on their faces, they are to hold up their faces that he may do so. In such wise should they stand before the Collector: the object being to show the obedience of Hindu subjects, to promote the glory of Islâm, and to express contempt for false religions. . . . For the Korân says, 'They must either accept Islâm, or be killed, or be enslaved.' Only as followers of Abu Harrifa are we able to substitute [for enslavement] the imposition of the capitation."

It was consistent with the intolerance not in those days confined to Asia that taxation should rest on such a basis. In reality it was the only possible alternative to complete toleration. And for that the time was not prepared.

Evidently, the people suffered whether their masters were weak or strong. They suffered from the incursions of the Mughols, from the oppression of the Sultans, and from predatory ravages by their own countrymen and from civil wars. Nevertheless, they clung tenaciously to their old institutions, the life of the family and of the *commune*. These archaic systems which suffice to

render India so interesting to students of humanity, defied the storms of anarchy and of tyranny in the middle ages, and are only now relaxing slowly in the sunshine of the *Pax Britannica*. They display, in full activity, ideas and mental habits which in Europe had withered and become obsolete before the age of Justinian. The Hindus of those days were, as has been said, autonomous : but it was without much forensic machinery. That, of course, was a misfortune. For it can hardly be supposed that the law was as efficacious as was desirable when the suit took the form of private distraint, when the Court consisted of five elderly ploughmen, and when the execution of the award was left to the sanction of public opinion enforced only by spiritual and social penalties. Hindu law, being now administered by a conscientious and powerful Government, is at last accepting the impetus of a later evolution. In those days it must have worked somewhat languidly. But, if the society suffered from the State's neglect, the State in turn suffered by losing the chief means of connecting itself with the affections of the people.

The Hindustani language, which has been mentioned as originating in this period, is an application of Western *Prakrit*—or colloquial Sanskrit—to the common purposes of all classes. It is still growing with warm vitality, and promises to become, in no long time, the *lingua franca* of the whole Peninsula. Using, as it has always done, the Persian form of the Arabic character, and borrowing impartially from all current vocabularies, it has become not only a medium of oral intercourse, but also the vehicle of a considerable indigenous literature. Moreover, it promoted that intercourse between conqueror and conquered out of which it sprang ; and (like the origin of modern English under the Plantagenets) its existence plainly points to the attainment of a stage in social evolution when the rigour of conquest was about to disappear.

Of the population and revenue of the early Muslim empire, we can form no exact estimate. We neither know the precise extent of its limits nor the actual value of its current coins. The crazy Juna tried debasement of the standard among his various wars against the laws of nature. It was he, too, who lost many of the provinces that had been won by his predecessors. The next ruler, the mild and much-building Firoz, had a revenue of sixty-five millions of *tankas* : and if this refers to silver money, it may have been equivalent to so many rupees. The sources of this budget were these :—

1. The *Khirdj* ; a tithe on agricultural produce, levied from all classes of cultivators, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.
2. The *Jizia*, or capitation on unbelievers, which was a second tithe.

3. The fifth of war-prize, and of the yield of mines ; a precarious and inconsiderable item.

Now, if each family averaged five souls, and the Muslims formed one-fifth of the community ; and if, further, we may trust the estimate of the historian Alfi, that the *jizia* on the head of a family was ten and a half tankas a head ; then, taking the aggregate to have been as stated above, we can make a rough guess at the numbers of the population. If all our conjectures be admitted, it will have been somewhere about thirty millions ; namely, five million Muslims and twenty-five million Hindus.

Such was the country on which Bábar descended in 1526. But the Mughols were no longer the wild savages, bent on mere pillage and destruction, whose undisciplined hordes had desolated the Western Provinces under weak rulers, and been driven back with slaughter by strong princes like Balban. They were now ruddy jovial men-at-arms, delighting in brocade and gold, using artillery in war, loving to carouse in times of peace by the banks of streams or in shaded gardens.

—Mirza Tahir-ud-din Muhamad Bábar was the grandson of Taimur's grandson, and his mother was descended directly from Changiz Khán. He was born on the 15th February 1483 ; and after a stormy youth of battle and exile, became, about 1504, supreme ruler of the mountainous country that is now called Afghanistan. This was to be now his base of operation against Hindustán.

Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Dehli, was probably about the same age as Bábar, and had been on the throne something over fifteen years, during which he had been chiefly remarkable for an avaricious disposition and for mal-administrations which let the Imperial bond relax as regards the outlying provinces, of which several of the most important had assumed a practical independence.

Such were the antagonists who were now to meet in mortal struggle in the plains north of Dehli. After various manœuvres and a fight in which the Sultan was victorious over an Afghan leader who had deserted from his side and was acting as an advance-guard to Bábar, the two armies came within striking distance, Bábar being at Karnal and the Sultan marching on Panipat, on Thursday, 19th April 1526.

The nobles of Hindustán were arrayed in their bravest raiment, and their embroidered tents and canopies made a Field-of-Cloth-of-Gold. The day, on their side, was spent in revel and merry-making. Far other was the cheer of the weary Northerners who had wandered so far from their own cool hills. "Many of the troops," writes Bábar, "were in great tremor and alarm. Trepidation

and fear are always unbecoming : whatever the Almighty has decreed from eternity is not to be reversed. At the same time, I cannot wholly blame them : they had some cause for their anxiety : for in two months they had travelled from their native land, and were now to engage in arms with a people of whom they knew nothing. The opposing force was estimated at 1,00,000 men, with a thousand elephants. The Sultan possessed the accumulated resources of his father and grandfather ; he might have raised mercenaries to a large extent. But he was miserly and inexperienced, negligent in his movements, marching without order, halting without motive, and giving battle without forethought."

Bābar, on the other hand, took all the precautions that the military art, as understood by Asiatics of his time, suggested. He passed the Thursday under the walls of Panipat, having marched on when he found that vast plain unoccupied. His right wing rested on the town. His front was protected by batteries of artillery fortified by a contrivance which seems to have consisted of a survival of the moveable defences of a Tartar camp. Wagons and gun-carriages were connected by ropes of untanned hide, and behind that bulwark were ranged the matchlockmen, a class of troops then rising into new importance. On his left he made an entrenchment which he strengthened with abatis.

During the night his eldest son, Mirja Humaiun, returned from a reconnoissance in which his men had been engaged in an inconclusive skirmish with the enemy's pickets. At day-break, on Friday morning, the army of Hindustān was seen advancing in order of battle.

The Mughols awaited them in three divisions, of which two were to engage, and the third—the skirmishers of the night—to guard the camp and act as a reserve. Ere long the attack commenced. Diverted by the batteries and the fire of the small arms behind, the Hindustānis tried to push between the Mughol right and the walls of Panipat. The reserve was ordered up to strengthen this weak place. At the same time a body of archers, which had formed part of the Mughol left, outflanked the dense columns that were pressing one another on, and enveloped their rear with clouds of arrows. In their front the culverins on the left centre, and the swivels and guns of position in the batteries, were playing slowly but steadily on the encumbered masses ; and soon the Mughol right also advanced and pelted them with archery. Thus goaded and crowded, unable to retire or deploy, afraid to storm the defences, the Hindustānis lost all heart and order. Sultan Ibrahim was on horseback with his immediate followers,

trying in vain to govern the panic. A courtier named Mahmud urged him to flight ; but the heedless monarch at least displayed the spirit of a royal warrior. He replied that his friends and companions were falling around him, so that his horse was splashed to the chest with their blood : his cause was lost : let him die like a soldier and a king. With these words he plunged into the mêlée at the head of the five thousand horsemen that were left : and after the battle they were all found lying slain in one spot.

The whole loss of the Hindustánis was estimated at fifteen thousand—among them was Raja Bikram Ajit, the Hindu Prince of Gwalior, who had joined the Muslims of India in the defence of their common country. Many more of the natives were slain in the pursuit. Dehli was occupied immediately after, and the neighbouring country succumbed without a struggle.

It was evident, in spite of the adhesion of a few Hindus like the Raja of Gwalior, and in spite of all that occurred afterwards, that there was no deep solidarity in the mingled races by which the land was peopled. They saw the sceptre transferred with indifference, having no reason to suppose that any such change could affect their condition. Such must, soon or late, be the lot of every Government that does not sink its roots into the soil.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. VI.—THE RUSSIANS ON THE CASPIAN SEA.

TO the pages of this Review in 1877, after my first visit to Russia, I contributed a paper, entitled "*The Province of the Caucasus—Study of Russian Contemporary History*," and devoted to a consideration of the abolition of Serfage and the absorption of the Khanates of the Oxus. From that year until now, it has been my desire to visit the great Province of South Russia, situated between the Black and Caspian Seas, and study the important problem involved, on the spot. A fatality appeared to oppose me. War broke out, which rendered travelling in those regions impossible, and in the meanwhile I have visited Spain, Italy, Greece, and North Africa, but always with my eye on the Caucasus. At length last autumn I accomplished my wish, not a month too early, as the line to Batúm was only just opened to traffic, and the route from London to Bakú on the Caspian Sea made easy.

In the interim another slice had been cut off ill-fated Turkey by the annexation of Kars: another nail knocked into the coffin of Persia by the opening of the railway to Bakú and the multiplication of steamers on the Caspian, thus placing Teherán and Tebriz at the mercy of a Russian force advancing *via* Resht on the Caspian, and Julfa on the Araxes. A railway had been constructed from Michaelovsk in the new province of Trans-Caspia, across the desert to Kizil-Arbat in the Tekke oasis: the strength of that tribe had been destroyed by the taking of Geok Tépé: the Russian frontier had been pushed on to Baha Durmaz, half way between Askabad and Sarakhs: Russian surveyors had crossed the river Tejend, *alias* Hari Rúd, at that latter place, and felt their way through the province of Badgheis in Afghanistan right up to the walls of Herát, and pronounced the country to be adapted for a prolongation of the Russian railway up to the very gate of India. The time had indeed come to visit these regions, and make a study of Russian contemporary history, but not in a cavilling or censorious spirit. The Russians have just as much right to absorb Trans-Caspia, and pummel the Tekke, as the English have to absorb the Panjáb and Sindh, and punish the Waziri and the plunderers of the Khaibar Pass.

As an old administrator of Asiatic provinces, I naturally considered with the eye of a connoisseur the Civil and Military divisions of the Caucasus province, its resources and means of communication, its facilities for self-defence, and its degree of exposure to attack from without. This is the first branch of the

subject. As one given to linguistic and ethnological studies I considered the people of this province in their tribes and their languages, and their religions: this is the second branch of the subject. As an old Indian Official, and an amateur strategist, from my experiences of war, tumult, mutiny, and annexations, I considered the effect upon India of this new forward move on the Asiatic chess board, by which British India has for ever lost its political isolation, and is drawn into the vortex of European politics: this the third branch of the subject. I propose to discuss them in order.

Between the Black Sea and Herát lie the two Russian provinces of the Caucasus and Trans-Caspia, separated from each other by the Caspian Sea. The province of Caucasus is divided into Cis-Caucasia, north of the range and therefore in Europe, and Trans-Caucasia, south of the range and therefore in Asia. The Viceroy resides in Tiflis, within the latter sub-division, and up to the present time the post has been occupied by an Imperial Prince, but the present Emperor has substituted a General Officer. The Cis-Caucasian sub-division is again divided into districts: I, Kuban; II, Stavropol; III, Terek, reaching from sea to sea. The Trans-Caucasian sub-division is again divided into districts: I, Daghestán; II, Zakatáli; III, Tiflis; IV, Kutáis; V, Sukhum; VI, Black-Sea Littoral; VII, Elizabethpol; VIII, Bakú; IX, Erivan; X, Batúm; XI, Kars. The total area includes 184,000 square miles, with an undue proportion of mountain and unprofitable waste land. The population amounts to less than five millions. The total revenue scarcely exceeds three quarters of a million. This indicates how different the problem is betwixt such a Government as this, and the Government of British India with its teeming millions. A railway traverses the whole breadth of Trans-Caucasia, from Batúm and Poti on the Black Sea, to Bakú on the Caspian Sea. At Tiflis, the capital, the road commences, which traverses the pass of Dariel to Vladikafkas, the chief town of Cis-Caucasia. From a point on the line from Tiflis to the Black Sea will branch off the proposed railway to Kars and the Turkish frontier: from a point on the line from Tiflis to Bakú, near the town of Akstafu, branches off the post road to Julfa, on the river Araxes, and the Persian frontier. The great feature of the Northern region is the barren steppe, the home of the Russian Cossaks: the feature of the Southern region is the watershed of Suram, which divides the basins of the rivers Kúr and Riou. Both these rivers are known to fame. The former flows eastward, and discharges itself into the river Araxes, one of the rivers of Paradise, which flows into the Caspian Sea, forming from its source in the slopes of Mount Ararat the boundary of the Persian

kingdom. The latter is the representative of the classic Phasis, up which Jason and the Argonauts found their way to Kutáís, the capital of *Æétes*, the father of Medea, whence the Golden Fleece was carried off triumphantly. In this fable we trace evidence of the first discovery of these regions by the Greek navigators : and a still more majestic fable connects the name of Prometheus with the mountains of the Caucasus, whose watershed marks the line of division betwixt Europe and Asia, which in oriental story has its own cycle of legend as *Koh-i-Káf*, a name more accurately preserved in the Russian form of the word *Kafkas*, while the uncertain geographical notions of the Greeks, in the time of Alexander the Great, extended the venerable name to the mountains of Afghanistan, a remnant of which error lives on in the modern term *Hindu Kúsh*. There is, except in occasional choice spots, no great fertility, and no product of notoriety known in this province, and the revenues are far below the expenditure. The mineral wealth is great, specially the petroleum, the supply of which appears to be unlimited and inexhaustible. A small amount of wine is produced in one valley, known as *Kakhetia*. Manufacture is scarcely existent : I searched the bazars of *Tiflis*, and found nothing. The total absence of trees and verdure generally is appalling ; but in secluded portions of the regions there are luxuriant forests, whence boxwood is supplied for the use of manufacturers in England.

Petroleum appears to be one of the geological features of the region : it is found North of the Caucasian Range, at a convenient distance from the Black Sea : it is found East of the Caspian Sea in great quantities. The Island of *Tcheliken* has steep cliffs stained with the black flow of naphtha, which has for ages passed its riches into the unprofitable bosom of the Caspian Sea. But it is in the peninsula of *Aspheron*, immediately adjacent to *Bakú*, that the phenomena are seen in their greatest development.

Bakú is the centre and the port of the inexhaustible petroleum wells, which are destined to flood the world with kerosine. It is one of the wonders of the world, for the supply is on the surface, and when a well is tapped, the liquid leaps 40 feet high in the air ; it bursts up through the sea, and one of the things to be done by a visitor is to go out in a boat and set the sea on fire. The fire-worshippers, who used to worship the deity here in the form of a flame of naphtha, are fairly driven out by the commercial use to which their divinity is put in modern times, for the oil is admirable and universally useful ; it is proposed to construct a pipe of the length of 500 miles to convey it to the Black Sea. The refuse, after refining, supplies fuel for the

steamers and railway, cheaper and better than coal. The railway carries countless oil-tanks, of the appearance of great elephants, to Tiflis, and the Caspian is full of steamers to convey the oil in vast tanks to Astrakhan and up the Volga. The mouths of the Volga have the drawback of being frozen in the winter, but Bakú is outside the limit of severe winter, and the Russian Government finds itself, to its own astonishment, supplied with an unlimited number of steamers, not kept idle or collected from a great distance, but always ready to leave off carrying petroleum and carry across the Caspian in twenty-four hours a corps d'armée to Michaelovsk.

Only a few weeks ago I was at Bakú, and these thoughts assumed upon the spot a much greater sense of reality than it is possible to give to them by pointing out the place on a map. The trains always arrive late at night, and the effect of the light burning on the petroleum field is strange and imposing.

It has always been stated that a priest from India was resident at the Fire Temple. As a fact he has taken his departure, and the religious rites have now come to a close, but it is interesting to consider for a moment, whether such a priest was really a Hindu, as he was always called, or a Parsi from the colony of fire-worshippers in Bombay. I have myself visited the naphtha fires at the Temple of Jowála Múkhi in the district of Kangra in the Panjab, and witnessed the ritual of wax candles being burned by the devout pilgrims in the flames, which found their way out of fissures in the rock. Unquestionably, this temple was the object of worship to the Hindu of Northern India, and not only as a remnant of an old local worship grafted on to the Brahmanical system. I remember meeting a Bengali Babu on his return from the worship, full of devout feelings, and he appealed to me to deny, if I could, the presence of a divinity which showed itself in the form of a flame, which required no fuel to keep it in full force, and yet could not by any contrivance, of brick or stonework, be extinguished. The priest, therefore, may have been an Hindu. Thielman, however, a careful German traveller, himself visited the temple at night, and reports that he found a Parsi priest, sent from time to time from Bombay, to officiate to the chance Gheber pilgrim, who found his way to the shrine. But priests must live, either by the sale of candles, or otherwise, and Thielman mentions how a box of Vienna lucifer matches was kept in the corner of the cell, and the priest, for a consideration, lighted a number of jets by applying lucifers, and the light fell upon walls decorated with vulgar lithographs. He then sang a liturgy, rang a bell, offered sugar-candy to a small idol, though the Parsi has no idol, handing it on to the travellers

in exchange for a rouble. He then, by the aid of pipes, illuminated all the outer walls of the temple, and these walls were covered with inscriptions in some form of the Indian written character. It transpired that the priest hired out the use of the flame for burning lime. It is as well that this form of divine worship, which has survived from the days of the dynasty of the Achæmenides, when it was held in high honour, has now disappeared. Like the oracle of Delphi, and the statue of Memnon, and many a mediæval shrine of Spain and Italy, the secret of the priests has been exposed.

Just forty years ago I was with the army of Lord Gough in the Battles of Múdkí, Ferozshahr and Sobraon, and when peace was signed before the captured city of Lahúr, and the Province of the Jhalandar Doab and Kangra added to British India, Lord Hardinge called me into his tent, and announced to me that he had appointed me, as a reward for my services during the campaign, to the charge of the district of Hoshyarpúr; and, though so many years have passed away, I cannot forget the pride and delight with which I took over charge from my great master, John Lawrence, of my beautiful district. In geographical conformation the province of Jhalandar somewhat resembled that of the Caucasus: it ran from the River Beas to the River Satlaj, and embraced within its area the lower range of the Himaláya, and my district was in the centre betwixt that of Jhalandar proper, which was entirely in the plains, and that of Kangra, which was entirely mountainous. From Hoshyarpúr, the capital, streams found their way east and west: from the north a mountain pass debouched upon the capital, and to the south ran roads east and west to Dehli and Lahúr. But this Province was, as it were, the Garden of Eden, teeming with a peaceful and industrious population, rich in cereals, saccharines, and oils, with a landscape varied by such groves of mangoe trees as no other part of India can rival, supplying, year after year, an imperial revenue in answer to a wave of the hand of the District Officer, who dwelt alone, without escort or guard, in the midst of a happy and contented people. The contrast betwixt the prospect of Trans-Caucasia, and those fertile and happy districts on the Satlaj was appalling, even after making due allowance for the mellowed tints supplied by memory and deep-rooted attachment. It is true that over our heads appeared the mountains of El-Burz and Kazbek, with their canopies of eternal snow,—the loftiest mountains of Europe, being loftier than the dethroned Mont Blanc, but as I looked upon the villages and chief towns, and the inhabitants, I felt that I never could have dwelt happily for weeks, months, and years, in tents in such a region, and amidst such a people.

The railway from Tiflis to Bakú for the most part runs through a howling wilderness, and the only representatives of the human race are the man, or perhaps woman with a child in her arms, who stands with a staff to mark the crossings of roads, which, as far as the eye could mark, were neither traversed by the camel of the Nomad, nor the creaking cart of the Scythian. Railway notices were stuck up in correct form in the Russian and Arabic character, but there seemed no possibility of any one reading them, except the passengers of the one daily train which plodded by at stated hours. Yet the substitution of the railway for the tarantass and telega marks a distinct epoch of improvement. I saw an old tarantass in the yard of the inn at Bakú, ready to convey an unhappy family to a solitary station lying off the railroad, and it appeared as antediluvian as a palanquin, and yet I recollect starting on a journey from Calcutta to Ambála in a palanquin, which certainly is a form of locomotion very much less civilized than the tarantass. On the other hand Russia may be said to have only the dry bones of Asia, while the Master of India, and the Ruler of China have the flesh. Hence comes the desire of the lean kine to swallow up the fat kine.

But before I describe the people, which is the second branch of my subject, let me record my opinion, not hastily arrived at, that the Russian Government of subject provinces is strong, thorough, and well-intentioned. There is none of that entire absence of the first elements of Government, which distinguishes the abominable system of the Turkish Empire, nor is there that over-government, and undue interference in the affairs of private individuals, that is so offensive in Germany. I travelled all round the Russian shores of the Black Sea, and mingled freely with the people, and found universal civility and friendliness from fellow-travellers and officials. It is a fascinating tour, which comprehends, on going eastward, Odessa, and the Crimea, Kertch at the mouth of the sea of Azof, and the great slopes of the western Caucasus; and on the return, the northern coast of Asia Minor with Trebizond, and the mouths of the river Halys, and the mysterious mouths of the Bosphorus, that great sea river, which finds its way betwixt the Symplegades, and flows on in one uninterrupted stream past the walls of Constantinople. The Bosphorus no doubt suggested the idea of the great circumambient ocean, which according to the notions of the early Greeks, in the time of Homer, surrounded the world. Many thoughts rise up in the mind, as each day brings into sight new objects, and awakes new associations. As I sailed under the hills of Circassia, and read that that famous territory was actually without inhabitants, that virgin forests filled the valleys, and wild bulls roved about

among the ruins of deserted homesteads, since the whole population had migrated across the Black Sea rather than submit to the Russian domination, the scathing words of Tacitus came to the recollection—

“Solitudinem faciunt et pacem appellant.”

As I walked through Trebizond, the natural conformation of the flat hills and deep valleys explained why it was named by the Greek word for “a table,” and a world-wide story came to my recollection as I looked up to the mountains of Asia behind, for from these heights the Ten Thousand of Xenophon, on their famous retreat through Kurdistan and Armenia, beheld again the waves of the sea, and raised a mighty shout of “Thalatta, Thalatta,” while they erected a mighty mound, decorating it with their shields to commemorate their deliverance. That monument has long since perished, but the famous incident has caught the fancy of all succeeding generations, and will live for ever on the lips of men, like the burning of the ships of the great Spanish freebooter, and the famous signal at the masthead of Nelson on the day of his last victory.

On the northern side of the Euxine, the famous harbour and battle-field of Sebastopol can scarcely be passed without some notice. Though more than a quarter of a century has passed, the scene of ruin and desolation remains very much unchanged. In fact, the importance of the position has passed away. I arrived just in time to see the monuments over the graves of our soldiers being collected from the scattered graveyards, which were exposed to the risk of desecration from the Tatar Mahometan villagers, into one central burial-ground, walled round and protected, on Cathcart's Hill. Nothing can have been more friendly and noble than the conduct of the Russian authorities. I visited also the two solitary tombs or group of tombs on the Alma: they alone remain *in situ*. Every other vestige of the British Army in the Crimea is now collected in the one English graveyard. The French did this work years ago, and collected the bones of the fallen also: we have allowed the graves to remain undisturbed, and fertile crops will efface all trace of the scattered resting places. But like the monument of Potidæa, which has survived more than two thousand years, to record the acts of the brave men who fell for their country, so will the monuments of Cathcart Hill record the deeds of valour of the Crimean war as long as England lasts as a nation and beyond.

I must return to the second branch of my subject, the description of the nationalities and languages of the inhabitants of the province of the Caucasus. The Russian Government is very strong

on the side of cartography and statistics. Two excellent maps have been published at Tiflis, one describing the population ethnically, and the other administratively. The Russians themselves, in the shape of permanent colonists, soldiery, and temporary denizens, exceed one million, or one-fifth of the population. A few Poles are recorded, but, it may be presumed, are involuntary settlers. The Polish Doctor, who was called in to prescribe in my presence for a sick traveller, admitted that he was an insurgent, who had the alternative offered to him of practising his profession at Bakú, or a longer trip to Siberia. A great many of the Russians have left their homes in Old Russia, and settled here to avoid the military conscription, which offended their conscientious scruples; but now that the military law is extended to the Caucasus province, they will have to move on further. Small colonies of Germans appear here and there, but it can scarcely be imagined that with the choice betwixt North America and the Caucasus, the latter will be chosen. The hungry and ubiquitous Greek, who, if bidden, is ready to go to the infernal regions, is here in considerable numbers,—there are 20,000. So far the population is European.

As might be imagined, numbers of Persians have crossed the Araxes as immigrants, or are descendants of old settlers, who date back to the long period of Persian domination. They amount to 130,000, and the Kurds, who are Persian subjects, though of distinct race, contribute 45,000. 25,000 Jews are recorded, but when I enquired whether the Jews were loathed and hated in this province, as they were by all classes in other parts of Southern Russia, I was answered in the negative, as the Armenians did all the dirty work of money-lending, liquor-selling, brothel-keeping, and other offensive trades, which made the Jews so unpopular elsewhere. The province includes the greater part of Armenia Proper, and there are 700,000 Armenians, industrious, influential, and well-placed, in fact the back-bone of the commercial community. Tiflis is the capital of the old kingdom of Georgia, and a large population of agriculturists, amounting to 900,000, is found in the different sub-divisions of Georgia Proper, Imeritia, Mingrelia, and Lazia, under the general name of Grusian. The attention of travellers is at once called to the appearance and dress of the Armenian and Georgian residents, all of whom are Christians, though belonging to separate churches.

Still more remarkable, specially in their head dress, are the Trans-Caucasian or Azerbaijani Turks, who number nearly a million, and do all the menial work of the country. They differ very materially from their cousins the Osmanli Turks on their right at Constantinople, and the Turcoman savages across the Caspian Sea. They appear to be an honest, hard-working race,

drivers of carriages, and generally useful. A few thousand Mongols and more than a hundred thousand Turks of the northern tribes, are also enumerated. However the existence of this section of the population, who are Mahometan, presents a counterpoise to the Christian races already mentioned, and renders any attempt at a national existence impossible. There can have been, or can be, no possible bond of union, past, present, or future. This is the great strength of Russia's position in this province.

Such is the population of the plains, or steppes, or lower ranges, but in the Caucasus mountains, a congeries of small and totally unconnected tribes long defied the power of the great Governments, north and south, but have at last knuckled down in subjection to Russia. They dwell in valleys, which are approached with difficulty, and their conquest has never paid the expenses of the conflict, but it was impossible to tolerate an independence which indulged itself in free-booting. The Dariel Pass appears to be a line of demarcation of the eastern and western tribes, the most notorious of the Eastern Section being the inhabitants of Daghestán, known generally as Lesghian, another term for free-booters, among whom Schamyl maintained his war of independence. The most notorious of the Western Section are the Swani, of the upland valleys of Swanetia, who, under the heights of their snowy ranges, have maintained a rude and savage freedom and their pagan forms of religion, very much as the Siah-posh Kafirs have done in the upland valleys of the Hindu-Kúsh. Along the shores of the Black Sea are the Abkhasians, the nominal remnant of the Tcherkessians or Circassians, and north of the Caucasus the Kabardans, who extend along the Northern slopes as far as Vladikafkas, and beyond these on the northern slopes reaching down to the Caspian Sea are the Tshetshen, a tribe of bad repute. Betwixt the eastern and western groups thus enumerated right up to Mount Kasbek, dwell the interesting tribe of the Ossete, partly Mahometan and partly Christian and even pagan, but who also, as will be shown from their language, are Arian, while all their neighbours, for want of a better classification, must be lumped together, in a group called the Caucasian. Each one of the tribes mentioned has numberless sub-divisions without any bond of union, which differ in customs and often in language.

And from this point of view I will now consider the position of the province of the Caucasus. It is of the essence of good government that the Ruler should be accessible to, and able to understand, the people, and this necessity is impressed deeply on the officials of British India, and fortunately in most of the provinces there are leading languages; but in British Burma,

the Central Provinces, and Assam there is a multiplicity of small and unimportant languages. The position of the conscientious official in the Caucasus is a difficult one. Russian is necessarily the official language, and is the mother-tongue of one-fifth of the residents. The Armenian, Georgian, and Trans-Caucasian Turki stand next in importance, but belonging to totally distinct families or groups of languages from each other and Russian, require a distinct and separate study. Russian belongs to the Slavonic branch of the Arian family; Armenian, like Persian, belongs to the Iranian branch of the same family. Turki is a member of the Altaic family of Agglutinative Languages, and the form spoken here is not impregnated with Persian and Arabic words like the Osmanli. Georgian is one of the Caucasian languages with no relation to any of the foregoing. Moreover, each of the foregoing languages has a different form of writing exclusively used. There appears to be an entire blending together of the speakers of these different languages, and it is difficult to say which would be the one language which was understood by all. It is scarcely necessary to say that the four great languages of Europe are at a discount.

I give a practical instance: when at Bakú last October (1883), I hired a carriage to drive six or seven miles to the petroleum fields. My coachman was a good, intelligent fellow, but he spoke nothing but Turki; my landlord, an Italian, explained to him carefully what he was to do with us, and we did very well until we arrived in the middle of the machinery. I was unable to formulate any questions, and he had not the innate skill of a practised guide to explain by gesture what was going on around: the men employed in the operations were, like himself, Turks. I was in despair when I beheld a well-dressed Armenian gentleman approaching me: raising my hat I addressed him consecutively in French, German, and Italian, and on each occasion he shook his head to show his inability to comprehend me. He then addressed me in Armenian, Russian, and Turki, and I shook my head hopelessly, though I quite knew which languages he was using, as they were always sounding around me, and I had learnt to distinguish their sounds. It would have been an absurdity on my part to address him in English, nor did he vex my soul by addressing me in Georgian. We stood blandly smiling at each other, when, under a sudden inspiration, he cried out: "I suppose you do not speak Persian"—"Not speak Persian!" I replied, "why, it is a language with which I am quite familiar." We fraternized at once. He explained everything, as he was himself a proprietor of a great many wells; he took us into his office and gave us refreshments, and we parted as warm friends.

Some further allusion to these languages is necessary. Armenian is an ancient literary language, and the form in which their ancient translation of the Bible was made, has become archaic, and has been replaced by a modern form : this modern form has two distinct varieties, as the language spoken by the Western Armenians in Turkey in Asia Minor is so essentially different from the Eastern Armenian, spoken in Persia and Russia, that separate translations of the Bible have been published. The Georgian language has again split up into Imeritian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Swanetian, as well as Georgian Proper. In this language also exists the archaic and obsolete form, retained for ecclesiastical use. The limits, however, of the Georgian field being more contracted, the differences are less important. But by the term Turki is known a cluster of very distinct languages spoken over very distant areas by a scattered, and often nomadic population, differing from the Osmanli Turk in culture, and every thing but religion and race. There is the western or highly refined Osmanli Turki : the Trans-Caucasian or Azerbijuni spoken by thousands in the province of the Caucasus : the Trans-Caspian Turki, called also Jaghatai, spoken by the Tekke Turcomans and kindred Nomads of Merw and Akál : the Uzbek Turki spoken in Trans-Oxiana : the Turki of Eastern Turkistan, or Chinese Tartary, of which we have a grammar by the lamented Shaw, Political Agent at Kashgar : turning back to the west again, across the steppes, we find tribes speaking the Kirghez variety, the Turki of Astrakhan, the Turki of Kazan and the Tschuvas. Far to the north is the Yakút. As the Russian frontier has extended eastward from the river Volga and the Caspian Sea towards Afghanistan, new linguistic phenomena have presented themselves, and have to be taken count of, if any decent form of administration is to be maintained.

Admitting that the majority of the Persians and Kurds, found in the province, are subjects of the Shah of Persia, still their number, either domiciled or temporary residents in the province, adds to the complication of the problem. In the district of Bakú and in one district south of the River Kúr, known as Lenkoran, the language is a dialect of Persian, and other dialects of this beautiful and simple language are gradually coming into our knowledge. The Kurds are a manly and independent race, and colonies are found on the frontier of Trans-Caspia, where they were placed to hold their own against the Turcoman : thieves, they are set to catch thieves. Their language is of the Aryan family, akin to Persian, and they come of an ancient race, being descendants of those Carduchi who gave such trouble to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand in their famous retreat.

But the confusion of races, languages, and religions in the plains is as nothing compared with the state of affairs within the ranges of Mount Caucasus. In the plains we have been dealing with tens of thousands, connected, except in the case of the Georgians, with large communities beyond the Russian frontier, and with men and women who, if in a low state of culture, were still far from being savages, or ignorant of the existence of other races but themselves. But in the mountains of the Caucasus we find the same phenomenon which is exhibited in the mountains of Central India, the slopes of the Himaláya, and the mountains of Abyssinia. As in the course of centuries the great conquering races of mankind pushed forward in their irresistible progress, slaying and destroying, the remnants of the weaker races, who had preceded them in occupation, fled right and left to the inaccessible mountains, or the malarious valleys, and were able thus to prolong a low and savage existence, keeping their old religious customs and language, dwindling in some cases to a few villages, in other cases occupying a certain number of upland and safeguarded valleys, shunning intercourse with their neighbours even on the other side of the snow-capped watershed which separated them. It is mentioned that some of the languages of the Caucasus are restricted to a few hundreds, the residents of a few villages. Pliny mentions how in the marketplace of Colchis, the modern Kutáis, capital of Imeritia, some scores of languages were spoken, as some adventurous member of a highland clan would creep down to sell his surplus produce. Great interest has always been felt in this so-called Caucasian group, though it had long ago transpired that the remnants of very different tribes, with very different languages, had been huddled together in the same coigne of refuge, like hunted game of all descriptions flying before an army of hunters. As far back as 1823, Klaproth, in his *Asia Polyglotte* had collected the scattered information of that period, at a time when the Russian dominion was not established in the mountains, and all explanation for scientific purposes was impossible. Even then, however, he protests against the absurdity of the term Caucasian applied to the Arian nations of Europe and Asia, as if their origin had any connection with the Caucasus. In 1844, Sjögren published the results of his personal researches among the Ossete, an Arian tribe, and other writers followed him in the description of this interesting language, and the analogies which it offers to other Arian languages. Its place was finally fixed in the Iranian branch of the great Arian family.

Baron Uslar, in 1856, was entrusted by the Russian Government with the task of preparing an ethnographic description of the tribes of the Caucasus, and his attention was directed to their

languages. He drew up in the Russian language notices of the Awar, the Tshetshen, the Kasikumuk, the Akúsha, the Kurin, the Tabasseran, and Artshi, which last language was spoken in one village only, something quite peculiar and isolated, and yet closely related to some of its neighbours. All these were in the eastern field of the Caucasus. In the western field, Baron Uslar describes the Abkhaz on the littoral of the Black Sea. Schiefner, Rosen, Bergé, either followed or preceded him in his investigation in different parts of his field, and Schiefner translated the whole of his reports into German, and published them in the memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy. L' Huillier and Loewe published Grammars and Dictionaries of the Tsherkess or, as it is better known, the Circassian language : such were the materials of an original character available.

I met Schiefner in 1878 at the Oriental Congress at Florence, and entered into conversation with this great scholar on the subject of the language of the Caucasus, having been greatly interested with what Bergé had told me on the subject three years before at the Congress at St. Petersburg. I asked him to prepare for me an account of these languages, which he did in the German language. I had it translated into English, and published in the Report of the Philological Society, but before it appeared, the great scholar had passed away. In this sketch he first narrates the progress of our knowledge and the name of the scholars who had written on the subject, and then describes some of the peculiarities of the languages. The great frequency of gutturals and sibilants in all the Caucasian languages is remarkable : they amount to as many as fifteen. There are also mixed sounds compounded with the letter L, which approximate to the clicks generally supposed to be peculiar to Africa. The term "Gender" is well known to all students of Arian and Semitic languages, but the majority of languages have no "Gender." The Caucasian languages, like the South African, divide their words into certain classes, depending upon the fact whether they signify beings with or without reason, and among the former, whether they are male or female, or with undeveloped or unrecognized sex. Cases are numerous, though the accusative is wanting, and number is marked by suffixes. In the majority of the languages, the vigesimal system of numerals prevails. The verbs are exuberant in tense and mood-forms, expressing beginning, continued, contemplated, and required action. Some of the tense-forms, such as the Aorist, represent peculiarly refined and accurate modifications of the root-meanings. In the Tsherkess and Abkhaz, both on the shores of the Black Sea, we find the use of prefixes.

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Schiefner then proceeds to classify these languages with reference to their morphological relations.

Class I.—A. Awár, spoken in the heart of Daghestán.

B. Akúsha, East of above.

C. Kasikúmuk, in Central Daghestán.

D. Tabasserau, do do.

E. Kurín, in South Daghestán.

F. Artshi, do.

G. Ude, outside of and to the South of Daghestán in two villages only.

Class II.—A. Tsherkess, on the Black Sea.

B. Abkház, do do.

Class III.—A. Tush, on the Northern slope of the Caucasus.

B. Tshetshen, do do.

Class IV.—Georgian.

The number of purely Caucasian languages, in a linguistic sense, is restricted to the above-mentioned twelve, as the other language spoken within the region, the Ossete, is classed in the Iranian branch of the well-known Arian family.

Thus there are eighteen languages in all spoken by the settlers, or the indigenous tribes, of this Province, taking no count of the well-known European languages, such as German. Some of them are indeed magnificent and widespread vernaculars, supported by an ancient literature, and modern press: others are restricted to a narrow area, and uncultivated, though not likely to be extinguished in the struggle for life; one, the Tsherkess, has actually been driven out of the province by the expatriation of the tribe: others again are miserable remnants of a former epoch, interesting survivals, but not likely to hold up against the pressure of modern civilisation, destined to give way altogether, or subside into such a patois as is spoken among themselves by the Swiss mountaineers. No doubt in the ranges of the Himaláya and Vindya, scores of similar languages could be pointed out, specially in the province of Assam and the Central Provinces, and it is to be feared that no official of Government, English or Native, is able to communicate with members of such tribes, and no schools of the most primary kind exist in which instruction is given in such languages. We hear of tumults and petty rebellions in different obscure corners of India, which generally can be traced back to misunderstandings, because the District Officer could not communicate unpreservedly with his people. It is a scandal that there is not a single Gond school in the Central Provinces.

One feature of the Russian administration of Asiatic Provinces

remains to be noticed, and it is an important one. Education is not neglected, and the stream of boys and girls flowing to or from the schools at certain hours of the day, is a feature of the great South Russian cities, and this must produce, accompanied as it is by cheap literature, a rapprochement of fellow subjects intellectually and morally, in spite of the congenital difference of race and religion and *ancestral*, as contrasted with *acquired*, language. The Russian seated on the extreme East of Europe is not so far removed in ideas and culture from the Asiatic of the West of Asia as the insular Englishman is from the angular and isolated Hindu. Hence arises a greater intercourse between the conqueror and conquered, leading to intermarriages and commensality, things that are impossible in India. Hence also it arises that the Russians assimilate the Georgian and Armenian to themselves, trust them, and admit them to the highest office. Prince Melikoff, Governor of Daghestán, was an Armenian. Loris Melikoff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces at Alexandropol, in the late Turkish war, was an Armenian. He was admitted to all social privileges and dignities : at a great dinner party at his own house, he remarked to an English traveller as follows :—

“The company present will give you a good idea of the force of Russia in assimilating foreign elements. I am an Armenian, but I think no one could detect it by my speech ; my wife is a Georgian, and speaks the purest Russian ; at my left hand is the Chief of the district, who is as Russian as if his ancestors had been in the country for 500 years, though he is of recent German origin ; next to him sits my Adjutant, Captain Allison, whose grandfather was an Englishman ; he himself speaks no English ; and so on to the end there is not a man present of Russian origin, but it is a thoroughly Russian company. Then, as to the place which I occupy,—Vladikavkaz, as you know, means in the Russian language ‘commanding the Caucasus’—in other words, the key of the Caucasus. Now, the Russian Government puts this key into my hands with the same confidence as if every drop of blood in my veins were Russian. Neither England in India, nor France in Algiers, dreams of giving a principal command to a native ; while on the Caucasus the highest positions are held by natives. At one of the most critical periods of our history the Commander-in-Chief was a Georgian, Prince Tsitsiani, who fully justified the choice of the Government, for he was one of the ablest men we have had at the head of affairs.”

How different is the feeling in British India and the accepted policy of the Government ! Extensive provinces are left with native Sovereigns, and this implies that they are deemed capable of exercising the highest offices of State over a people, who are of precisely the same religion, race, and language as are our subjects. Yet within the provinces of British India, natives of India are, from a narrow jealousy, systematically excluded from high civil office, though notoriously fitted for it : as to giving them a high military command, the idea would not be entertained ;

and when with a niggard hand some doors are opened to higher office, offensive privileges are reserved to the superior caste of European British subjects, who are merely birds of passage, while the subjects of the other European nations, and the American citizens, as well as the Eurasian, Armenian, and Parsi community, are left exposed to certain perils, which we must be thankful to believe are only imaginary. No nation that hopes to perpetuate its rule in a conquered country, can safely act thus ; if the Englishman stands thus haughtily apart, the day of his expulsion is not far distant. The great Roman Empire flourished so long, because it extended its citizenship to the whole world, and some of the greatest of the Emperors sprang from Iberian or Dalmatian Colonies.

I now come to the third branch of my subject, the effect upon British India of the occupation of the province of the Caucasus in force by Russia, and its silent advance across the Caspian Sea into Trans-Caspia. To do this I must more particularly describe my late visit, and the reflections which it suggested.

My route was nearly the direct one, *vid* Berlin and Warsaw to Odessa, and so timed as to hit off the steamer which goes so many times a week to Sebastopol. At Sebastopol I occupied the interval between the arrival and departure of successive steamers by visiting Cathcart Hill, Balaclava, Inkerman, and the Alma, and inspecting the operations of General Conolly and Vice-Consul Harford in removing the monuments. I drove by the celebrated Baida Valley route to Yalta, where I went on board the steamer, visited Kaffa, Kertch, coasted the Caucasus mountains, touched at Sukhum Kale in Akhbasia, and reached Batúm, the terminus of the new railway from Tiflis, in time to catch the morning-train, and reach Tiflis that night in a run of fifteen hours. I was peculiarly lucky, as the branch to Batúm had only been opened in the autumn of 1883, and I was saved the annoyance of going to Poti, which would have entailed delay and the risk of fever.

From Tiflis a pleasant run of twenty-one hours took me to Bakú on the Caspian. The Russian railways are admirable ; my fellow-travellers were most agreeable ; the climate at that season of the year was faultless ; my passport was never asked for ; the police gave no trouble. Civility, and something more, kindness, are what the stranger uniformly finds in Russia. I returned along the coast of Asia Minor to Constantinople, thence to Varna, Bucarest, Buda-Pesth, Vienna, to England.

Part of my object was, as I have stated, to study on the spot the problem of the possible occupation of Herát by the Russians. I disclaim all Russophobia, and the least particle of antipathy to

Russia. I look upon that great Power as a fellow-worker with England in the civilization of Asia; still, when great interests are at stake, it is well to know what our friends and our neighbours are about, however kindly intended and unselfish they may be, or pretend to be.

The problem of the invasion of India by some Power westward of the River Indus, has been before me ever since I was sent forty years ago by the late Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General of India, to the north-west frontier of India in the Political Department. The first Afghan war was just over, and I met all the men who had taken part in that war, and lived in intimacy with Havelock and Broadfoot; then suddenly the Sikh war burst upon us, and I was with Hardinge and Gough when Lahúr was taken in 1846, and in the Punjab fighting to keep possession of my own district, when our frontier was in 1849 pushed on beyond the River Indus to the foot of the Afghan mountains. In those days we thought little of Russia, though Count Soltikoff was moving about in our midst, for many hundred leagues spread betwixt our advanced frontier and that of the Russians.

But after the Crimean War, Russia,—just as France is doing now—began a series of petty campaigns eastwards as if to compensate herself from her weaker Asiatic neighbours for the serious defeats which she had experienced at the hands of her European rivals. She first disposed of Schamyl, and made herself entirely mistress of the Caucasus range, thus rendering Cis- and Trans-Caucasia for the first time a compact province extending from the Black to the Caspian Seas, and a basis for invasion both of Persia and Turkey in Asia. But we shall see further on, that the Caucasus province was intended to be the basis for something more than this: at least it has proved to be so.

In 1864 Russia extended her frontier into the basin of the Sir Darya or Jaxartes, and occupied Tashkend. This led on to the entire subjugation of the Khanate of Kokand, and the effectual intimidation of the Khapates of Khiva and Bokhara. This brought the Russian frontier into immediate proximity with that of Afghanistan, which has always been considered as part of the Indian polity or influence. Very little sympathy was felt for such petty States as Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand, and Russia did good service in taming or extinguishing them. Yet India could not look on unmoved, and when Kaufmann in 1878 collected an army at Tashkend to make a demonstration against British India at the very moment of the Berlin Congress, it was felt that the mask was dropped. If in a game

of chess the player lays his finger on a piece, even if he does not move it, his policy is disclosed to his adversary. Thus Kaufmann's menace, though only a menace, showed clearly that British India was the quarter in which Russia intended hereafter to operate if brought into collision with England. The distance of Tashkend from Russia Proper, and the fact that it was all but impossible to connect them by a railway, was one factor in the problem which had to be considered. The lofty barrier of the Hindu Kúsh was another; it had, however, in past time, been surmounted by many an invader of India, and, as a fact, a portion of Afghan territory lay beyond it.

Suddenly, however, the basis of operations was shifted from the Sir Darya to the Caspian Sea, and the eyes of those who watched the game saw clearly that Russia had an easier way to operate upon India than by the River Oxus and the Hindu Kúsh, and each year has made this fact clearer, and this is the object of my present communication. The matter is not new to the inner circle of experts, and to those who have studied the subject, but it is not so well known to the general public as it should be. The last link of the chain was forged when, at the end of 1882, the railway was opened from Tiflis to Bakú. Let me first draw attention to the geographical features of the line, and then treat the subject in detail.

No one is unaware that the resources of Russia on the north coast of the Black Sea are unlimited in magnitude. That is the first section of the subject. The next section is the Caucasus province, the existence of which is generally known, but the potentialities and the capabilities of the Russian power in that province are not so well known. The third section is the Caspian Sea; I have already noticed above what a large fleet of steamers is collected on these waters. The fourth section is the Trans-Caspian province of Russia traversed by a railway as far as Kizil Arvat, and by a good road as far as the "frontier at this moment," Baba Durmaz. It is proposed to construct a railway as far as Geok Tépó. In a few months, or even while I write, that frontier line may be pushed forward. The fifth section is the line of country from the Russian frontier through Saraskh to the Hari Rúd River, where unquestionably Afghan territory, and, as above stated, the influence of British India, commences. The sixth section is the country betwixt the Hari Rúd and Herát, the district of Badgheis. This region has only been revealed to us last year. Beyond Herát we are at home, and the interior of our home is known to all of us.

During the Crimean War the weakness of Russia was exposed by her inability to bring her resources of men and

material to the front, from the absence of military roads and railroads. As regards the Black Sea she has cured that defect now. She still has the incurable defect of the whole line of her coast, with the exception of the Crimea, being bound by a frozen sea for a certain time in the winter. At Odessa, last winter, the residents walked round the big ships frozen in the harbour. Odessa, Nicolaef, and Sebastopol on the Black Sea, Taganrog and Rostof on the Sea of Azof, are linked by a net-work of railways to every part of the Empire.

At Kertch, which is the door of the Sea of Azof, under the direction of Todleben, a most formidable fortification has been constructed, under the guns of which every vessel entering the Sea of Azof must pass. In the Black Sea are the excellent steamers, large and commodious, of the Russian Navigation Company, all built at Newcastle and on the Clyde, but the docks of Sebastopol have once more resumed their activity. At Odessa, Sebastopol, and Batúm the steamers on arrival lie flush up to the pier, an obvious convenience in embarking and disembarking troops.

The transit from Odessa to Batúm occupies four days, and from Sebastopol three days, calling at all the ports; but a direct transit across the Black Sea would occupy only half the time. Of course the navigation of the Black Sea presupposes the absence of a superior hostile fleet; in that case not only would it be impossible for the transports to cross, but the last five miles of railroad from Tiflis to Batúm run along a low shore, and could be rendered impassable by a gunboat. It is in time of peace only that the Caucasus province can be reinforced from the side of the Black Sea. It is proposed to construct a branch railway from the Rostof-Vladikafkas line to Novo Russik, on the Black Sea, which would enable reinforcements to be sent from the interior of Russia to the military posts on the Black Sea at a time when the Sea of Azof is obstructed by ice.

Let us now consider the second section, the province of the Caucasus. It embraces the whole of the Caucasus mountain range from sea to sea, a strip of level country to the north of that range, and the region of Trans-Caucasia, south of that range, the frontier of which marches with the frontiers of Turkey and Persia.

The strength of the army of the Caucasus province, without the reserve, may be taken as from 60,000 to 70,000 effective men. The reserve would raise it to 120,000, and the bands of irregular Georgian cavalry and infantry, which are called

out in war-time, to 30,000 more. Every military cantonment comprises a military colony, to which every soldier, after completing his term of service (five years), can retire. These settlements are extending annually, and materially strengthen the Russian hold on the country. To the above available force must be added the Cossacks, who can turn out 50,000 horsemen, most useful cavalry for Asiatic campaigning. This information is supplied by a competent authority only last year. There is no fear of invasion spontaneously from the side of Turkey or Persia, as both those effete and moribund powers are anxious to be let alone, and can only be induced to strike when it comes to be a struggle for dear life. In the last war Turkey invaded the Caucasus province with a view to create a diversion in what seemed to be a death-struggle.

In addition to this effective force in the province, reinforcements to any extent can be sent to Vladikafkas, north of the Caucasus range, which is in railway connection with every part of the Empire. Except in winter, a mountain road over a pass of 8,000 feet is open to troops by the Dariel Pass, through an entirely pacified district; and in a few years, one of two schemes will surely be carried out, either a railroad through the Dariel Pass, which would be a small affair compared to that of Mont Cenis or Mont Gothard, or a railway of greater length and easier construction skirting the northern flank of the range eastward to the Caspian, at Petrofsk, thus supplying a new feeder of troops for the Trans-Caspian province, and then running on the shore of the Caspian through Derbend to Bakú, the eastward terminus of the Tiflis railroad to the Caspian. In either case unlimited reinforcements could be speedily sent to the Trans-Caucasus army, *under all circumstances and at all seasons*. Except in winter, reinforcements could also be sent from Astrakhan by sea to Bakú or Michaelovsk, but the mouth of the Volga is frozen for many months.

In the "Times" appeared the following notice from St. Petersburg, dated December 26, 1883:—"An Imperial Decree orders the reorganization of the local troops of the Caucasus and the formation of six battalions of reserve." It reads very much as being an order analogous to the annual relief in British India, but such an order might mean the detachment of a corps d'armée of 20,000 picked men by railroad from Tiflis to Bakú in twenty-one hours. There is no English Consular Agent at Tiflis or Bakú, and this military movement might attract no attention; there are vast open spaces eastward of Tiflis, and it might be presumed that this corps d'armée had been detached for autumn

manœuvres and ball practice. What would become of that corps d'armée on its arrival at Bakú we shall see in the third section.

The third section is the Caspian Sea, but it includes the great and rising city of Bakú, the eastward terminus of the Trans-Caucasus Railway. Bakú is a name of which we shall hear more in the next quarter of a century. Nearly exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the Caspian Sea, but within twenty-four hours' steaming distance, is Michaelovsk, the terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, which now proudly takes its place in the railway books of the Russian Empire, though I have never met any one who had travelled by it, nor did the railway inspector, who accompanied me to Bakú, venture across to look at it; there is no question but that it exists, but for strictly military and aggressive purposes.

It was an impressive sight that met me, when early in the morning I hurried down to the dock, and stepped from the pier on to a steamer just about to start for Astrakhan. Before me lay the great mysterious Russian salt lake, the greatest internal sea, and the one on which no flag but the Russian can fly. Beyond, in the unseen distance, was the mysterious Trans-Caspian territory, and the new road to India. I had been one of the first, forty-two years ago, to cross the Isthmus of Suez on the then new route to India, and I wished that I was younger, and could cross to Michaelovsk, and work my way to Saraskh. While I was on board, a steamer came into sight hailing from Resht, Asterabad, and Michaelovsk. I was delighted to hear around me the well-known Persian language once more spoken, and I thought of the anecdote of the Emperor Trajan, who saw the ships from India coming into harbour at the mouth of the Euphrates, and wished that he was young enough to go to that unknown country. Two Frenchmen landed from that steamer, who had accomplished a marvellous journey from Pekin, through Siberia and Trans-Caspian Turkestan. They had ridden from Khiva to Merv, and from Merv to Meshed, without let or hindrance from the Turkomans, who a few years ago would have killed them or sold them into bondage. So mighty has been the change worked by the storming of Geok Tépé by Skobelev. I asked the travellers how they managed to work their way from Khiva to Merv, and Merv to Meshed. They attributed it entirely to their skill in managing natives, in which Russians and English were so deficient, according to them. I then asked them what language they made use of, and found that they knew nothing but French, and had not even a personal servant nor an interpreter; they had been shot through by the Governor

of Khiva like pellets through a pop-gun. At any rate there can be no doubt that, at any given moment, without a note of preparation, a corps d'armée, brought in one day from Tiflis to Bakú, could, the next day, be shipped across to Michaelovsk.

The fourth section, or the Trans-Caspian province of Russia, is partly traversed by a railway, 144 miles in length; the time occupied being twelve hours. The country is perfectly level, and uninfested by hostile tribes; but a desert, and devoid of human habitation. This work is entirely due to the energy and ability of General Annenkoff, the Controller of Russian Military Transport under General Skobelev, who suggested and carried out the design of a railway from the Caspian to the Tekke oasis at Kizil Arvat. There happened to be 100 miles of rails lying unused at Bender, on the Danube, purchased for use during the Turkish War. This material was shipped to Poti, carried by rail to Tiflis, dragged on carts and camels to Bakú, shipped to Michaelovsk, and, in spite of the lukewarmness of the Russian Government, and the ridicule of those who were ignorant or jealous, or both, laid down and materially assisted Skobelev in his campaign. This was the first sod turned of a line destined before long to extend to Herát, and link itself to the railway system of British India. Whatever may be the results, the Emperor and his Ministers at St. Petersburg are by no means responsible for the wonderful and unexpected supply of steamers and railway that connect Bakú with Kizil Arvat. The railway ends there, and it is an error to suppose that either railway or tramway extends further. Baba Durmaz, 47 miles south-east of Askabad, and a deserted village, is the frontier of Russia on the 1st January 1884. However, among the railway projects actually under the consideration of the Governor of the Caucasus, is the extension of the line from Kizil Arvat to Geok Tépé.

The fifth section extends along a debateable land claimed by the King of Persia, but, until the taking of Geok Tépé (which is called also Yengo Sheher), overrun by Turkoman hordes, whom it was beyond the power of the Persian Government to control. A great change has come over both the Akhal Tekke and the Meiv Tekke, and the King of Persia is indirectly indebted to the victory of Russia for the opportunity of reasserting his authority. By a treaty with Persia, dated 1880, the Russians have for the time accepted a boundary, and there is no reason to suppose that the Turkomans, who are so cowed, will give them any excuse for moving on, but, if they did, the Russians would unquestionably refuse to acknowledge the sovereignty of Persia over this section, though they scarcely could ignore the autho-

city permanently established at Saraskh. Still the General commanding did not hesitate to send forward a competent surveyor, Lessar, to take the levels for a railroad to Saraskh, which is actually on the Hari Rúd, or Herat River, though known there as the Tejend, or Saraskh Daria. General MacGregor, from India, had reached this town coming from the East, so here the advanced line of the Russians touched the advanced line of the English; and a little to the west of this town the regular established road from Meshed to Merv, which is only 90 miles distant, is crossed. Saraskh is occupied by a battalion of Persian infantry, and is a large fortress, but the astute surveyor remarks that it is quite possible to carry the line at such a distance north of the fortress as practically to be independent of it.

In the newspapers of January 24th, 1884, a Russian paper, the *Caspi*, is quoted as the authority for the news that at the close of last year the Merv Tekke had made a raid into Persia, even as far as Meshed. This may be true or false, but it will have the same result of inducing the Russians to push on their railway as far as their frontier Baba Durmaz, or even as far as Saraskh, thus completely protecting the Persian frontier from future raids.

The sixth section, as stated above, is, according to the opinion of the highest English authority, within the recognized territory of Afghanistan, as distinguished from Khorasan, which belongs to Persia, and the free country of the Turkoman tribes. And yet the Russian General had the boldness to send his surveyor across the Hari Rúd River into this province, and survey a line for the railway up to the walls of Herát, showing professionally that there is no impediment whatever of a physical character and no elevation to be traversed of more than 900 feet, and no opposition from the tribes occupying the country.

Summing up the whole distance from Michaelovsk, the basis on the Caspian, to Herát, "the Gate of India," we have the following ascertained distances:—

	English Miles.
Michaelovsk to Kizil Arvat 147 (railroad).
Kizil Arvat to Askabad...	... 135 (road, railroad proposed).
Askabad to Saraskh 185 } (surveyed).
Saraskh to Herát 202 }

Of this distance nearly one-half lies within Russian territory, the remainder may be deemed *de facto* debateable land, until the neighbourhood is reached of Herát, but *de jure* Afghanistan is bounded by the Hari Rúd.

There is little reason for doubt that the corps d'armée, which I left at Michaelovsk, could occupy Herát long before any force from British India could reach it; Herát is distant 599 miles from Sibi, the terminus of the Indian railway system, and 522 miles from Kizil Arvat, the terminus of the Russian system, but the two roads are not equally open to an invading army; the Indian army would have to fight its way.

But the dazzling bait is held out of a railway to India with only two short breaks of the land route, *viz.*, two days on the Black Sea, and one on the Caspian; the whole distance is to be traversed in nine days by linking on the railways of India extended westward to Herát. It has even been suggested that our annual military reliefs might be sent by this expeditious route, or, in other words, that we should place our heads in the mouth of the lion.

Let me not be mistaken; the occupation of Herát is not synonymous with the occupation of British India; nor has Herát been occupied yet, nor, except as a diversion in time of a European war, does its occupation come into the sphere of practical politics, and many a banner will be rent, and many a warrior will lick the dust, before a Russian crosses the River Indus. Still the mere occupation of Herát by a Power from the west would be an incalculable misfortune, for the report would circulate in an exaggerated form in every bazaar throughout British India, and that feeling of quiet, the *Pax Romana*, which has so long existed, will have passed away for ever. Nor would the conterminous existence of a great European Power, even if peaceably inclined, be other than a misfortune. At present India is isolated, shut in by the sea and mountain ranges, with no desire to penetrate, or have any relations, beyond. The necessity of keeping up a great frontier army would be a burden beyond the resources of the State Revenue in a country where military conscription is impossible. One thing, however may be said on the other side, that the burden of military service at such a distance from his home would become intolerable to the Russian conscript soldier also, and to a country with such a critical state of internal politics, and such a bankrupt exchequer, so vast an extent of frontier would be a great element of danger.

A great authority in 1875 impressed upon us that there was one point, which was the pivot of the whole Eastern question, and which must never be lost sight of, *viz.*: "We cannot afford to expose Herát to the risk of being taken by a Russian *coup de main*." And yet this is the precise point at which in 1884 we have arrived; over and over again we were assured by geographers and politicians that a range of mountains lay between

Herát and Saraskh. General McGregor told us in 1875 from his careful enquiries that such was not the case, and in 1882 we have the fact confirmed by the personal inspection of the Russian surveyor, Lessar. In the same year the railroad is opened from Tiflis to Bakú, reducing a long tedious march of many days to a few hours.

It has been asserted that successful war is absolutely necessary to keep the patriotic steam of the Russian at high pressure, and that without it the Imperial machine would stop, as the military influence is paramount, and soldiers desire honours, wealth, advancement; but against this assertion must be stated the positive fact that the advance of the Russians into the territory beyond the Caspian has been an unmixed blessing to humanity. Greater scoundrels than the Turkoman and Uzbeg can scarcely be imagined. The evidence of this can be collected from English and Persian witnesses. The most abominable system of slavery, and armed raids for plunder and murder have been put a stop to over extensive regions. Fertile districts long laid waste will now be occupied again by peaceful inhabitants. The ferocious habits of the Persian and Turkoman frontagers will be abandoned. To the conquest of Bokhara and the taking of Geok Tépe, the change must be attributed.

The English, as well as the Russians, are governed in the east by an uncontrollable tendency to advance, in spite of the most unaffected and positive orders of the Governments of the Queen and the Emperor not to move forward, and in spite of their attempts to suppress the causes leading to the forward movement. Those who have been acquainted with British India for the last forty years know such to be the fact. The Imperial Government has found itself disobeyed in the same way by over-zealous servants. The conquerors of Sind and the Punjab can hardly throw dirt against the conqueror of the Khanates and Trans-Caspia. England and Russia, driven by some kind of mysterious necessity, have been yearly approaching nearer and nearer to each other, and now that the time of their actually meeting is very near indeed, the question arises whether it should not take place on the peaceful ground of commerce and international intercourse, which would be advantageous to both parties. At any rate, by no conceivable policy can it much longer be avoided. It may be regarded as one of the coming events, which throw a shadow on the next quarter of a century. If remonstrances were made at St. Petersburg against a further advance, it would be met by an assurance that no advance was intended; and yet it would be made; if threats were made, the advance would only be accelerated.

It is proposed to construct two new railways from Tiflis: one

to Kars in the newly annexed Turkish province, to be eventually extended to Erzurúm: another is, or has been, talked about to Julfa, on the Araxes, the Persian frontier to be eventually extended to Tebriz and Teheran. I went over the maps, and the elevated plans of the province of the Caucasus and the adjoining territories, at the Topographical Office at Tiflis, under the guidance of the most obliging head of the department. There was no pretence of secrecy, or occasion for it, and the Turk and Persian must feel at any moment that the Russian is walking on their graves. All is ready for the advance, and the specious pretence of the extension of legitimate commerce is not wanting to palliate or justify a forward policy.

But this argument applies still more as regards the advance of railway communication towards India. The time has come when commerce must return to its old route through mid-Asia. This great central route was traversed by the great Arian nations on their migration westwards, and by all the great conquerors from the time of Alexander the Great. Is it of any use our attempting to oppose it? Lord Palmerston did very little good in opposing the Suez Canal. We should rise above our position as mere Englishmen, and look to the general interests of mankind. We are always impressing this lesson on Portugal, that she should not be like a dog in the manger as regards her so-called colonies in East and West Africa, and try to keep other nations from the Congo. We must practise our own precepts, and accept the inevitable of the direct railways through Central Asia to India. The danger to our Indian Empire may be a question of doubt, but about our duty to assist the pacification of these lawless districts, and promote a railway which could convey passengers from India to London in nine days, there can be no doubt. It would be of no use opposing such a scheme, nor would it be worthy of us.

And, in the meantime, let some of our younger officers go out to the Caspian, and do what I did not do, cross over, and make themselves familiar with these regions, no longer sealed up. All the advantages of new and unexpected combinations of circumstances are not always on one side. History warns us of the danger of attempting to grasp at universal dominion on the part of any one State. We should be playing into the hands of our rival if, from a selfish fear of injury to our limited interests in British India, we opposed what is clearly to the advantage of Asia and the world generally, the bringing back of peace, civilization, and commerce into the region east of the Caspian and south of the River Oxus. The work will be done, whether we like it or not.

It is obvious that Merv lies off the road from the Caspian to Herát, and that the submission of the Turcoman tribes of Merv was a sure and certain consequence of the defeat of their brethren the Akal Tekke at Geok Tépé. That fact has now been announced, and the strategic frontier of the Russian Empire as regards the river Oxus has been rounded off. The problem of the consequences of the advance of the Russian frontier from the Caspian toward Afghanistan has to be fairly faced, and involves interests of momentous importance.

ROBERT CUST,

LONDON, *March* 1884.

ART. VII.—THE RIVER CONGO.

WITHIN the last few months a combination of circumstances has operated to draw the attention of the civilised world to the great water-way of Western Africa.

The fact that General Gordon has lately given it as his deliberate opinion, that it is from the head-waters of the Congo alone that there is any hope of dealing effectually with the African slave-trade, would in itself have sufficed to invest that river with a special interest in the eyes of the philanthropist. The success of the International Association, under the leadership of the indomitable Stanley, resulting, as it has, not only in throwing a flood of new light on the capabilities of the country traversed by it, but in removing the difficulties which the hostility of the tribes on its banks placed in the way of trade, has opened the eyes of the commercial world to a vast and practically virgin field of enterprise.

The publication of the draft Treaty by which England, in virtue of a prerogative of questionable validity, has recognised the sovereign right of Portugal over the territories bordering on the lower section of the river, has given a fresh impetus and a further extension to international jealousies, the first symptoms of which manifested themselves in the rivalry between Stanley and DeBrazza, and which the prospect of so magnificent a prize was certain to arouse.

Last, not least, the vivid portraiture of a splendid, and hitherto comparatively unknown, region, with which Mr. Johnston's book has presented them, has stirred the imagination and awakened the sympathies of the general public.

Nor is the subject undeserving of the attention that is being bestowed upon it. No rush to the basin of the Congo is, of course, to be expected, for the wealth to which, in all human probability, it is the road, is not such as can be gathered by untutored hands, or without the patient application of capital. Nor is any sudden development of speculative enterprise to be anticipated; for the field is one in which the first operations must necessarily be cautious and tentative.

Though the International Association has already spent some half-million sterling in its work, its progress has hitherto been mainly confined to prospecting and making smooth the way for future commercial operations.

"At present," said Mr. Johnston a short time ago, "the whole commerce of the Upper Congo is represented by £20,000 of British

goods—handkerchiefs, calicoes, beads, cloth, &c.—which are spent by the Association in subsidising chiefs, maintaining ferries and victualling their stations on the great river. * * * * What the International Association has done is, to establish a free water-way for thousands of miles into the heart of Africa. When I paddled up the Congo unarmed in a small canoe, accompanied by only three natives, I passed without tax or toll from one end to the other of my route along the noble river. Before Stanley took the work in hand, every chief levied black-mail upon all passers by, and the river was practically barred. Now, all that is changed. Stations have been established at intervals along the whole course of the river. Swift steamers ply from station to station, and Stanley exercises a vigilant and constant supervision over the whole navigation of the extended water-way. But although all are free to travel without fee or tax, no one is permitted to ascend a mile of the Congo without binding himself to do no trade whatever. Even missionaries who have planted their mission-stations on the Congo are not permitted to indulge in trade. It is true that the Association does not, in so many words, declare that it forbids all trade. Any trader is allowed to settle on the Congo if he complies with its conditions; but these conditions are so strict as to render the establishment of trade stations absolutely impossible."

Nevertheless the conditions of the case are such as plainly indicate the near advent of a great future for the Congo country, which, if it is not worked out by the Association, will certainly be worked out by others. Mr. Johnston's belief that Africa will yet be peopled with the swarming surplus of Europe, and Asia may not command the assent of less enthusiastic thinkers, for it is a well-established physiological fact, that no tropical country, however salubrious, can be peopled by Europeans except as mere temporary sojourners. On the other hand, the fact that the Congo and its tributaries offer upwards of four thousand miles of unimpeded navigation from Stanley Pool into the very heart of Africa, combined with the comparative healthiness of the climate, the incomparable fertility of the soil and its suitability for the growth of every crop, from wheat, in the highlands, to cotton, indigo and sugar in the lower tracts, and the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants towards Europeans, clearly points to it, not only as the great artery from which the vivifying influence of civilisation is destined to be diffused over Equatorial Africa, but as a field in which a magnificent return awaits the judicious investment of European capital and skill.

In considering the facilities afforded by the Congo as a water-way, it is essential to remember that free navigation

into the interior commences at Stanley Pool, from which point it is practically uninterrupted for nearly a thousand miles of the main stream, to take no account of its numerous large tributaries forming a river system comparable only with that of the Amazon. Between Stanley Pool and the sea, the navigation is broken by a series of falls, the last of which, the Yellálá—is about two hundred miles from its mouth. The portion of the river below the Yellálá Falls is, in short, a complete *impasse*, a point of no slight importance in estimating the significance of the much debated Treaty already referred to, which immediately affects only the riparian territories between the embouchure of the river and the station of Nokki, some distance below the falls.

On the other hand, the Kivilu river, which flows into the sea a considerable distance to the North of the Congo mouth, is navigable to within about a hundred miles of the Djue, a navigable tributary of the Congo, which it enters a little below the Pool.

The question of the comparative merits of the Kivilu and the lower part of the Congo as a means of approaching the navigable portion of the latter river, depends, therefore, on the comparative facility of the land transit between the Kivilu and the Djue, and of that between Vivi, the last station below the falls, and Stanley Pool.

Mr. Johnston contends that the superiority of the Kivilu route is so undoubted and so pronounced that, as far as any probability of its affecting the trade with the upper river is concerned, the Treaty may be safely disregarded.

The objects of the Treaty are described as being to put an end to all difficulties relative to the rights of sovereignty over the districts at the mouth of the Congo between 8° and 5° 12° of South Latitude, to provide for the complete extinction of the slave-trade, and to promote the development of commerce and civilisation in the African continent. In order that it may fulfil the first of these purposes, the consent of other nations besides Portugal will probably be found necessary. The extremely circumscribed area of the territories which is concerned, would alone render it futile for the second purpose. The third purpose it will, no doubt, serve to a limited extent, but it does not follow that other arrangements might not have served it better. No doubt, as Mr. Johnston, who favours the Treaty, remarks, it would have been better that England should have assumed the sovereignty herself, but public opinion would not allow England to extend her responsibilities in Africa. The alternative lay

in allowing France to step in; and it may be admitted that a weak ally is preferable to a powerful rival. The Treaty imposes on Portugal conditions in favour of free trade which France would probably have scorned to accept, and which, even had she accepted them, we could not have compelled her to observe.

Art. I. provides that the limit of the concession on the river itself shall be Nokki, and on the coast, between the latitudes specified, the existing boundaries of the tribal territories.

Art. II. secures to all nations the same benefits and advantages as are secured to subjects of Portugal, including full liberty of residence, travel, trade and acquisition of property.

Art. III. recognises the absolute freedom of commerce and navigation of the Congo and Zambisi, and limits the claims of Portugal on the Shire to its confluence with the Ruu.

Art. IV. recognises the freedom of commerce and navigation of all other water-ways within the limits described, subject only to such customs and other dues as may be provided for in the Treaty or subsequently agreed upon, and provides for the appointment of a Mixed Commission to draw up regulations for the navigation, police and supervision of the water-ways; to watch over their execution, to impose such tolls as may be sufficient to cover the cost of necessary works and the expenses of the Commission.

Art. V. prohibits all transit duties.

Art. VI. provides for the freedom of land communications.

Art. VII. guarantees protection to Christian ministers and missionaries, of whatever race or denomination; complete religious tolerance and freedom to erect churches, schools, and the like.

Art. VIII. protects the native chiefs and inhabitants in their existing rights and possessions, and secures them indemnity for the past.

Art. IX. limits the customs tariff for the term of ten years to that adopted in the province of Mozambique in 1877, with a proviso for revision by mutual consent at the end of the term, on the condition that British ships and goods shall not be treated less favourably than those of Portugal, and exempts British ships bound from British ports from all liability to quarantine.

Art. X. guarantees to British subjects and their commerce in all the African possessions of Portugal, the treatment, in all essential particulars, of the most favoured third nation, in addition to existing rights.

Art. XII. declares that the Portuguese legislation for the complete extinction of slavery shall be effectively applied to the

specified territory, and that the contracting powers bind themselves to use all possible means for the purpose of finally extinguishing slavery and the slave-trade on the Eastern and Western coasts of Africa.

Art. XIII. provides for the extension of the provisions of the treaty to all territories adjoining those specified which may hereafter be acquired by Portugal.

Art. XIV. binds Portugal in case of her intending at any time to withdraw from the fort of St. John the Baptist of Ajuda, on the coast of Mina, to give notice and offer her rights to England, and further declares that this undertaking shall apply to the abandonment or cession by Portugal of any other rights between 5° East and 5° West Longitude on the same coast.

The amount of liberty and protection accorded by the above provisions to all persons, of whatever nationality, for all legitimate purposes, seems so ample that, political rivalry apart, it is difficult to understand how exception can be taken to it, unless it be on the ground that Portugal will probably set them at naught. Nevertheless there is a strong feeling of opposition to the Treaty, not only in France, where it was to be expected from purely political motives, and in Holland, where the very freedom it confers threatens to interfere with existing monopolies, but in England, which has nothing to lose and everything to gain by it.

In America, too, for reasons very imperfectly explained, and wholly unjustified, by the contention that she possesses a large population cognate with the tribes of the Congo basin, there is a disposition to protest against the Treaty, and to favour the concession of the sovereignty to the existing Associations.

So far, however, the operations of the International Association have, as has been already shown, tended rather to prevent, than to encourage, trade, and the probability is in favour of England interfering to limit its present powers, rather than of her sanctioning any arrangement for their extension.

Altogether, we think, impartial critics will be disposed to agree with the view expressed, some time since, by the *Times*, which, referring to the provisions of the Treaty, says—

They have received long and careful attention on Lord Granville's part, and have been shaped in some important particulars in agreement with his demands. They seem to us to secure, as fully as possible, the objects for which the negotiation was entered upon. We pointed out during the course of the negotiation what those objects ought to be, and we are well pleased to find that our views have had effect given to them. That Portugal should object to the Treaty on the ground that she gives more than she receives by it, and that she should set no great store on the barren sceptre which it places in her grasp, we can understand. But we see no reason why England should be dissatisfied with her share in the bargain. Our conviction is that the Treaty has been framed in the interests of both countries, and that no

concession has been made by either of them which either need regret. Treaty or no Treaty, Portugal would not be suffered to block the trade way to the central regions of Africa. Her old and dormant claims to sovereignty would never have been recognized at all if they were to carry such a right as this. Not England alone, but the whole trading world would have uttered an effective protest, and the free road now secured by Treaty would have been secured in some other way, in defiance of all attempts to forbid it. The objections taken to the Treaty in this country are, not so much to the Treaty in itself as to the way in which it is thought likely to work. Portugal, it is assumed, will not keep her part of the bargain. She will impose the dues which she has promised not to impose. She will refuse the rights she has solemnly engaged to grant. The Treaty will put her in a position of advantage, and she will use it for her own ends, with no care whatever for the conditions she has bound herself to observe. But it is surely a little early in the day to begin to cry out against this prospective breach of faith. The ink with which the Treaty has been signed is hardly dry, when one of the parties is suspected of misdeeds to come, and is denounced for offences which she has no opportunity of either committing or avoiding to commit. We decline to join in so idle and premature a charge. If it proves, by and by, to have been well founded, the Treaty will be at an end, of course, and we shall be as free as we were before from any of the obligations which it imposes. This much we are satisfied about, that if the Treaty is observed, it gives us all we need care to secure, that good guarantees are taken for its observance, and that our trade interests are in no danger, whatever the event may be.

It is long since the public have been presented with so fascinating a record of travel as Mr. Johnston's book, describing a series of expeditions on the Congo and its banks from Bauana Point, at its mouth, to Bolóóbó, a station situated on a broad expansion of the river, some four hundred miles above the Yellálá Falls.

The lower portion of the Congo, in its way from Stanley Pool to the sea, passes through a tract of the undulating savannah characteristic of the African coast from the river Ogowe to Ambrizete, south of which it gives place, first to a region of sparse vegetation where hardly anything grows but the euphorbia, the baobab and the aloe, and finally still further south, to absolute desert.

Between Ambrizete and the mouth of the great river, the sea is skirted by a strip of low land, averaging about a mile in width and overgrown with dense bush, "a sort of natural botanical garden, with many specimens of the African flora displayed with prodigal abundance." Behind this the land rises abruptly in red cliffs, which sink lower and lower as the Congo is approached, and at last give place to impenetrable mangrove swamps.

Compared with those of the other great African rivers, the mouth of the Congo is simple and undivided, its waters, which have as yet formed no visible delta, mingling with the Atlantic between two outstretching spits of low land.

On one of these spits, which is strictly speaking a promontory,

and which bears, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, the name of Banana Point, the Nieuwe Afrikaanische Handels Genootschap and two other companies have their factories, while on the inner side of the promontory there is commodious anchorage for the largest ships.

The Dutch company just mentioned employs some forty European servants and three or four hundred natives, the most valuable of them Kruboyes from Sierra Leone and the Liberian coast.

Ascending the stream in one of the steamers of this company, Mr. Johnston made his first halt at Kissange, a small trading settlement on the south bank, about twenty-one miles from the sea, where he was hospitably entertained for three weeks by the chief of the factory.

The forest vegetation which surrounds the clearings here is described as being of the most luxuriant and majestic character, while in the marshy spots near the river, the splendid orchid, *Lissochilus giganteus*, shoots up in great clumps of forty or fifty to a height of six feet from the ground, "bearing such a head of red-mauve, golden-centred blossoms, as scarcely any flower in the world can equal for beauty and delicacy of form.

Clumps of a dwarf palm, *Phœnix spinosa*, "hedge in these beautiful orchids from the wash of the river, and seem a sort of water-mark which the tides rarely pass; but the water often leaks through the mud and vegetable barrier, and forms inside the ring of dwarf palms many little quiet lagoons. * * * In these lagoons, bordered by orchids and tall bushes, with large spatulate leaves and white shining bracts about their flower stalks, by pandanus, by waving oil palms, and by mangrove trees poised on their many feet, and telling out against the shining sky with their lace-like tracery of leaves * * * are the homes and feeding grounds of myriad forms of life, of blue land crabs, whose burrows riddle the black soil; of always alert and agitated "mud fish," flapping and flopping through the ooze; of tiny amethystine red-beaked kingfishers; of kingfishers that are black and white, or large and grey and speckled; of white egrets, of the brown and stork-like *Scopus umbretta*; of spur-winged geese; and of all-devouring *Gypohierax* vultures. A rustling in the vegetation, and a large varanus lizard slips into the water.; or on some trampled bank a crocodile lies asleep in the warm sun, with a fixed smirk hanging about his grim muzzle. These lagoons are places seething with life—life that is ever stirring, striving and active, and when you suddenly arrive, slipping and splashing in the watery footholds, the sudden silence that greets you is rather the frightened expectant hush of a thousand apprehensive creatures. Beyond the lagoons and this strip of mud and water,

rises an almost impenetrable barrier of forest, nearly impossible to pass by land, but which is fortunately pierced by many little arms or natural canals of the Congo that intersect it, and penetrate to the firm dry land beyond. As you paddle gently in a native canoe through the watery alleys of this vegetable Venice, the majestic trees firmly interlaced above and over arching the canal, shrouding all in pale green gloom, the glimpses and vistas through the forest that you get, reveal many beautiful forms of bird and insect life. Barbets with red foreheads and large notched bills are sitting in stupid meditation on the twigs, giving a harsh and mechanical squeak if the too near approach of the canoe disturbs their reverie. Little African woodpeckers are creeping up the branches, deftly turning round towards the unseen side when they observe you; large green mantises, or preying insects, are chasing small flies with their great pouncing fore legs, and every now and then a blue roller-bird snaps up a mantis in spite of its wonderful assimilation to its leafy surroundings. Farther into the forest, the canal, a blind alley of water, stops, the soil becomes solid and well raised, and a native path is discernible, leading through the now more park-like and formal clumps of forest to a distant village, whence the crowing of cocks and the occasional shouts of the inhabitants can be heard. But the birds do not lessen because we are approaching the abode of men. Out of the bosky trees little troops of black and white horn-bills suddenly start and flap their loose irregular flight to another refuge. Violet plantain-eaters gleam out in their beauty from time to time; golden cuckoos, yellow-vented bulbuls, green fruit pigeons, grey parrots, parrots that are grey and blue and yellow-shouldered green love-birds, and a multitude of little wax-bills, a medley of diverse and beautiful birds enliven this walk through the forest along the black peat path with their loud cries, their lovely plumage and their rapid movements."

The next settlement of importance is Ponta da Lenha, where the steamers call for wood, forty miles from the sea, and just outside the region of mangrove swamps.

Sixty miles higher up Boma is reached, the site of numerous factories belonging to the English, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Belgians, and only a few years since the limit of European extension on the Congo. Here the river is of immense breadth and studded with many islands, the haunts of numbers of water-fowl. Boma is backed by great swamps and fetid marshes, and has a bad reputation for fever and gigantic mosquitoes of the most bloodthirsty propensities.

Thirty miles beyond is Underhill, the site of a large Baptist Mission, the country between the two places undergoing, with the

rise in the ground, a rapid change from luxuriance to asperity. "The rounded grassy downs of Boma became abrupt and jagged hills, with great red patches of bare earth, and little forest remaining in their steep clefts. The graceful *Hyphæne* palms, with their fan-like fronds, gradually decreased in numbers till they finally and completely disappeared. Meantime the river narrowed, and wound tortuously with many whirlpools and sunken rocks amid the stern precipitous hills,—hills that were fast becoming mountains."

Between Underhill and Vivi, a few miles higher up the opposite bank, the river takes an extensive bend, resembling, except for the swift and whirling current, a beautiful mountain lake lying in a deep gorge. "Caught in this great bend, the river tearing down from Vivi has to pass through a somewhat narrow passage, and then hurls the whole of its stream against an immense and imposing cliff that really seems a great mountain side shorn in half. It rises almost perpendicularly from the water, which so boils and whirls, seethes and eddies at its base, that this loop of the river has been called by the Portuguese 'Hell's Cauldron.' The intense red colour of the earth where the cliff has been scarped and bared by the rains, and its lurid reflections in the streaks of smooth water; the dark purple-green woods that nestle in the sombre hollows of the hills—hills that seem pitilessly to enclose the scene and forbid escape—the unquiet water and the ghoul-like vultures, always soaring in black and white relief against the dark-toned background; all these details render the grim name singularly applicable, though the scene to which it has been applied has a savage beauty about it that redeems the gloom."

At Vivi Mr. Johnston met Mr. Stanley, who had just returned from Europe, and who was engaged in a palaver held to welcome back to the Congo the mighty "Bula Matade," or rock-breaker. "Here he was seated on his camp chair, his pipe in his mouth and a semicircle of grinning kinglets squatting in front of him, some of them smoking long-stemmed, little-bowled pipes in complacent silence, and others putting many questions to "Bula Matade" as to his recent journey in Europe—to Mputo, the land beyond the sea, as they call it—and receiving his replies with expressions of incredulous wonder, tapping their open mouths with their hands. I paused involuntarily to look at this group, for Stanley had not yet seen me approaching, and was unconscious of observation. Perhaps he never posed better for his picture than at that moment, as he sat benignly chatting and smoking with the native chiefs, his face lighting up with amusement at their naïve remarks, while the bearing of his head still retained that somewhat proud carriage that inspired

these African Chieftans with a real respect for his wishes, and a desire to retain his friendship. Any one observing Stanley at this moment could comprehend the great influence he possesses over the native mind on the Congo, and could realise how that influence must tend toward peace wherever Stanley's fame has reached, for to attack a friend of Stanley's seems to the natives scarcely less futile than attacking Stanley himself."

Mr. Johnston thus describes the mode in which he passed his time at Vivi :—

"Life at Vivi had a certain monotony, and one day passed much like another, save that on Sundays no work was done, and an air of decorous dulness pervaded everything. When I stayed at Vivi it was generally to obtain a temporary rest, and therefore I led principally an indoor life, and devoted myself to arranging the facts I had already collected in divers expeditions. My time passed much as follows :—In the early morning about six, my Zanzibari servant would come into my room with a tray of light breakfast—coffee, bread and butter, sardines, &c. I dallied over this meal with one of the hundred and fifty books of the station library, and then sauntered out in pyjamas to the shower-bath just outside the house, and after refreshing myself with a good douche, I dressed and took a walk to botanise or sketch. At noon we all met at breakfast—or lunch—which was laid on the long table in the nearly open-air dining room I have already mentioned. This meal generally began with soup, and then there would follow roast meat and boiled, the flesh of sheep, goat, pig, or an occasional antelope, chicken, cooked in different ways, curry and all the most dazzling show that tinned meats could offer—not very brilliant or toothsome these latter it must be owned—and I myself always preferred plain roast goat, however tough, to the insipid contents of a tin, notwithstanding the attractive title it might bear in the *menu*.

Lisbon wine and Bordeaux were always on the table, and occasionally beer. Breakfast wound up with coffee and biscuits, and, the meal finished, every one separated to pass away the hot hours of the day either in siesta or in reading beneath the cool verandah. This was the silent hour, when scarcely even a Zanzibari was seen stirring and when the European perspired tranquilly in pyjamas. About four, afternoon tea was about, or afternoon coffee, or chocolate, as you preferred it. It was generally made separately for you by your own 'boy' and either drunk in your own room, or enjoyed among a group of gossipers in the common sitting-room. Then work began again in earnest. The pick-axes of the road-makers, the hammering from the carpenter's shop, the cries of the Krubays unloading cargo from a steamer, the jabbering of the

the natives come to traffic their products against the white man's cloth, beads, wire and gin, all formed the busy turmoil that rose from the awaking station, and which continued till the sun was down, and the bell had sounded for cessation of work. Then the cooking fires of the Zanzibaris and Kruboy's twinkled in the dusky bush, and the dinner-table was laid for the white men, with the pleasant glow of lamp-light reflected on the white cloth and the knives and forks, like a glimpse of far-off civilisation. Every one expanded at dinner-time. The anxious Chief forgot his anxieties; those who thought they were going to die of fever seemed at any rate resolved to die with a full stomach; the doctor rubbed his hands and looked hopeful; people who had been distant with one another during the day became cordial; and after the meal was over, and the cigars and wine were placed on the table, we would grow so interested in discussion as to the relative merits of the governments, the journals and the theatres of our respective lands, that in our conversation we were completely transported back to Europe."

From Vivi Mr. Johnston, returning to Underhill, paid a visit on foot to Pallaballa, a native town about six miles from the river. On the way he passed through two or three villages which he describes as well and neatly built, and displaying cunning shifts and contrivances which suggest that their inhabitants are not wanting in *savoir vivre*. Well-cultured plots of maize and manioc were interspersed with lime, orange and papaw trees, and the passion-flower, which produces the grenadillo fruit, was carefully trained on frameworks of sticks. Fowls, sheep and goats were numerous and well cared for, and even the bullock was occasionally seen, stalled in a manger made of palm fronds.

At Pallaballa resides a Missionary of the Livingstone Inland Mission who gave the traveller a kind reception and a welcome meal of fried bananas, roast chicken with peanut sauce, "palm-oil chop," and other native delicacies. After dinner he attended prayers in the school house, where an English lady, attached to the Mission, was residing, and some twenty people, principally boys, were assembled.

During the service, which was conducted in Fiote, the congregation "sat stolidly unmoved, although the Missionary strove to infuse as much interest as possible into his discourse."

After its conclusion a ceremony was performed, which, Mr. Johnston tells us, the natives would not miss for the world, each one coming up separately and shaking hands with the Europeans, accompanying the action with a "Goo'night, Sir," applied indifferently to both sexes.

"The people of Pallaballa," says Mr. Johnston, "may be said

to 'patronise' Christianity, a religion which in my opinion they are in their present mental condition totally unfitted to understand. When the Missionary holds a service in King Kongo Mpaka's house, some twenty or thirty idlers look in, in a genial way, to see what is going on, much as we might be present at any of their ceremonies. They behave very well and imitate, with that exact mimicry which only the negro possesses, all our gestures and actions, so that a hasty observer would conclude they were really touched by the service. They kneel down with an *abandon* of devotion, clasp their hands, and say "Amen" with a deep ventral enthusiasm. The Missionary, on the occasion that I accompanied him, gave a short sermon in Fiote, well expressed, considering the little time he had been studying the language. The king constantly took up the end of some phrase, and repeated it with patronizing interest after the Missionary, just to show how he was attending, throwing meanwhile furtive glances at his wives, who were not pursuing their avocations outside with sufficient diligence. A short prayer concluded the service, and when the king rose from his knees, he promptly demanded the loan of a hand-screw to effect some alterations in his new canoe."

After an attempt, which was frustrated by the churlish behaviour of the natives, to prosecute his journey by land beyond the Lufu, Mr. Johnston returned to Vivi on New Year's Day. He was unable, however, to get away from Pallaballa till he had paid the old king a present of gin, to the value of twenty-five shillings. All this, however, he informs us, has since been altered, Mr. Stanley's agents having concluded treaties with Kongo Mpaka and other chiefs of the neighbourhood, which have opened the southern road to travellers. From Vivi Mr. Johnston paid a visit to the Yelálá Falls, of which he says:—

"In all probability the Congo never descends here more than twelve feet at a time, but the constant succession of falls and the obstructing rocks lash the water into a state of indescribable fury. It is a splendid race of waves. Some seem to outstrip the others, and every now and then the water rebounding from the descent, meets the on-coming mass, and their contact sends a shoot of foam and clouds of spray into the air. The rocks near the water's edge are covered with a long filamentous water-weed of intense verdure, and looking like masses of long green hair. White *plumbago* and many bright flowers are growing in the interstices of the grey rocks, over which large blue and red lizards chase the flies that are half-stupidly basking in the sunlight."

From Vivi to Isangila, above the falls, the journey was performed on foot through a rugged and harsh country characteristic of the cataract region, high grass generally shutting out the view. This grass is a cause of terrible 'torture to the traveller, the seeds which it scatters on him being armed at one end with a sharp needle point, and surrounded with short reversed hairs, so that, when once they have entered the clothing, they can only work inward and not backward.

The villages are still surrounded by grand forest trees and well-kept plantations, and the valleys are filled with fine forests.

"Here it is," says Mr. Johnston, "that the African flora is best represented. On each side of the path are beautiful caunas, thickly growing, with their crimson flower-spikes and yellow-green leaves telling out strongly against the dark purple-green foliage behind. In the interior of the wood may be discerned flecks of colour caused by the orange flowers of a species of *Jatropha*, and by the delicate pinky-mauve blossoms of the *Amomum*. There are strange *arums* and *anonas*, and many sprays of a scarlet *Mussaenda*, which grows as a tall tree, and of a large white *Mussaenda*, clematis-like, trailing over the bushes and the undergrowth. Myriads of little blue *Commelynæ* deck the ground, and there are blue bean-flowers and white, purple *Emiliæ* and *Gynura*, mauve and white *Cleome*, and large yellow mallows, while for absolute gorgeousness nothing can compare with the divers gourds and seed vessels of the many species of *Cucurbitaceæ* which, when ripe, split open to expose the crimson interior, where the black seeds are laid in tempting rows to invite the birds to assist in their distribution. Indeed, the whole effect in floral colouring like this is to suggest a tremendous competition going on amongst the many plants for the favourable notice of birds and insects, as if the flowers were advertizing their advantages, and saying to the bees 'your patronage is earnestly solicited.'"

After a series of toilsome marches, sometimes through long grass that cut like a razor, sometimes over sharp stones, and sometimes through black morasses, the Lulu was crossed, and, after many more miles of forest and hill, the Congo was struck again at Ugoma.

Above Isangila the river, though still troubled by rapids, is navigable as far as Manyanga in a stout boat. From this point Mr. Johnston continued his upward journey in a small steam launch since removed to the upper river, and forming part of Stauley's flotilla.

Much of the scenery passed through was very pretty, the

banks being richly forested, and masses of creepers covering the trees. "Sometimes they appeared like a green cloth thrown lightly over the foliage, showing its masses and forms distinctly marked underneath. Sometimes they formed a delicate green cobwebbery, or seemed great walls of vegetation, looking as if carefully trimmed into uniformity of surface, but often scarcely a foot in thickness. * * * Often these creepers would stretch out, as it were, a fresh series of constructions, their long straight lianas acting as scaffold poles. Then would come the horizontal, interlacing arms, which soon formed a giant lattice-work, and on this foundation the beautiful and uniform foliage breaks out, until soon great walls and enclosures are made, generally round some monster tree."

The secluded creeks, enclosed by these walls of vegetation, are haunted by king-fishers, the giant-speckled variety and his black and white brother, while fishing-eagles perch on the gnarled and whitened boughs above.

Near Manyanga, where, owing to the rapids, the stream again becomes unnavigable, the scenery grows common-place, the river running among low, red hills, "streaked and spotted with dull yellow-green, and fringed at their bases with scanty forest."

Manyanga, built on a narrow plateau surmounting a steep hill, contains three houses for Europeans, many brick-built stores, and a considerable town of huts occupied by Zanzibaries, Kabindas and other natives, all under the command of Lieutenant Nilis.

It is one of the few places where dysentery is known to occur on the Congo. The district is very populous and a great food centre, its markets being abundantly supplied with fowls, goats, sheep and eggs, which the natives eagerly exchange for blue glass beads.

"It is quite a false idea," says the author, "that you can go anywhere in Africa with any sort of bead and any kind of cloth. Each district has its peculiar tastes and fancies to consult, and you might starve in one place with bales of goods that would purchase kingdoms in another. In one part of the Congo basin red is the favourite colour, in another blue, in a third green, and I have come across some tribes where white cloth far out-valued coloured or patterned stuffs. Between Vivi and Isangila you will find red handkerchiefs, striped cloth, brass "tacks," gin, and wire useful. At Manyanga blue beads rule the market; at Stanley Pool brass rods. On the upper river, besides most of the articles already mentioned, "cowries" come into use, and are used freely as small change."

Here the scarcity of European articles of diet gave Johnston the opportunity of testing the possibility of living solely on

local products, and he tells us he had little to complain of. Hot goat's milk took the place of tea; palm wine was his only intoxicant, and kikwanga, a self-fermented dough, made from the pounded roots of the manioc, was substituted for bread. Palm oil served to fry his meats and feed his lamps, and pineapples, bananas and plantains supplied dessert, puddings, and vegetables.

From Manyanga to Stanley Pool the route is by land, the south bank being easier and safer than the north. The general character of the scenery on the road to Lutete, the first station out from Manyanga, is that of "a great stretch of valley, filled with rich forest, with a sounding stream that is seen flashing through the trees, bounded by boldly-shaped hills, between each of which lesser valleys lie, that seem, as it were, tributaries of the great one, some of them mere crevasses in the mountains, but each with its tiny stream, its cascades, and its velvety woods." Here and there, especially near Lutete itself, cleared patches appear in the valleys, where the rich soil, consisting of detritus from the hills, is planted with manioc, tobacco, ground nut, and bananas.

The rounded hills, which enclose these valleys, are covered with strong, coarse grass and stunted trees, bearing leaden-coloured uneatable fruit, their comparative bareness being attributable to fires.

Lutete commands the great ivory route from Stanley Pool to Ambrizete. The road connecting it with Manyanga has been made entirely by Stanley's people. The station takes its name from a powerful chief of the neighbourhood, who is described as a most enterprising young fellow, often accompanying his own caravans to Ambrizete, and returning with such trophies of civilization as coloured plates from the Graphic, and bottles of soda water, which he is half afraid of, and calls "devil water."

The pictures he sticks up in his own house, but the soda water he generally presents to the chief of the station, who returns the compliment with more than its equivalent in cloth.

Some distance from Lutete the path crosses a high plateau, from which may be obtained a grand view of the Edwin Arnold River, "as it comes leaping in tremendous cascades into the Congo."

On the third day the swift and turbid Inkissi was crossed in native canoes, the path beyond lying through enchanting scenery, "over little brooks, where green, mossy rocks stem the impatient, foaming little streams, and under the grandly over-arching trees, festooned with mazy creepers, and beneath whose shade the humid soil is covered with a carpet of ferns."

Some few hours march beyond the river a large village was reached, of which Johnston says:—

"There is a general aspect of tidy prosperity, and the people

are unusually sportive and merry among themselves. I even witnessed, what is rarely seen amongst these races—amorous toying and loving caresses between a fine stalwart husband and his plump little wife. Children, pretty little children, were playing together and making dirt pies, one child looking on and carrying a baby as big as itself.* * * * * An immense quantity of pumpkins, with the ripe fruit and the great yellow blossom growing on the same plant, and the waving fields of manioc which I saw in the bright morning light, lent an air of prosperity and plenty to the tidy groups of houses."

Beyond the village all was the most magnificent forest, the tree-tops shutting out the sky, and large white jasmine flowers "showing out like stars in the gloomy depths of foliage."

Two days more brought the traveller to Leopoldsville, at the western end of Stanley Pool, the station which, in the writer's estimation, is destined to be the great empire city of Central Africa. Here the falls have been all left behind, and navigation of the Congo is free from serious obstacle for a distance of nearly a thousand miles. Like most of Mr. Stanley's stations, Leopoldsville occupies high ground, and it affords magnificent views over the Pool and the neighbouring forest.

Higher up the hill, about a quarter of a mile away, is a Baptist Mission House, and in the valley below, the Livingstone Inland Mission had, at the time of Johnston's visit, commenced building operations.

Stanley Pool is a great expansion of the Congo, with a surface of some four hundred miles, studded with islands, sand-banks, and floating islets of reeds and papyrus. The islands, one of which is thirteen miles long, are the resort of elephants and buffaloes, and "innumerable water-birds, storks, pelicans, cormorants, herons, egrets, sacred ibises, spur-winged and Egyptian geese, terns and plovers," while multitudes of crocodiles "lie basking in the sun, in a state of semi-conscious beatitude."

The banks vary in character, being lofty, steep, and densely wooded at the north-eastern end, while on the opposite, or north-west side, are the "Dover Cliffs," with scarped white sides, and crowned with soft, green grass. More to the west, the banks shelve down into flat forest land, the surrounding mountain country at the same time receding further into the interior. At Brazzaville the coast is mainly level with the water.

This is the spot where DeBrazza claims to have obtained the cession of a strip of country, nine miles in length to France. The station itself, if it deserves the name, "consists of a very few native huts, half buried in bananas, and backed by thin

forest. On the left hand side, facing the Pool, there is a small creek, which might be developed into a tiny harbour, and there is a fine and fertile island, as yet uninhabited, save by chance fishermen, which might be successfully developed by the French; but save these two advantages, not rare anywhere in Stanley Pool, it is difficult to discover any favourable point in this situation, or even to avoid the conclusion that it is a badly chosen site for a station. About this low-lying part of the Pool, ague is prevalent, and in the rainy season, I should say, Mfwa would become a rheumatic swamp. Had DeBrazza fixed his intended station anywhere on the high and breezy "Dover Cliffs," he would have done well, and, remember, the whole basin of the Pool was open to him when he first arrived, for he reached it long before Mr. Stanley had been able to transport his goods and his men thither to found a station, so that the Franco-Italian, as it were, had the first choice of a site. I can only suppose that, in spite of the affection the natives bore him, they will not place much ground at his disposal, and that DeBrazza fixed on Mfwa, because he could not get anything better. He may also have looked across at Kallina Point, and hoped to secure that some day, and then be able to shut up the mouth of the Pool if necessary. This promontory is a red cliff, rising abruptly some fifty feet from the water, nearly opposite Mfwa on the southern bank of the expanding river. Kallina Point might, from its commanding situation, be called the Gibraltar of the Pool, as, from its easily fortified summit, artillery could sweep the narrowing end of this lake, and render the further descent of its waters by an enemy well nigh impossible. Of course, in conjunction with "Brazzaville," its possession by a hostile party could completely interrupt water communication between Leopoldville and the upper river.

A fearful current races round this cliff, difficult to stem even in a steamer, but really dangerous for native canoes going against the stream. Here, in December 1882, Lieutenant Kallina, an Austrian member of the expedition, was drowned. He would insist on ascending the Congo in a small native canoe, being too impatient to explore the mysteries of the unknown to wait for the departure of the monthly boat which re-victuals the stations of the upper river. As he was a very tall man, and for some reason chose to seat himself on a large chest in the stern, he rendered the balance of the canoe very unstable. The little craft was badly steered, met the rush of the current broadside, as it whirled round this point, and was instantly capsized. Lieutenant Kallina was drowned, and his name has since been given to this redoubtable headland.

At the time of Mr. Johnston's visit the Chiefs of Kinshasha, who owned the headland, had not decided to which of the rival applicants to cede it, but they have since permitted Stanley to build a station there.

The vegetation which clothes the shores of the islands in Stanley Pool is rich and delightful to the eye; majestic hyphcne palms, from thirty to sixty feet in height, with broad, fern-shaped fronds of glaucous green, and clusters of bright orange coloured fruit; masses of yellow cucurbit flowers, lilac-coloured papilionaceæ and mauve convolvuli. Everywhere the soft soil bears witness to the tread of hippopotami, whose loud, monotonous grunting mingles with the voices of many birds.

The tameness of these animals, which move in bands of nine or ten, is very striking. "One could almost fancy oneself in the enclosure of some vaster Zoological Garden; and when they opened their huge mouths, from time to time, displaying their glistening tusks, I sought involuntarily for the bun of my childhood, to deftly throw into the pink chasm that yawned before me."

Sudden storms of great violence, accompanied by appalling thunder and lightning and torrential rain, are a frequent feature of the monsoon season in this region. One minute the sky is radiantly blue; the next threatening clouds shadow the face of the Pool, to be followed by an inky-black mass of piled up cumulo-stratus, assuming all manner of fantastic shapes. Then comes a sudden change of wind, and in two or three minutes the tempest sweeps past amid a deluge of hissing rain. This lasts a comparatively short time, and is followed by a steady soaking drizzle of many hours duration.

A striking feature in the flora of the northern end of the Pool is "a curious calamus, or climbing palm, the fronds of which are prolonged into a bare creeping stalk, furnished with curiously reversed hooks, so that, once the frond falls against a branch, it attaches itself securely by means of these recurved thorns, and thus climbs higher and higher, often fringing the top of the forest with graceful heads of swaying fronds which, with their waving whip-like terminations, point straight skywards, as if seeking for greater heights to climb."

The colour of the leaves is a yellow-green, and the flowers which it throws out after reaching its highest point, turn to scarlet dates.

Above the Pool the river enters a region of green hills and dense forest, in which the forms proper to Equatorial Africa make their appearance. About Msuata, and the mouth of the Wabuma, the country is thickly populated, chiefly by the Ba-tékés,

a fine-looking race with splendidly developed figures, which reminded Johnston of the most perfect Greek statues, pleasing features, and hair of great length. Thus the men usually wear in horns on the top of the head, or depending on each side of the cheek, or in a sort of chignon, while the women frizz it up round the head, or comb it out and strain it over pads, or plait it into a multitude of small tails, that stand up all round.

They stain their nails, and often their bodies and clothes, with a red dye, and further decorate their bodies with white, yellow and black devices, and by cicatrisations. The cloth they wear is mostly of native manufacture, the women, though they do not attempt to hide their breasts, being more clothed than the men.

They all have a passionate craving for salt, and one gentleman brought one of his wives to Johnston, and wished to exchange her "for a moderate quantity of the precious condiment." As the equator is approached, the forest scenery becomes still richer, and the stream of the Congo, after floods, is thronged with masses of the *Pistia stratiotes*, detached from the inlets in which it grows. Villages follow one upon another in rapid succession, and the people are effusive in their friendliness.

At one point between the Wabuma and Bolóbo, Mr. Johnston says: "The men wanted to stop at a large and populous village, the natives of which, to the number of nearly a hundred, were assembled along the sandy beach, imploring us to land and pass the night in their town. They vaunted the abundance of fowls, kikwanga and other victuals, but I would not yield, for we had two hours of daylight which it was imperative not to waste, and I felt sure, as all this eastern side of the river was thickly populated, that we should be likely to find another village further on."

At the next place, where Johnston halted, they spread grass mats for him to sit on, brought him fresh malafu—made from the juice of the sugar-cane—to drink, and, seeing that he had an attack of fever, left him in peace in his tent with many expressions of sympathy. Later on, the Chief came with a present of fowls, malafu, and new-laid eggs.

At one village not far from this, however, the people, without any apparent reason, assumed a hostile attitude, and would not allow the party to land.

Towards Bolóbo, Johnston's furthest point, the hills and downs gradually recede from the river, and splendid forests take complete possession of the banks. The islands are so numerous, that it is difficult to see the mainland. The banks are

lined with a great concourse of people, and the villages are almost continuous.

The King came down, accompanied by many women, to welcome the white man, and, leaning over the boat, shook hands cordially. At Bolóbo station, situated on the summit of a bluff, rising directly from the river, are three Europeans, Lieutenant Orban, the chief, and two commercial agents, a Frenchman and a Belgian, who inhabit a stockaded building.

Mosquitoes abound here to such a degree that, after dark, the only way of escaping them is to go to bed.

The civilization of the natives is of a higher order than usual in savage Africa.

"Their houses, arms, and household implements are constructed with skill and taste, and they generally exhibit a considerable amount of *savoir faire et vivre*. They are great traders, and travel many hundred miles up and down the river engaged in trafficking their ivory, slaves and smoked fish."

King Jhaka is really a Chief of some importance, ruling, as he does, by hereditary right, over a thickly-inhabited strip of the river territory, some twenty miles in length, and exercising a wide influence over all the Bayansi tribes. As becomes so great a potentate he wears a most remarkable hat.

"There is literally more in it than meets the eye, for, within this capacious receptacle, much 'cloth' and all his most special and private valuables are stored. This extraordinary structure, which is made out of plaited grass, never leaves Jhaka's head more than once a twelvemonth, 'for our annual cleaning,' and he wears it day and night. * * * The decorations of Jhaka's hat are of exotic origin. The lizards are cut out of tinfoil, and manufactured, possibly in Birmingham, and that curious plaque in the centre is the label of the first and only champagne bottle which ever reached Bolóbo, and which was drunk on the birthday of the King of the Belgians. Jhaka attended the banquet, but declined any champagne, asking, however, for its glittering label."

Among the fauna of the country about Bolóbo are the elephant and buffalo, large herds of which range the neighbouring forests; the lion, leopard, striped hyæna, black-backed jackal, civet cat, and, according to native report, the gorilla, or some kindred anthropoid ape.

Iron is largely and skilfully worked by the natives, and they possess copper in abundance, though whether obtained and worked locally or not, Mr. Johnston did not ascertain. Pale-blue and yellow topazes are also said to be abundantly found in the interior.

The climate of the Congo basin appears to be fairly good for the tropics. Ordinary intermittent fever is common, and the more dangerous "bilious fever" rarely attacks people who take proper care of themselves, while dysentery is almost unknown. Beyond Stanley Pool the heat is seldom excessive, the temperature generally ranging between 60° and 87°. The most disagreeable feature in the meteorology is the excessive humidity of the atmosphere. Near the mouth of the river there are about four months of rain—November, December, February and March. At Stanley Pool the rains extend from October to May, and higher up the river there is little or no distinctly dry season.

The flora presents, as far as is known, nothing unique, and, while varying greatly with the distance from the sea and the physical features of the country, lies, on the whole, between those of Upper and Lower Guinea.

The people of the Congo belong to the great Bantu family, physically and linguistically distinct from both the Negro and Hamitic populations to the north, and the Hottentots of the South. The principal tribes are the Ka-kongo, the Mushi-rongos, the Ba-sumli, the Ba-bwendé, the Wabuno, the Ba-téké, the Wabuna, the Ba-nunu and the Bayansi.

The Ba-kongos were once the ruling race over the whole Congo district and beyond, but now retain only a small territory between São Salvador and the river.

In character, says Mr. Johnston, they "are indolent, fickle, and sensual. They dislike bloodshed as a general rule, and, save for certain superstitious customs, are rarely cruel, showing kindness and gentleness to animals. When their passions are excited, however, by fear of witchcraft, or a wish to revenge grave injuries, they can become very demons of fanatical rage; and the people that, in their calmer moments, will shudder at an abrasion of the skin in a friend or neighbour, will, when he is convicted of sorcery, leap and shout with frenzied joy around his fiery stake while he frizzles alive."

From the coast to Stanley Pool phallic worship prevails in a variety of forms, and is associated with a reverence for the moon and various semi-religious rites. The operations of nature are referred to the agency of anthropomorphic spirits, and diseases are attributed to the malice of demons, and each village has its *nganga*, or medicine man.

The Ba-tékés, Wa-buma, and Bá-yansi of the Upper Congo differ in many marked particulars from the Ba-kongos. They "are kindly, light-hearted, and full of sensibility to beauty. They are fond of colour and of music, and indulge in dancing that has much meaning and grace. They are decidedly amorous

in disposition, but there is a certain poetry in their feelings which ennobles their love above the mere sexual lust of the negro. Husbands are fond of their own wives, as well as of those of other people, and many a pretty family picture may be seen in their homesteads, when the father and mother romp with their children, or sit together in a munching group round the supper pot." They are freer from harassing superstitions than their congeners of the lower river, and do not practise the ordeal for witchcraft above referred to. Their religion appears to consist mainly of a mild form of ancestor worship. "They have a vague idea of life after death, and the slaves that are slain at a dead chief's grave are intended to serve him as an escort on his mysterious journey." The birth of a child is the occasion of no particular ceremonies, but circumcision is performed generally twelve days after birth.

J. W. FURRELL.

ART. VIII.—THE REBUILDING OF BULANDSHAHR.

THAT architecture in India is still a living art, with unlimited capabilities of healthy expansion, is an axiom that few competent and unprejudiced critics would hesitate to accept. It is true that the fact of this vitality is often confidently denied, as by a recent writer in the *Graphic*, who, "after thirty years' experience of Indian life and character," declares that "all the indigenous art we have now to admire in Hindustan is ancient art, the art of people who lived hundreds and thousands of years ago." Such superficial or unsympathetic observers would support their hasty conclusion by the undeniable hideousness of the vast majority of our modern buildings. But the error of their view can be easily exposed by pausing to consider who are really responsible for these architectural enormities.

It is no matter for surprise that the people themselves, if questioned as to the existence and prospects of indigenous art, entirely fail to comprehend the purport of the enquiry; for, in every community, the masses are habitually as unconscious of the progress of national sentiment, as a man is of his own growth in stature. The development now actually in progress is no artificial novelty, for the importation of which a definite date can be assigned. It is rather the necessary result of an involuntary adaptation to the varying circumstances of modern life, and is the more unfelt because the laws so ceaselessly modified are oral and traditional, not written.

It is true that the Hindu *Shāstras* include a series of treatises, which are professedly devoted to architecture and the other fine or mechanical arts; but manuscripts are exceedingly scarce, the text is often hopelessly corrupt, and the instructions are almost exclusively of a ritual character, concerning the selection of auspicious sites and days, and the proper location of images and altars. Thus it comes about that the only recognized standard of design is local custom, dating backwards it may be from immemorial antiquity, and thus fixed in principle, though ever varying in form with the variations of fashion and the requirements of modern civilization.

Beyond the buildings themselves, there is no record in existence of the new rules of proportion and the foreign canons of taste, which were the necessary sequence of the Muhammadan invasion and the introduction of the arch. At Ahmadabad, in the Bombay Presidency, and at Jaunpur, in the North-West, the struggle between the old style and the new led to a singularly picturesque

combination, which—despite the distance between the two cities and the absence of intercourse—in both places presents very similar features. The influences at work were precisely the same. A Muhammadan Court, at once bigoted and magnificent, was ambitious to embellish its capital and display its devotion, but was unable to carry out its ideas, except by the exclusive employment of Hindu craftsmen, of alien religion and opposite sympathies. The results, though highly interesting, are marred by the intrinsic incongruity of the component parts. This was felt by the people themselves and was gradually toned down; but with its disappearance disappeared also the whole charm of the style, which was never more than a beautiful hybrid, doomed to early decay and with no power of reproduction.

The eclecticism of Akbar's reign was less forced in its origin, and has been more permanent in its effects, for they continue to the present day. In the three-and-a-half centuries that had elapsed since the death of the last Hindu Sovereign of Delhi, Saracenic art had become thoroughly naturalized, and its fusion with the older indigenous style was the inevitable outcome of the closer and more equal intercourse between the two races. In the new cities that sprung up on the long desecrated sites of Hindu pilgrimage—such as Mathurá and Brindaban—the temples were constructed on the same ground plan, and exhibited the same massive proportions as in the older examples that still exist at Gwalior. But the area of the interior was freed from its forest of pillars—no longer required as supports, when a vault was substituted for a roofing of stone slabs—and the walls were lightened in appearance by filling in the heads of the intercolumniations with decorative spandrels, which converted them into an arcade. In places nearer the seat of Government and more secular in sentiment, the predominant characteristics of the new architecture were far more distinctly Muhammadan, and the development has been entirely in that direction. What few buildings there are in Mathurá of the 16th century are of strongly Hindu type, though built for Muhammadan uses; but even there the modification has been rapid and continuous, and the whole series of temples erected since 1803—the first year of British government and of settled peace—have domes and cupolas and arches, on the same structural principles and with the same style of panel and moulding and surface-carving as in a mosque.

The distinctive Hindu spire, or *sikhara*, is still frequently erected, especially in country places and over shrines of Mahádev, but it is often in connection with a dome over the porch or other secondary part of the building, and its proportions have become so debased, that the days of its survival are evidently numbered.

From shattered fragments of most of the religious edifices of the present day—provided they bear no inscription nor betray any reference to ritual uses—it will be as difficult for an archæologist of the future to determine whether they are of Hindu or Muhammadan origin, as it is now to decide between the claims of Brahmanist and Jain to relics of mediæval India. To speak of Jain architecture, as is generally done, is altogether erroneous. What is so called is simply the style of national architecture that prevailed throughout the country and was used indiscriminately by both classes alike, at the time when the Jains happened to be most flourishing. Thus the larger temple in the Gwalior Fort used to be quoted as a specimen of Jain architecture ; but a very slight amount of research has proved that it was dedicated to the Brahmanical Divinity, Vishnu, under his title of Padma-páni.

As the oldest Hindu architecture of which we have any remains shows clear traces of Greek influence, and as the longer predominance of the Muhammadan power has still more thoroughly subdued the indigenous art of mediæval India, so it must be expected that English fashions will be largely represented in the artistic development of the immediate future. The change is inevitable, and, in so far as it is a witness to historical facts, its avoidance would not be absolutely desirable, even if it were possible ; for all ultra-purism is unnatural, unhealthy, and bad. When the assimilation of new matter ceases, decay must begin. Still, the amalgamation, to be complete, must be gradual. Most assuredly the interests of art will not be furthered by the hasty adoption of the Italian style in its supposed entirety, but too often without much knowledge of it, except in a very debased form, as exhibited in some of the new palaces of our greatest feudatories ; nor yet by adding pseudo-Gothic tracery and pinnacles to a barrack shell, as in the Agra College ; but rather by an assimilation which is suggestive of foreign culture, but translates it into Indian language, instead of literally repeating it. That this can be done by the best of our native masons if they are allowed to work out their own ideas without too minute instructions, is, I think, sufficiently attested by the very pleasing façade of a house built last year at Khurja for Lâla Jânaki Prasâd, a rich banker of that town and a member of the Municipal Committee. The correctness of the design is impaired by the insertion of some false stone doors on the ground floor, which are treated exactly as if made of wood. In themselves they are pretty enough, but they are still an offence against propriety, since solid stone is a material of which no real door would be made. The defect is characteristic of the old native habit of thought, which was seldom much distressed by the incongruous.

In other respects the design appears to me to be eminently typical of the higher Indian civilization of the nineteenth century, conservative of the national genius, but open to European refinements. The lace-like tracery of the pierced panels, the surface sculpture of the others, the general grouping, no less than the details of the ornamentation, are all oriental in character; while, at the same time, the colonnade could never have been what it is, but for the influence of Italian design. The building is still unfinished and wants its parapet, which will add greatly to its beauty.

The art revival, which in the minor luxuries and conveniences of life, has of late years effected so much in England, has even there as yet made no very profound impression on architectural methods. It is still almost as true as when Ruskin framed the indictment twenty years ago, that all the pleasure which the people of the nineteenth century take in art, is in pictures, sculpture, minor objects of virtue, or mediæval architecture, which we enjoy under the term picturesque: no pleasure is taken anywhere in modern buildings; the reason being that modern European architecture, working, as it does, on known rules and from given models, is not an art, but a manufacture. No true art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, says the same thing over and over again: the merit of architectural, as of every other, art, consists in its saying new and different things: to repeat itself is no more a characteristic of genius in brick and stone than it is of genius in verse or prose. In British India so little is this recognized, that "standard plans" are provided at head-quarters for every class of public building and are forced upon universal acceptance throughout the length and breadth of the province, with little or no regard to local conditions as regards material, or the habits of the people, or the capacity of the workmen. Such uniformity is certainly not conducive to convenience of design, excellence of construction, or economy in expenditure; but it probably facilitates the orderly arrangement of the records in the central bureau, and is therefore highly approved by departmental authorities. As an example of the pitch to which this passion for stereotyped forms is sometimes carried, I remember noting in one large Municipality that the principal official buildings—the school, the dispensary, and the Committee-rooms—were all of exactly the same pattern, and were indistinguishable from one another, save by the inscription over the door.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that such soulless and depressing monotony is entirely the result of action from above. It is altogether uncongenial to the oriental mind, and is copied only

for the same reason that induces a Marwari matron to blacken her lips and teeth, because it is better to submit to a disfigurement than to be out of the fashion : and thus we come to an adequate explanation of the mistaken idea which so many people entertain, that architecture in India is no longer a living art. The native community, as has been already allowed, are not conscious of the artistic vitality that still animates their handicraftsmen, while many of the buildings that the latter erect are conspicuous examples of the very worst taste. But the mason who executes the work has seldom prepared the design ; or, if he has done so, he has been hampered by the necessity of subordinating his own ideas to those of his employer. In every age and in every country, the upper and moneyed classes are too materialized to have any intelligent appreciation of art. They understand the fashionable, and are ready to admire the magnificent ; but the more delicate refinements of design, which constitute the special charm of the artist's conception, and which it is the student's greatest delight to trace and interpret, are mostly lost upon them. There is no reason to suppose that the impressive attributes of St. Mark's at Venice were ever more appreciated by its ordinary votaries than at the present day, when its storied walls are unread and unheeded. The artist of old—as now—enjoyed the art of creation for its own sake ; the populace takes over the finished product, and values it more from material than from æsthetic considerations.

In India almost the only class in the native community that still encourages indigenous art, is the much abused trader and money-lender. Not that he is moved to do so by any artistic bias, but simply by force of habit. If he decides upon building a new porch to his house, he calls in the mason of most repute in the neighbourhood, shows him the site and explains what is wanted. Perhaps the materials in whole or in part are also supplied, but the workman is then left to his own devices, on the presumption that he best understands his own business ; in the same way as a tailor, after taking his customer's measure and being furnished with as much cloth as he wants, would be trusted to turn out a garment properly stitched, of the desired description, and of the same cut as other people wear. The result of this confidence is ordinarily most satisfactory to both parties : the workman's manual labour is relieved by the sense of independence, and elevated by the exercise of thought ; while the paymaster attends to his ordinary affairs during the progress of the undertaking, and in the end gets his money's worth as in any ordinary mercantile transaction. But having once dismissed the builder—as if to prove how little he cares for art in the

abstract—the owner generally proceeds to disfigure his new possession by blocking up a niche or two with mud or clumsy masonry, screening the arch with a piece of tattered matting, or smearing the jambs of the doorway with daubs of red paint and whitewash.

The gain to artistic interests, and the saving to the Exchequer, would be enormous, if a similar amount of reasonable confidence in its employés were exhibited by Government in the execution of its public works. It need not really regard æsthetic considerations any more highly than the typical *baniya* does, but it would get its work done well and cheaply, and thus would not forfeit its character for practical common sense, even though some traces of good design still survived after many years of utilitarian ill-usage.

A happy example of thoroughly Hindu treatment, as practised at the present day in the absence of any direction from without, is afforded by a small, but very elaborate, gateway, for which the town of Khurja is indebted to Lála Lachhman Dás, a well-to-do trader, who is remodelling his house in the bazar there ; the work being designed and carried out by Dhúla, a Bráhma architect, who lives at the neighbouring town of Háthras, in the Aligarh district. A photograph would be impossible, for though the main façade of the house looks on to a fairly broad street, the porch stands in a little side lane which is scarcely broad enough for two foot-passengers to walk abreast. The introduction of animal sculpture, the exuberance of surface decoration, and the unsuitableness of the site selected for its display, are all features curiously characteristic of the best and worst points in the Hindu craftsman. In his devotion to the perfect rendering of each separate detail, as it comes under his hand, he too little considers the ultimate destination of the whole ; while any faculty for reproducing the beauty of the human or other animate form has been completely destroyed by ages of desuetude. He is thus content to repeat the archaic rudeness of his temple-gods, in which the discouragement of Indian rule has so long forbidden improvement, that the eye has at last learnt to acquiesce in their familiar uncouthness.

If the mercantile classes of native society are distinguished by their conservative adherence to ancestral usage, the landed gentry, who are on visiting terms with European officials, cherish equally strong aspirations in the opposite direction. To relieve the monotony of their eventless life, many of them spend large sums of money every year in building, and keep a native architect as a regular member of their domestic establishment. But he is warned that nothing in Hindustani style can be tolerated ;

some Government office, in the civil station, or the last new barracks in the nearest military cantonments, are the palatial edifices which he is expected to emulate. To give an example: On the top of the Bulandshahr hill is a school, erected twenty years ago, with a small bell-turret, which appears to have been designed by the engineer of the period as an exact copy of the Bethesda, or Little Zoar, that forms such a familiar sight in the back lanes of an English manufacturing town. The idea has been so successfully accomplished, that every European visitor at once concludes it to be a methodist place of worship, and enquires to what particular denomination it belongs. The style of architecture may be readily imagined without further illustration. But, as it is a Government building, it sets the fashion, and, not long ago, the native gentleman of highest rank in the district intimated to me that he wished to add a clock tower to his country house, and that he proposed to make it a *facsimile* of this delightful structure at Bulandshahr.

This little incident shows how important it is that the public taste should be correctly guided, not only by direct educational institutions, such as schools of art, museums and exhibitions, but still more by the persistent stimulus of practical example. So long as the necessity for the latter is ignored, the former tend rather to the isolation of the artist and the restriction of art influences to the connoisseur, instead of bringing them to bear upon society at large. In the words of the resolution which prefaces the Indian Art Journal, "there can be no reasonable doubt that the upper classes of the native community would gladly follow the example of the Government, and cherish all that is best in indigenous art," but in architecture, at all events, which is the mother of all the arts, the example unfortunately has as yet been never given.

A partial explanation of the neglect may perhaps be found in the fact that, so far as the Supreme Government is concerned, circumstances have allowed it no option. It has been obliged to import foreign models; for neither in the swamps of Calcutta, nor on the heights of Simla, has any indigenous form of architecture been available for adoption. The Bengali has simply a talent for imitation, and has never invented a style for himself in any branch of art; while the Himalayan mountaineer was too backward in civilization to feel any need for it. With most of the provincial Governments the case is far different. They are seated in the centres of old Indian culture. But the fashion of occidentalism, however incongruous with the local environment, has permeated from above; and the only patronage hitherto vouchsafed to native architecture is limited to an artificial and purely

scholastic form, in the restoration of the dead past, and is not extended to the development of the living present.

A shocking travesty of Italian, or rather French design, is exhibited in a gateway, which one of the principal Muhamminadan gentleman in the district has had under construction for the last three or four years. It forms the entrance to the courtyard of his family residence at Dánpur, and is of considerable dimensions, being 92 feet long and 70 feet deep. The cost will be in proportion ; and it is truly lamentable that want of taste and the influence of bad example should be thus conspicuously illustrated. The incongruous quasi-Indian plinth, in conjunction with an attenuated order of tall rusticated pilasters supporting imitation chimneys, and the clumsy carpentry of the windows with their jerky and most ungainly dressing and ill-proportioned pediments, make up a *tout ensemble*, which for rococo vulgarity could scarcely be surpassed. The material is stone, but it requires a close inspection to realize the fact ; the extreme coarseness of all the details being so much more suggestive of plaster. In spite of ridicule and remonstrance and repeated offers to supply a design more in harmony with national precedent, my friend has an unanswerable rejoinder :—"The works, he says, which are carried out under your direction, however pleasing in themselves, have the one fatal drawback that they are not stamped with official approval. In fact, one of them was denounced by a competent departmental authority as an absolute 'eyesore.' Nothing in the same style is ever undertaken by Government. Your buildings fitly express your own peculiarity of temperament, but this personal predilection for Indian forms is only a weakness or eccentricity ; such designs would be out of harmony with my own more advanced views, which are all in favour of English fashions. The trading classes do well to adhere to Hindustani types ; but the landed gentry prefer to range themselves with their rulers, and thus to emphasize their distinction from the vulgar." When I further object that his façade is incorrect even from the European point of view, he cannot understand how that is possible. In the same way as Christianity is popularly identified with any denial of religious obligation, so the essence of European architecture is supposed to consist in a reckless disregard of all recognized canons of ornament and proportion. Any outcast is dubbed a Christian, and any ugliness in a building is accounted European. Now that I have had a special drawing made of his gate, he will be more than ever convinced that my criticisms were simply prompted by deficient intelligence, and that he has at last taught me to admire what I once ignorantly disparaged.

A gateway, in a very different style, has lately been added to

his house at Bulandshahr by Maulvi Muhammad Bakhsh, the Honorary Magistrate of Chaprávat. It is of special interest as showing the readiness with which the upper classes would return to the true principles of indigenous architecture, if only it were more generally in fashion. The gate is in two stories, with a deeply recessed single arch below, the plinth, shafts and spandrels of which are covered with most delicate diapers and foliage. The balcony above has slender piers of pierced tracery, and its three arches have their heads filled in with stone fanlights, below which they are fitted with doors of commonplace English pattern. This is the solitary defect in the design, and fortunately it is one which admits of an easy remedy. The combination of depth and solidity in the mass with lightness of touch in the ornamental details indicates a true artistic faculty of conception, and the idea has been carried out with much technical skill.

Our engineers' buildings, as a rule, have the one merit of simplicity. They make no pretence of pleasing the eye, but neither do they often wilfully offend it by an obtrusive display of misplaced architectural embellishment. Considered as temporary makeshifts for the deposit of departmental returns, or the casual shelter of distressed officials, they might pass uncriticized. But, unfortunately, the people of the country will not regard them from this purely utilitarian point of view. The Government is omnipotent, and if it chooses to lodge its servant at equal cost in sheds and godowns instead of in courts and palaces, it must be not from want of thought or skill, but because it deliberately prefers the shed and godown style of construction. The latter is, therefore, the style which loyal subjects are bound to adopt, if they would be in harmony with their rulers.

The most important Government building in the Bulandshahr district is the set of Law Courts and Revenue Offices at headquarters. The façade, which is 170 feet in length, may be adequately described as a long low wall pierced with a uniform row of round-headed cavities. There is no porch, nor any other feature by which to distinguish the front from the back nor on either side is any one doorway marked off from its fellows as a main entrance. The design would answer equally well, or indeed much better for a dry-goods store, a barrack, or a factory. No stranger, unfamiliar with the economic eccentricities of Anglo-Indian administration, could for a moment suppose that a building of such a mean and poverty-stricken appearance represented the dignity of the Empire to about a million of people, and was the fiscal centre of a district contributing over fourteen lacs

of rupees to the annual revenue of the State. It might, perhaps, be imagined that external dignity had been judiciously disregarded in order to secure a maximum of internal convenience; but if such was the intention, it has signally failed of attainment: the paltry appearance of the exterior only prepares the eye for the still greater shabbiness of everything inside.

The buildings, to which the remainder of this article will be devoted, have been designed and carried out in the hope of stemming the tide of utilitarian barbarism, which had swamped Bulandshahr as completely as every other part of the Province. In April 1878, when I took over charge of the district, the only two buildings in it, ancient or modern, of the slightest architectural pretension, were a ruinous tomb of Sháhjahan's reign at Kásna, and an unfinished stone pavilion of somewhat later date at Shikárpur. The four municipalities had each been provided, about twenty years previously, by the energy of the then Collector, with a complete set of public institutions—school, dispensary, and post-office—all substantially constructed of good brick and mortar, but on regulation patterns of the severest type, without any concession to local sentiment. The principal citizens, in their shops and dwelling-houses, had followed the example thus set, and were everywhere repeating the same dreariness of design, only in inferior materials and with less careful execution. It is too often forgotten by those in authority that it is only the perfection of its mechanical finish which, in European work, often compensates in part for the want of artistic originality. By combining the poverty of western invention with the clumsiness of eastern technique, the characteristic virtues of both races are sacrificed. Yet, this is the plan which is systematically adopted throughout British India. The design for a new church or town-hall is supplied by an English engineer, who openly avows his ignorance of architecture, while the execution is left to native workmen, who inherit the artistic traditions of the country, but are unskilled in the management of modern mechanical appliances, and cannot appreciate the boldness of a Gothic moulding, or the elegance of contour and proportion upon which mainly depends the charm of a Grecian order. It was not thus that the Muhammadans, the earlier conquerors of India, achieved those architectural triumphs in mosque and palace, which we now conscientiously restore with many expressions of idle admiration, but apparently without gathering much practical instruction from the principles they exhibit. Their accurate reproduction is undoubtedly in itself an excellent undertaking and one that reflects the highest credit on the Government; but the functions of design are not vitally stimulated, nor is art adequately encouraged by an exclusive devotion to the past. The general outline of any

large scheme of improvement, and the site and ground plan of the different buildings that are to be grouped together, are matters upon which the Hindu—with his overpowering passion for detail—does well to follow foreign guidance. The execution also will be largely benefited in evenness by European supervision; but the composition of the façade and all the details of the decoration are best left to the craftsmen who will have to execute them. In working out their own conceptions, or repeating the familiar types of local tradition, both mind and hand will act more freely than when they are set to copy forms and mouldings, which they have never practised and do not understand. The carpenters and bricklayers whom I have employed at Bulandshahr are, for the most part, the very same men who raised the bare walls, and set up the tasteless door frames that distinguish the older public buildings of the town. Nor do they ask any higher pay for the more decorative work upon which they are now engaged. If the present results are more attractive to the eye, the improvement is solely due to an improved method of direction on the lines above indicated. It is a sound maxim of administration, which holds good in small matters as in large, that it is well to trust the people you employ; if you cannot trust a man, do not employ him. An Englishman's function in India is to stimulate enterprise and direct the general course of affairs, but to abstain from interference with the details of execution. No character more lowers the prestige of Government than "the zealous official," who trusts no one but himself even in the pettiest details for which subordinates are entertained, and thus loses the broad view which he alone is in a position to command, and which, if he loses it, is lost altogether.

The architectural designs of the new buildings at Bulandshahr do not profess to exhibit any novel features of very remarkable artistic merit. On the contrary, whatever value attaches to them, is to be found in their easy and unconscious adherence to ordinary traditional practice, and in the consequent absence of any exceptionally striking effects. There has been no intentional imitation of older buildings, but, at the same time, there has been no straining after originality. The towers and gateways and arcades of modern Bulandshahr claim to be congruous and picturesque, but only in the same way as the streets of a mediæval English town, which could be matched by others of similar character all over the country. Then—as still in India—the influence of the prevalent style was not so much inculcated in the studio as felt in the air. With some few local modifications in matters of detail, arising chiefly from the ingenious utilization of local materials, such as the cut-flint panelling in Norfolk and Suffolk, and the

Purbeck marble shafts of the western counties, the *motif* of Gothic work at any given period was similar in essentials from the Tweed to the Land's End. Between the sculptured decoration of a Cathedral and that in a village church there may often be a superiority of finish in the former, the result of the more extensive practice acquired by working in the midst of a large community; but this advantage of facile manipulation, with its tendency to stereotype invention, was often outweighed by the greater leisure and unconventionality of the rural artisan. Unless new inspiration and invention come to guide it, the predominance of technical skill in art invariably ends in degradation of the artist's function. Man was not intended to work with the accuracy of a machine; and, in architecture, slight irregularities, which an enquirer would condemn as unpardonable defects, are on the contrary the inseparable accidents of individual effort, and, as evidences of its exercise, please rather than offend the educated eye. Human faculties will never succeed in realizing their ideal; but still it is a nobler part to form an ideal and struggle towards it, than to rest content with the easy attainment of stereotyped mediocrity. If the system that I advocate, *viz.*, the free employment of local talent, unhampered by departmental interference, were adopted throughout India, there might be occasional failures, but it is reasonable to expect there would also be brilliant successes; and the failures must be numerous indeed before they produced at all the same depressing effect as the present deadness of uniformity.

Of all the new improvements in the town, the first that I undertook was the construction of a terrace, which once a week is used for a market. The site was an untidy road-side strip on the top of the hill, immediately opposite the Tahsili Gate. It has been converted into a paved platform in two stages, 19½ feet long and 28 feet broad, made of brick, with a cut-stone edging. An arcade at the back, which forms a convenient place of deposit for bales of cloth and other perishable goods in case of a storm, is also mainly of brick construction, and is a pleasing specimen of local skill. But so much time and labour were involved in cutting each separate brick into shape for the slender rounded and fluted shafts, that the ultimate expense was scarcely, if at all, less than if stone had been employed. I have therefore never repeated the experiment on a similar scale, and have restricted the application of ornamental brickwork to small niches and similar details, where it has an excellent effect. The cost of the work was Rs. 1,600, the whole of which has been already recovered by the annual income from the market-dues. The money for this improvement was obtained by the sale of a small plot of confiscated

ground close by, which had belonged to the rebel Abdul Latif. The purchaser, Kunvar Maháráj Sinh, intended to build a house upon it, which would have been an additional improvement, but he died before the walls were more than a few feet above the ground.

The next enterprise was the Bathing Ghat on the river bank. The foundation-stone was laid on the 1st November 1878, but the completion of the work was delayed for two years by the officiousness of an Executive Engineer who represented to Government that it would spoil the look of the adjoining bridge, and would be nothing short of "an eye-sore." Fortunately the work was eventually allowed to proceed, and the effect of both buildings, though they are in very different styles of architecture, is greatly enhanced by the juxtaposition. Ordinary intelligence might have foreseen this result; and that such obstructive counsels should have been suffered to prevail so long against local enterprise, is a typical illustration of the difficulties that beset a district officer. He is placed in a position which apparently commands almost unlimited capabilities for doing good; but he soon discovers that, in whatever direction he attempts to move, some head of a department is already on the spot, watching to trip him up. As the river forms the boundary of the town to the east, and all the roads from that direction converge at the bridge, the ghât, with its four graceful towers, is seen from a considerable distance by travellers as they approach their destination. The total cost was Rs. 16,373. Of this sum Rs. 3,670 were contributed by the Municipality; the remainder had been raised by public subscription. As in all river-works, the most difficult and the most expensive part of the undertaking was the sinking of the wells for the foundation. This was all successfully accomplished without any professional assistance. The towers are octagonal in shape, of solid brick masonry, faced with slabs of red sandstone cut into panels and set in white stone frames. On two of these panels are recorded the names of all the subscribers, arranged in order according to the amount of their donations. These towers are finished off at the top with brackets and eaves, above which is a plinth supporting an open kiosque with a domed roof, the pinnacle of which rises to a height of 52 feet from the ground. The kiosques of the two towers that spring from the base of the steps are approached from the upper terrace on the road-side, and form pleasant places in which to sit and look out upon the river. The other two kiosques on the water's edge are unfortunately inaccessible, as the open screen-walls intended to connect them with the pair behind were vetoed on the ground that they might obstruct the stream. The stone pavement between the four towers has

now become a favourite stage for the theatrical performances that are generally held during the festival of the *Holi*, when a canopy is stretched over the area, and the spectators throng the steps. Here too, a display of fireworks takes place during the week of the Annual District Show, some of them being let off at the foot of the steps, and others from the opposite bank, whence they are reflected in the stream. With the arches and parapet of the bridge marked out with lines of tiny lamps, and the elegant architecture of the kiosques illuminated by hanging globes and chandeliers, the restless crowd, as it breaks up into ever-changing groups and bright-coloured masses amidst the tinselled torch stands and flaring flambeaux, produces a series of kaleidoscopic effects before the eyes of the European spectators, who witness it from their seats at the top of the steps, which could only be imitated in England on the stage of a London theatre.

In addition to the main ghât the opposite side of the stream is also provided with a short flight of stone steps, of equally substantial construction, and above the bridge are a Go-ghât, or slope for watering cattle, and two arcaded rest-houses, of good and ornamental brick masonry, which are generally crowded with poor travellers, who are allowed to stay there for 24 hours. These two buildings cost a further sum of Rs. 944, about half of which was a wedding gift from a Thakur, who preferred to spend the money in this way, rather than waste it in feeding a horde of lazy Brahmans, as is the custom on such occasions. Nowhere else in the whole length of its winding course can the little river boast of possessing so handsome and complete a set of artistic adornments.

From the town side the bridge and ghât are approached by a spacious thoroughfare, 150 feet wide, with a double row of trees, where a market is held twice a week, which is largely attended by the people of the neighbouring villages, for dealings in cloth and miscellaneous petty wares and agricultural produce. This road is all made of earth, raised eight feet above the level of the low river meadows, and is bordered north and south by lines of shops, which, with their verandahs, are 32 feet deep. Thus the road with its shops forms a solid stone-faced embankment 214 feet wide, and is 700 feet in length. At the back of the shops, on the north side towards the open country, is a walled enclosure, comprising an area of nearly four acres, used as a *paráo*, or camping-ground for vehicles of all descriptions; and on the south side is a *Sarâe*, or hostel for travellers. The shops, as seen from the central roadway, are only one story high; but from the low ground at the back they show a basement story besides, with vaulted cells, which are used as stables on the *paráo* side, and as travellers' quarters on the other. The entire cost of this extensive project up to the

present time has been Rs. 56,416, including Rs. 9,800 for the actual embankment, Rs. 2,000 for the paráo wall and Rs. 900 for a masonry verandah to the Saráe rooms. The balance, *viz.*, Rs. 43,716, was the cost of the shops.

Immediately opposite the ghât, the basement floor of the embankment is widened out into a spacious crypt-like building of five aisles, 70 feet long, which has direct access to the river by a subterranean passage carried under the road-way. This was constructed at a cost of Rs. 4,833, which was mainly defrayed by Chaudhri Lachhman Sinh of Sikárpur, an Honorary Magistrate, and one of the wealthiest landed proprietors in the district, who made the donation as a thankoffering after recovery from a very severe illness. It is used as a Dharmsála, or rest-house for the poor, and is admirably adapted for the purpose from its coolness and its situation at the very entrance of the town, in close proximity both to the river and the market.

The shops on the embankment are divided into four blocks, of which three, containing in all 46 shops, have been completed; the fourth is postponed till such time as the increasing trade of the town may require it. Each line is broken in the centre by a gateway, one leading into the paráo, the other on to a new street, which communicates with the saráe and the main bazar of the town. The depth of both these gates allows of the construction of an upper room with the fair interior dimensions of 18 feet by 20. One room is on the point of completion, and will serve for the ordinary monthly meetings of the Municipal Committee, who have hitherto had no place of their own in which to assemble. It has a projecting stone balcony at each end, and the windows are filled with stone tracery. The cost thus far has been Rs. 4,000. The room over the opposite gate will be taken in hand next year.

The embankment was not quite finished on the 19th September 1880, when the heavy rain occurred which caused the fatal landslide at Naini Tál. The river rose suddenly from 13 to nearly 21 feet in height, the greatest recorded height for any previous flood being 16½ feet, and in order to save the bridge a breach was made in the road on the other side of the stream. This was rapidly widened by the force of the torrent into a chasm three furlongs broad. But for the embankment, the roadway to the west of the bridge must also have gone, and the greater part of the town would then have been destroyed. Even as it was, much damage was caused by the back-water, which spread up into the street from the lower bend of the river; exposure to the direct forces of the current would have had much more serious results. An insignificant rivulet made its way over the embankment through the spaces left for the gateways; but the masonry walls—though

the mortar was scarcely dry—stood the shock well, and fully justified the cost of their construction even from a purely utilitarian point of view. It may also be mentioned that the shops let, some for Rs. 4 and some for Rs. 5 a month each, which gives a return of over 6 per cent. on the outlay.

On emerging from the low land, the embankment is continued towards the west, first at the same width of 150 feet through a bazar, in which the frontage of the shops has been remodelled by the proprietor so as to assimilate it in appearance with the Municipal work, and then as an ordinary street till it reaches the Collector's house and grounds, which are the beginning of the European quarter. At this point of junction, a large masonry reservoir, called the Lyall Tank, has now been constructed by public subscription at a cost of Rs. 16,110. The first stone was laid by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Sir Alfred Lyall, on the 7th February 1883, when he re-visited Bulandshahr for the first time after an interval of 26 years since the Mutiny, when he was attached to the district as a junior civilian, and greatly distinguished himself in the military operations against the rebels. The aqueduct, by which water will be obtained from a distributary of the Ganges Canal, about a mile distant, has not yet been commenced, but an allotment of Rs. 2,500 has been made for it in the Municipal Budget, and the tank itself is finished. It measures 230 feet square and is 14 feet deep. The whole of the earth procured by the excavation has been utilized in raising the level of the streets and open places in the town, thereby greatly improving its drainage and sanitation. Tiers of steps and platforms reach from the top to the floor of the tank, and on each side are broken up into three compartments by dwarf towers, based on the lowest platform and rising to the level of the outer margin, with which they are connected by screen walls. The top of these is broadened out by stone slabs over a bold cornice, so as to form footpaths for reaching the roof of the towers, which makes either a pleasant seat or a convenient projection for bathers to dive from. The central compartment, on the east side, has no steps, but is cut back into a long paved slope with flanking walls for watering cattle.

West of the tank is the Moti Bagh, an area of eleven acres lately levelled and enclosed at a cost of Rs. 5,950, and now in process of conversion into a public garden. Part of it was formerly a broad and deep ravine, which brought down into the town the drainage of all the surrounding country and passed it out into the river through the arch which has been already mentioned as now making the river gate of Chaudhri Lachhman Singh's

Dharmśāla. On the edge of this ravine was an extensive mound, known as the Moti Bazār, which, many hundreds of years ago, had been an inhabited site. In levelling it to fill up the ravine, besides other minor curiosities, a clay seal was found inscribed with the owner's name, apparently of the fifth century A. D., together with an immense number of large bricks, a cubit long and half a cubit broad, and many curious specimens of a local terracotta manufactory. These objects are mostly of a cocoanut shape, and seem to have been intended either for vases or for architectural finials. A fine statue of Buddha, of the 8th century, had been previously discovered on the same spot.

In this new garden, close by the roadside, from which it is divided only by a low wall with stone posts and chains, is now being built the Town Hall, which, if I am able to superintend its completion, will be one of the most remarkable modern buildings in the Province. The cost will scarcely be less than Rs. 30,000, the whole of which is being defrayed by the munificence of a single individual, Rājā Bākīr Ali Khān, of Pindrāval. He received the decoration of a C. I. E. from the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor in the building itself on the 7th February 1883, when a temporary roof was thrown over the unfinished walls for the occasion. The hall, the lower end of which can be screened off as an ante-room, measures 80 feet by 25, and will be 30 feet high, with a range of clerestory windows under the cornice. It is intended that in design, construction, and all its accessories it should form a complete epitome of all the indigenous arts and industries of the neighbourhood. Two pairs of doors, as specimens of wood-carving and inlaying, were contributed on loan to the Calcutta Exhibition, where they attracted much attention and were awarded a certificate of the first-class and a gold medal. A copy of another pair of its doors was made by request, and is now deposited in the South Kensington Museum. The stone work of the porch and verandah and of the great arches of the hall is of equally conspicuous merit, and a little wicket gate in the low roadside wall, immediately in front of the north verandah, is supported by ramps which are scarcely to be surpassed as graceful specimens of stone foliage.

In addition to this minor entrance in direct connection with the Town Hall, the Moti Bagh is provided with two great gates. The one in the east wall, immediately opposite the Lyall Tank, is being erected in memory of Mr. Elliot Colvin, the late Commissioner of the Division, whose sudden and untimely death, on the 3rd November 1883, was deeply felt by all classes of the community. It is estimated to cost about Rs. 4,000, and should be completed by the end of this year. The main gate is on the

opposite side, towards the west, and will perpetuate the name of Ráo Umráo Sinh of Kachesar, who has given Rs. 4,500 for its construction. The archway, which towards the road is of white sand-stone, covered with delicate surface tracery, is flanked by two rooms of block kankar masonry, with red brick turrets at the corners, surmounted by domed and pinnacled stone kiosques 46 feet high. The rooms are intended as lodges for the gardener and watchman, and have an upper unroofed story with arcaded fronts of red brick, the whole being surmounted by a parapet of white stone posts and panels. The variety of colour afforded by the employment of so many different materials and styles of construction affords a pleasing effect, and is to some extent a novelty. There was formerly a superstitious prejudice in the native mind against the use of block kankar except for underground work, such as wells and foundations; and a trader, who built four of the shops on the embankment on his own responsibility, refused to conform in this respect to the specification with which I had supplied him, and in the back-wall, where limestone had been used for the other shops, he substituted brick. This was afterwards plastered and painted so as to make it look as much as possible like the rest of the line, but the difference cannot be concealed, and it remains a disfigurement, though being at the back it is not greatly noticed. Since then I have used it so freely and with such obvious success, that the prejudice against it may be considered as almost extinct.

Another building, which occupies a corner in the Moti Bagh, is the Station Bath. Even this peculiarly English institution has furnished an opportunity for an ingenious adaptation of oriental architecture. The tank itself is open to the sky, but is surrounded by a corridor—made double at one end for a dressing-room—with brick arcades facing the water and solid external walls of block kankar masonry. A flight of stairs leads to the roof, which is flat and can therefore be used for taking headers from, or as a terrace commanding a pleasant view of the garden. The windows have arched wooden frames with balustrades and shutters, all elegantly carved in a variety of patterns, and the doors are a still more elaborate piece of carpentry, like those in the Town Hall. Over the entrance is a stone niche with inscriptions in English and Hindustani, recording that this gift for the use of the European residents of the station was made by Saiyid Hasan Shah, the Honorary Magistrate for the town and the vice-President of the Municipality. The cost has amounted to Rs. 3,600. The site is most convenient as the Library and Racket Court are immediately opposite. These were built some years ago and are more useful than ornamental; but they have been brought into harmony with their

new surroundings, by the insertion of stone traceried windows and a pair of handsomely carved doors. Even the Race Stand, outside the station, has been built on similar principles, and is thoroughly Indian in character. The material is block kankar with dressings of white sand-stone. The cost has been gradually defrayed by the annual sale of tickets at the time of the races.

The handsomest private house in the town was built for Salyid Mihrbán Ali, the Honorary Magistrate of Gulaothi. It occupies a singularly favourable position at the east end of a broad street, which in front of the house first opens out into a small square, and then branches off into two bazars, running due north and south. Immediately at the back is the steep slope of the hill, on which the old Fort once stood, and the rise is so rapid, that the carriage-entrance, which is up a side lane, and the courtyard on to which it opens, are on a level with the roof of the shops, which from the square appear as a basement story to the building and thus give a great increase of dignity to the façade. It was under construction throughout the year 1880, and the house warming took place on the 26th of the following February, on the last day of the Annual Show, when all the European residents and visitors sat down to dinner with their host in the large room on the first floor. A third story with a beautiful screen of pierced stone tracery was afterwards added, making the cost of the frontage amount to Rs. 4,200. The premises at the back are extensive and commodious, but of ordinary brick masonry, and are not yet fully completed.

The central area of the Square was formerly a dusty untidy waste, but now appears as a raised brick terrace with stone dressings and carved stone lamp-posts at the four corners. It was constructed in 1879 at a cost of about Rs. 1,000. The people were at first opposed to the improvement, thinking it might interfere with the celebration of the Bharat Miláp, the meeting of Ráma, Lakshman and Síta on their return from exile with their brother Bharat, which forms the last scene in the popular miracle play of the Rám Lila, acted throughout India during the festival of the Dasahara, and at Bulandshahr invariably performed in this particular Square. When I witnessed it in the first year of my incumbency, all the surroundings were of the poorest and most squalid appearance; now, on all four sides, brick and carved stone have been substituted for mud and thatch, and a more effective stage for an illumination or theatrical performance could scarcely be found in the largest town in the Province. The successful transformation of the spot is so fully appreciated by the citizens, that since then they have readily fallen in with any

scheme that I have proposed, in perfect confidence that the result will prove satisfactory. The well in the Square, which is a very favourite one, with people drawing water from it all day long, was cleaned and repaired and enclosed with a very elegant stone-screen at an outlay of Rs. 200, at the same time that the pavement was made. There was also added for the accommodation of a Brahman, who supplies a draught of drinking water to the thirsty wayfarer, a prettily decorated square stone cell, or *Pigao*. This is surmounted by a lofty hexagonal shaft of masonry tapering up to a stone finial, with tier upon tier of little niches on all its sides from top to bottom, in which lamps are placed whenever there is an illumination of the town. This was the gift of Chaudhri Vijay Sinh of Sikri, and cost Rs. 500.

In a line with Mihrbān Ali's house is a temple with a high spire in the background, built by a Hindu widow. The front was first of brick, but in order not to be outdone in magnificence by her Muhammadan neighbour, it was no sooner finished than she pulled it down and re-built it in stone as it now appears.

On the north side of the Square was a narrow strip of ground occupied by some miserable hovels, which I have pulled down, and in their place erected a handsome double-storied range of buildings, with seven shops in the basement and a convenient set of rooms above, which are let out as a Banker's offices. This façade also is of carved stone, with a slight intermixture of red brick. The property belongs to Munawar Ali Khan, who has the misfortune to be of weak intellect. His estate, which is a considerable one, lying chiefly in the Murādabad district, is therefore administered by the Court of Wards. The family, originally Hindu, has been connected with the town of Bulandshahr, ever since its very first settlement under the name of Baran, more than three thousand years ago. It was therefore only fitting that the scion of so ancient a stock should be locally represented by something more sightly and substantial than a ruinous line of mud hovels. Accordingly I drew attention to the matter in the proper official quarter, and eventually obtained sanction for the removal of the old tumble-down sheds—which were a disgrace to the administration of the estate—and for the expenditure of Rs. 9,000 on the new block, which was completed in 1882. The rental at present gives a return of only 4 per cent. on the outlay; the town so far as shops are concerned having now become a little over-built; for any sort of dwelling house there is a great demand, but the site was too contracted to be suitable for that purpose. The building, from

most points of view, seems to be backed by the steep range of the castle hill, with the Tahsili on its top. This is a sombre jail-like pile, erected in 1866, at a cost of Rs. 14,187, on the site of the old Fort, the last relics of which were then demolished, and have ever since been regretted as affording more comfortable quarters for the staff of revenue officials than their modern substitute.

A little outside the Square, on the north side of the broad street, by which, as has been already mentioned, it is approached from the west, stands another conspicuously handsome private building. This is the town residence of Muhammad Ali Khan, the Honorary Magistrate of Jahangirabad. Here also—as in Mihrbān Ali's house—the carriage entrance is from a back lane, where the ground is on a level with the roof of the shops that form the basement story of the front. A spacious stone verandah overlooks the street and runs the whole length of the principal reception hall, which was first used on the 25th February 1882 for a dinner that wound up the festivities of the Annual Show. A stone model of the façade was ordered by Mr. Purdon Clarke as a characteristic specimen of modern Indian architecture, and has been deposited in the South Kensington Museum. The chief peculiarity of the style, which is the same as that employed in the two companion buildings already described, consists in the great depth of the apparently slender shafts that support the arcade. They cover the entire thickness of the wall on which they stand, and are thus very substantial supports, though their front shows a breadth of only two or three inches. The background of the frieze and string-courses, and the outlines of the panels in the balcony screens, are coloured with different tints, which give prominence to the carving and a general air of brightness to the whole composition. This practice is comparatively a novelty, but has at once found imitators and is now generally adopted in all new buildings in the neighbourhood.

At the west end of this street, on opposite sides of a small open place, stand the English School and the Dispensary, both substantial buildings, erected the one in 1864, the other in 1867, under the supervision of Mr. Webster, the then Collector. The materials and construction, for which alone he is responsible, are of the very best description, and do him the highest credit as a practical builder. The designs were supplied by Government engineers, and have the usual departmental defects of low plinth, inadequate cornice, and the absence of any staircase on to the roof. The Assistant Surgeon's dwelling-house close by is a typical specimen of professional wrong-headedness.

It is absolutely uninhabitable, being sunk in a sort of well which prevents the possibility either of drainage or ventilation. The site was a mound, which common sense, instead of levelling, would have utilized as a plinth. I pointed this out to the Executive Engineer, but he blandly assured me that what had been done was quite according to rule, and that it was only the Babu's perverseness which made him refuse to live there.

As a benevolent institution, the Hospital and Dispensary yields to none in the Province. In 1882 as many as 898 surgical operations were performed in it, including 363 for cataract; and in 1883 the total number rose still higher, to 1,010. These splendid results were due to the skill and devotion of Dr. Willcocks, the Civil Surgeon, who, by his intimate acquaintance with the language, kindliness of manner, and inexhaustible patience, combined with remarkable success in treatment, had acquired a great reputation, which attracted patients from all the surrounding districts.

The School is a spacious vaulted room with broad verandahs and a curiously ugly campanile, which, as in the Tahsili School already mentioned, suggests the idea of a nonconformist chapel. It was originally intended to accommodate only a hundred boys, and as the number of pupils at the beginning of this year had risen to 175, an additional class-room became imperatively necessary, and this has now been supplied. It covers almost exactly the same area as the old building, but is in a very different style of architecture, with a high flat roof, to which access is gained by a picturesque stair-turret, a well-raised plinth, cut-brick arcaded walls, stone traceried windows, and handsomely carved doors. The cost will be about Rs. 4,500, of which sum more than half comes from an endowment bestowed upon the school by Saiyid Mihrbân Ali, who is always foremost in the support of every deserving local institution. The Superintending Engineer's official criticism of the new room is highly characteristic. He condemns it as "quite out of keeping with the original building and defective in design." Architects and art critics in London and New York apparently find something to admire in the new works at Bulandshahr, and gladly go to considerable expense in procuring models and drawings of them; but the taste of our provincial Vitruvius is far more fastidious, and can only be satisfied by the elegant refinements of his own departmental standards.

In the same compound stands the Boarding house, where such of the boys are lodged as have no relations with whom they can live in the town. There is now accommodation for forty.

The building is in the form of a quadrangle, of which about one-half was finished and occupied before I took charge of the district. It was simply a barrack of the very plainest description, and for the sake of uniformity I was obliged to continue it on somewhat similar lines. But I have given it character by adding a gateway in the centre of one wing, throwing out two stair-turrets at the corners of the front, and substituting pierced stone-tracery for wooden bars in the windows. An extension at the back has also been made this year, and it would give importance to the design if a large dormitory were added over this as an upper story at some future time, when sanction has been obtained. The existing accommodation is still inadequate, and a house has to be rented in the town for some of the boys. There is an available fund of Rs. 2,000, invested in Government paper, the interest on which is spent upon scholarships. But the craving for English education among the poorer classes already amounts almost to a disease, and, in my opinion, ought not to be encouraged by a system of gratuitous education. From the very beginning of my career I have been an enthusiast for a certain kind of schooling, but I am convinced that the study of English has been pushed on too rapidly. Being regarded simply as a means for making a livelihood, it is not the leaders of native society, but only the struggling and the indigent who are anxious to secure Government education for their sons. When they have completed the first stage of the appointed curriculum, they can seldom afford to proceed any further, and—in order to support themselves—begin to look out for employment. As the general civilization of the country is only in the agricultural stage, native society does not require their services: the only patron to whom they can turn is Government, and every Government office is already besieged by a host of disappointed candidates. The ideal condition of things would be an English-speaking and highly cultivated aristocracy, with a proletariat able to read and write their own vernacular, and a middle class further instructed either in English, if they aim at being clerks, or in technique, if they would become intelligent artisans. The actual results of the system of low fees and profuse scholarships are the reverse of the above, and the whole framework of society is in consequence disorganized. The poor learn absolutely too much; the rich, too little; while the middle classes waste their time over what is relatively useless, being incongruous with their special rule in life.

The mention of stone-traceried windows may have been noticed in the above description of the new school buildings, and the

introduction of such a feature may possibly strike some people as an unnecessary extravagance. But the use of glass in a school-room is, to my mind, an example of the unthinking prejudice against oriental fashions which characterizes the whole action of the Public Works Department. Nothing could be more unsuitable: with English boys running in and out, the window doors of the regulation pattern would not have a whole pane left in one of them by the end of the first week after the holidays. Hindu lads are much quieter and more sedate, but—even so—breakages are frequent, and to obviate the cost of repairs the Superintending Engineer, in his inspection reports, always recommends that whenever glass is broken, it should be replaced with tin. A more clumsy expedient it would be difficult to conceive. The patch-work has a most beggarly appearance, and the tin of course is not transparent. The more sensible plan, and the one entirely in accord with eastern ideas, is that which I have adopted, in making the doors of solid carpentry and introducing light by means of windows set higher in the walls and fitted with ornamental tracery. In the Tahsili school, where the old windows were of large dimensions and reached to the ground, I have filled them in with wooden lattice-work as being cheaper than stone. They give free admission to the air and subdue without materially obstructing the light, while they are further provided with inside shutters, which can be closed in case of a storm. The initial cost is rather heavier, but it is eventually recovered by the saving on repairs. The artistic effect will probably be regarded as another objection by the typical engineer, who is possessed with the lamentable delusion that nothing can be good unless it is also ugly, and who treats a school as a purely utilitarian building. It appears to me, on the contrary, that the cultivation of the taste is an important element in any system of mental training, and that it is a matter for unqualified regret that the natives of the country, from their earliest childhood, should be taught to associate the idea of all that is mean and shabby with the British Government. The effect lasts throughout life. Hence the educated natives' adoption of everything that is ugliest in European dress and equipment, and the necessity that he feels for an apology whenever he relapses into conformity with the prescriptions of oriental good taste. It is done—as he explains—out of regard for the prejudices of his women-folk, or of his less enlightened kinsmen.

The large and costly buildings, of which special mention has been made, by no means exhaust the list of improvements in the town. They are the most calculated to catch the eye of a complete stranger; but a former habitué, who returns after an

interval of eight or nine years, is perhaps still more struck by the astonishing transformation of the ordinary shops and dwelling houses. As many as 870 of these have been pulled down and rebuilt. Formerly they were of mud, with the floor a foot or more below the level of the street, and with thatched roofs always liable to catch fire. The debris of the old structure now forms a raised plinth, the walls are of brick, and beams support a flat roof which forms a healthy sleeping-place. Many of these tenements are occupied by the labouring classes who have built them with their own hands, and of course their architectural pretensions are very slight. But a little simple ornamentation about the doorways or the eaves generally redeems them from absolute bareness, and renders them not unpleasing to the eye. In fact, many a Lodha and Chamâr has now a more serviceable and a better looking house of his own construction, than is provided by Government for its subordinate officials.

As the Supreme Government has greatly at heart the check of epidemic disease among the urban population by the introduction of more adequate sanitary arrangements, it is not unusual for its periodical review of Municipal administration to conclude with a paragraph urging Committees to devote a larger part of their annual income to drainage schemes. This is passed on through the regular official channel, and eventually reaches the District officer with a docket from his immediate superior, calling his special attention to the subject. As the Service prides itself on its loyalty, and a character for unquestioning submission to authority is considered one of the most approved claims to promotion, he at once allots a large sum for new drains in the next year's budget. The project is forthwith sanctioned as a commendable indication of public spirit, the drains are dug—and remain a nuisance ever afterwards. It is entirely forgotten that there is a vast difference between drains and drainage. In a dry climate, like that of Northern India, where it rains on an average only about twenty-five days in the year, there can be no constant excess of moisture to provide against. A covered drain is at all times and in every country the chosen home of typhoid, while a deep open drain is, for 340 days out of the whole 365, a dangerous pitfall or a slovenly dust-bin. Even when the rare and sudden flood does come, it has its own way very much as before, for any ordinary channel must be inadequate to contain it. The proper method is to have broad paved or metalled streets with an almost imperceptible slope from one end to the other, and also from the centre to the sides, so that the water may rapidly run off without the necessity for any drain whatever. Every improvement in the town of Bulandshahr during the last six years has had a beneficial effect

on the drainage; but on actual drains nothing has been spent, except in closing, or at least raising the level of those which had been constructed by my predecessors, and upon which the whole Municipal income would appear to have been squandered. Certainly, beyond drains and latrines, there were no other visible results of Municipal administration; for the dispensary and schools had been built out of special funds to which the Municipality did not even contribute.

All the new improvements have been designed and successfully carried out by independent local agency, never with the slightest assistance from departmental quarters, though occasionally in the face of much professional opposition. On the other hand, the performances of the trained engineers in Government service make a very insignificant appearance. The local works, which they have executed during the last fifty years, have been simply as follows:—The Jail; the District Law Courts; the Lowe Memorial; the Assistant Surgeon's official quarters; the Church and the Church Chaukidar's Lodge. The last named can only be regarded as a practical joke. The Church itself, which stands at the extreme west end of the station, was completed in 1864 at a cost of Rs. 5,750, on which the contractor, Mr. Michell, now a large landed proprietor in the Merath district, is said to have been a considerable loser. The money was raised by a subscription, which had been headed by Mr. Lowe, the then Collector and a son-in-law of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Muir. He died in July 1862, and is buried in the Chancel. His name is further commemorated by a colonnaded building in the Cutcherry compound, called the Lowe Memorial, which is used as a place of shelter for people attending the courts. They, no doubt, find it a convenience, and the design is for the most part too simple to criticise, except for the low square clock-tower, which is obtrusively ugly and ill-proportioned. The diminutive battlements, with which it is crowned, were doubtless intended to give it a Gothic character, but only emphasize its want of any architectural character whatever. The cost was Rs. 6,936. As usual, there was no access to the roof, except by a break-neck ladder, till 1878, when I added a corner stair-turret. The Church is rather a pretty little building, and as a far-away imitation of Gothic, is more successful on the whole than Indian churches frequently are. It is crushed by a low vaulted roof of very un-Gothic type, and in order to resist its thrust, the buttresses, which are very short, have such a wide straddle as to give the whole composition a touch of the grotesque. The Lodge, added in 1883, is a reproduction of the mother-building on the most diminutive scale, and is more like a doll's house than a structure intended for human habitation. It has a very high-pitched roof, with miniature

buttresses and pointed arches to the doors and windows, and is divided into two rooms, corresponding to a nave and chancel, the internal dimensions of which are respectively nine and six feet square ! As a fanciful addition to the Church grounds it may have its merits ; but it is quite certain that the Chaukidar, for whose comfort it was built, will never consent to immure himself in such a cramped and stifling prison. As regards the other engineer-works : the Jail, first built in 1835, but enlarged in 1845 and again in 1883, is a straggling range of barracks, which the most ordinary village mason could have constructed ; the Law Courts are not only of the meanest appearance, but are also altogether inadequate in accommodation : the rooms provided for the Sessions Judge may be specially mentioned as in the hot weather absolutely uninhabitable. The same is the case with the Assistant Surgeon's house. In the Schools, Dispensary and Post-office, the workmanship, which is good, was non-professional ; the designs were supplied by the department and are certainly open to exception. Such are the facts, and the conclusion to which they point is surely this, that the district would have been a direct gainer, both as regards the possession of more sightly public buildings and in the greater encouragement of local industry and talent, if it had been allowed to provide for its own wants in its own way, without any inter-meddling at all on the part of the Government bureau.

In the three outlying Municipalities of Khurja, Anupshahr and Sikandarabad, it has not been found possible to insist upon an equal attention to minutiae, or to secure the same air of congruity as pervades the streets and bazars of Bulandshahr. Though Khurja is by far the largest and richest town in the district, and several of its principal citizens have handsome dwelling-houses with gateways and façades of carved stone, these indications of wealth are, for the most part, buried away in the back lanes and alleys, while the sides of the main thoroughfares continue to be disfigured with mud walls and unsightly excrescences, which the native members of the Committee are too apathetic to set themselves to abolish. In each of the three towns, however, some one large scheme has been successfully accomplished. Even at Anupshahr, which has an annual income of little more than Rs. 6,000, by dint of economy it has been found possible to provide funds for the construction of a large and handsome sarāe in the form of a quadrangle, with vaulted cells and corridors and a fine entrance gateway, over which will be built a Committee Room as at Bulandshahr. The cost has been Rs. 9,200, and it brings in an annual return of Rs. 250. At Sikandarabad, which lies in a hollow and had suffered

terribly from fever, a great improvement in the public health has been effected by an expenditure of Rs. 4,150 on an extensive system of drainage, which makes a circuit of the town and has its ultimate outfall in a natural water-course. The large sum of Rs. 12,500 has also been allotted for a Town Hall, still in course of erection. The doors, which are entirely the work of local carpenters, are of remarkably handsome design and careful execution. Being greatly admired by visitors, they have had an important effect in stimulating the revival of a decaying art, and now the traders in the principal bazar are vying with one another in the excellence of the carved arcades, with which they are ornamenting their shop fronts, and which promise to render the street one of the most picturesque in the district. The movement is entirely spontaneous, and shows what an immense influence for good in the encouragement of indigenous arts and industries might be exercised by Municipal Committees, if only they had more liberty of action than is often accorded them, and were not compelled to submit their designs for the sanction of a department which abominates individuality.

At Khurja the new marketplace and bazar may fairly claim to be the finest modern architectural group of the kind in the Province. The market is in the form of a quadrangle, entirely fronted with carved stone, and has two entrance gates, of which the larger is 36 feet high, 40 feet broad, and as much as 60 feet deep, with a double story of arcades on either side under its lofty roof, as in the portals of the old Imperial Forts at Agra and Delhi. In the centre of the square is a mosque, which on market days seriously obstructs the crowded area, and at all times is felt to be out of harmony with its environment, both because it stands at a different angle from the surrounding shops, and also because all the latter are occupied exclusively by Hindus. Before the site was cleared, a fakir had a mud hut here, which he represented to be a religious edifice and protested against its conversion to secular uses. The matter was taken up by an ignorant and factious crew of Pathans, who muster strong in the town, and for fear of being thought lukewarm in the faith, the more respectable and better educated members of the Muhammadan community were obliged to side with the multitude. In order to prevent a disturbance, permission to rebuild the mosque had therefore to be accorded, but it was accompanied with the condition that it should be of stone and of handsome design. The largest amount of ornamentation has been bestowed upon its back wall, for this is directly opposite the main gate. It is an elaborate piece of panelling, and from the street, under the great arch, looks well as a screen at the end of the vista. On any other site—and many others were

offered—the mosque would have been more useful for religious purposes, and architecturally would have reflected credit on the good taste of the Muhammadan community; standing where it does, it serves only as a memorial of their irrational and intolerant fanaticism. The shops on one side of the square are of great depth and have a double frontage, looking out at the back on to a new street which, beginning with a width of 40 feet, sweeps round in a curved line till it again joins the main thoroughfare. The end of it last completed had previously been only from 6 to 8 feet wide. Even so, it was the most frequented bazar in the town, and the shops were a valuable property, for which heavy compensation had to be awarded. The entire cost of this extensive undertaking has been over Rs. 80,000, of which Rs. 14,000 were spent on the gates.

Khurja can also boast of a spacious masonry tank with an aqueduct a mile in length, by which it is filled from the Ganges Canal. It makes a fine sheet of water, and at two of its corners has pretty stone kiosques, the gift of the resident Honorary Magistrate, Kunvar Azam Ali Khān. The two at the opposite angles are now being added at a further cost of Rs. 1,200 by the Municipality, which has also defrayed the total expenditure on the tank itself and the aqueduct which together amounted to Rs. 18,000.

Of all public improvements a tank is perhaps the one which the people of India most highly appreciate, and they are always ready to contribute to its construction to the full extent of their means. Besides the two at Khurja and Bulandshahr, seven others have been made in smaller towns in the district, at an aggregate cost of Rs. 20,000, a nucleus in each case, large or small, being first collected by the people on the spot, and then supplemented by grants from local funds. The same system has been adopted with regard to new schools. If the people of any locality take sufficient interest in the matter to contribute half the cost, the District Board provides the other moiety, the school is built, and the villagers having invested some of their own money in it, generally evince a more lasting zeal for its success than if it had been an entirely free gift. If a similar method were more widely practised throughout the country, local improvements and local public spirit would be developed on a far more solid basis, than by the institution of any number of elective committees.

The above long record of local improvements can scarcely be regarded as otherwise than a remarkable one for a single district to exhibit during the brief space of six years. Probably not one tithe of similar work has been executed in the same time in any corresponding part of the Province, where action has been strictly regulated by departmental routine. If so, the point for

which I contend is practically established. The tyranny of departmentalism, and the servitude of the individual, as now practised, are not only unnecessary in the interests either of the Government or the people, but are positively injurious to both. The remedy for present evils lies in local self-Government, which—rightly understood—is the greatest blessing that could be conferred on the country. Its requirements, however, are not satisfied by the mere introduction of an ingenious scheme for the election of representative members to form such a Board as that hitherto existing, which, when once constituted, has no further functions to discharge but such as are purely ornamental, with no resources to develop, no funds of its own to administer, and no independence of action. Its nominal servants are its actual masters, who are appointed by an external department, are under its orders and look to it for promotion. The control over accounts is so vexatiously minute, and the returns which have to be supplied are so voluminous, that the correspondence with the central bureau at Allahabad costs the Committee Rs. 300 a year simply for postage stamps, while the pay of the clerical establishment makes an annual charge of at least Rs. 5,000. Such a Board is simply a screen for the most exaggerated form of centralization. The system is wasteful, demoralizing and inefficient. On the other hand, fiscal and administrative economy would be secured, the character of the people would be elevated, and material progress advanced, if every district had the management of its own funds, acting under the guidance of its natural leaders, unhampered by departmental interference, forming its own projects and employing its own agency. Projects, before commencement, would require the general sanction of superior authority, and on completion would be submitted to the severest scrutiny. But the details of execution should be trusted to local intelligence, without undue insistence on technical refinements, and the work itself, as inspected on the spot, should be the test of success, not the figured statements as deposited in the Central bureau. Bulandshahr is in no way an exceptionally favourable district for internal development. Throughout India there are hands ready to work, and money waiting to be spent on improvements that every one desires, but which are never undertaken, for want of a little sympathy and co-operation on the part of the local authorities, who—for all their good will—are cowed into inaction by the incubus of an arbitrary and overbearing department.

F. S. GROWSE.

NOTE.—Illustrations of some of the buildings mentioned in this article will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of Indian Art*, edited by Mr. Kipling, the Principal of the School of Art at Lahor.

**ART. IX.—A PLAN FOR MAINTAINING THE RUPEE
CURRENCY AT A FIXED VALUE RELATIVELY
TO STERLING.**

A person's opinions are liable to be biassed by his interests, and some of our export merchants may still believe in the *reductio ab absurdum* that a depreciating currency benefits a nation ; while others may cherish the delusive hope that India by its own efforts can raise the value of silver, though the leading commercial nations hesitate to combine to make the attempt. Most Anglo-Indians are, however, alarmed at the *laissez faire* policy still pursued by Government in connection with the Rupee currency. It is now evident that prior to 1875 the values of silver and gold were kept at an equilibrium by the bi-metallic operations of the Latin Union, and that silver is now preserved from a further heavy fall in price by the action of America, France and Germany. Large unemployed stocks of silver are held by these countries in the hope that a bi-metallic union will be re-established ; and should this hope not be realized, these stocks will be sold and India will be forced to discard the silver standard, and to adopt measures to maintain the Rupee currency at a fixed ratio to gold, which will become the one important measure of value.

At the International Monetary Conference held in Paris, in 1881, Sir Louis Mallet, the representative of the Indian Government, pointed out that though India was not a producer of silver, no country had done so much of late years to maintain the value of silver, and he promised that India would continue its present system of coining, provided a certain number of the principal States of the world would adopt bi-metallism and restore the old ratio between gold and silver. But, he added, "the great wish of the financial authorities in India has been, if possible, to have a common monetary system with England" "They must choose between bi-metallism or gold, and, although for the present the latter solution would be too difficult, it is certain that if the depreciation of silver continues, and if the opportunity should offer, we shall enter, though much against our wish, into the struggle which is about to commence between the nations of the earth for the sole metal which will be left to us as the solid basis of an international currency."

The principal States of the world, so far from complying with the stipulation made by Sir Louis Mallet, have adopted an opposite course, and have sold silver. Italy has established a gold currency. Holland, is about to demonetise 25 million

florins worth of silver : and Mr. H. C. Burchard, Director of the American Mint, while acknowledging himself a bi-metallist, is constrained to recommend Congress to stop coining the £400,000 worth of silver coined monthly under the Act of 1878.

"While believing," he writes, "that the equal coinage of both metals is desirable, yet in view of our inability to continue the increase of our silver circulation at the present rate without ultimately expelling a large portion of our present stock of gold, as well as of the waning hope for the co-operation of leading commercial nations in securing the general use of silver and its unlimited coinage in money, I suggest again for the consideration of Congress, whether the law directing the coinage of not less than 2 millions worth of silver into standard dollars should not be modified or repealed."

Under this law, the American Mint has coined silver dollars to the value of £30,900,000 ; but out of these only £8,000,000 have gone into circulation, and £22,900,000 are held unemployed, together with £5,500,000 in fractional silver currency which the Treasury is unable to press into circulation : and if Mr. Burchard is correct in stating that the hopes of American bi-metallists are waning, Congress will not only stop the coinage of the £400,000 of silver monthly, but will take steps to dispose of the above-mentioned useless stock of silver.

Mr. R. B. Chapman, in his letter to Professor Nasse, dated 25th December 1880, asks "What is Germany going to do with her £25,000,000 of thalers? What is France going to do with her £80,000,000 of standard silver money, £50,000,000 of which are accumulated in the Bank of France alone? What is America going to do with the constantly accumulating dollars of her fathers?" And the further question may be asked, "What is India going to do if these nations attempt to dispose of these useless stocks of silver?"

Under the present coinage laws, the Indian mints are bound to coin into legal tender money all silver that may be presented for the purpose : and any of the above-mentioned nations, with the assistance of an Indian Exchange Bank, might remit silver in a quiet way, and purchase sterling bills for advance dates to an extent that would seriously injure trade and hamper the remitting and borrowing operations of Government.

Under a well known law of currency, each addition to the Rupee currency under these circumstances will merely increase the weight of the currency without increasing its value or efficiency, and the value of the whole mass of pre-existing coins will fall to the level of the last cheap additions. India has

lost over 20 crores in this way since 1875. Her open system of coinage has been robbing and bleeding her for the benefit of American silver miners, and European silver holders. She has been sending away excess supplies of wheat, rice and other valuables, and instead of getting good value in return, she has merely got additions to her currency which have made her bulky coins heavier and more cumbrous. The Government has lost heavily on its home remittances. Trade has been rendered unduly speculative by the uncertainties of exchange: while the borrowing powers of Government, the Railway Companies, and Joint Stock enterprises in general, have been seriously impaired by the loss of confidence in the stability of the Indian currency relatively to gold.

In 1876 Government 4 per cent. paper fell from Rs. 102 in February to Rs. 98-8 per cent. in March, then rose to Rs. 102-4 in July, and dropped to Rs. 99 in November.

In 1877 the highest and lowest points were Rs. 99 and Rs. 92-4 per cent., and the 4 per cent. Loan of 1877-78 yielded Government an average of Rs. 96-7 only.

In 1880, the hopes of bi-metallists raised the price from Rs. 93 to Rs. 100-8, and to Rs. 106-8 on 4th July 1881. The final sitting of the International Monetary Conference took place in Paris, on 8th July 1881, and on its adjourning the bi-metallists lost heart, and the price of 4 per cent. Indian securities immediately fell and reached Rs. 99-8 on 20th August, a drop of 7 per cent. in the space of 47 days.

Last year Government 4 per cent. paper dropped from Rs. 102-4 on 6th February to Rs. 97-8, and has fluctuated of late between Rs. 95 and Rs. 97 per cent.

These severe fluctuations in the price of Rupee securities shew how India's borrowing powers are hampered by the uncertain ratio between the Indian currency and sterling. There is little lending power in India itself; and India must either borrow from England on Rupee securities, which yield the English investor an uncertain return, or she must borrow on sterling securities, and incur liabilities of an ever-varying extent. Thanks to misapprehensions existing in England regarding the prospects of silver, India has hitherto been able to borrow on fairly reasonable terms: but Mr. Westland, the Comptroller General, in an able minute on the subject, says, "The power of England to absorb Rupee loans is beginning to fail us," and "the unsteadiness of the London price of Rupee paper, and the agony in respect of Council Bills in the latter half of 1882, acted very unfavorably upon the general estimation of Rupee paper."

The Bombay Port Trust and Municipality have been anxious to borrow for a long time past in order to extend the Dock accommodation, and to improve the water-supply; but European capitalists have lost faith in the silver standard and silver revenues, and will not lend unless they are promised payment of principal and interest in sterling. The Calcutta Port Trust and Municipality are in a similar predicament, and the latter has applied to Government for permission to borrow in sterling.

Parliament must reverse its decision of 1879. Government will be forced to discard the silver standard, unless bi-metallism can be re-established; and the sooner this question is brought to a point, the better.

India is the only country that continues to coin silver freely for all comers, and the longer rupees are coined in this fashion, the greater will be the difficulty experienced in placing the foreign exchanges on a proper footing; and the more silver America and Europe are allowed to coin in India, the less will they be disposed to re-establish bi-metallism.

The establishment of bi-metallism without the help of England or Germany is hopeless: but India can, without assistance from any quarter, keep the value of her currency fixed relatively to sterling.

Three courses are open to her:

1st.—She may adopt a gold standard as proposed by Sir Louis Mallet: but this is a most expensive expedient.

2nd.—She may cease open coinage, and place her currency on an inconvertible footing, like Austria and Russia. John Stuart Mill writes, "An inconvertible currency regulated by the price of bullion would conform exactly in all its variations to a convertible one, and the advantage gained would be that of exemption from the necessity of keeping any reserve of the standard metal." The chief objection to a currency of this kind is, that it is subject to fluctuations during a period of redundancy. It is inconvertible, and whenever remittances on account of imports of goods largely exceed remittances on account of exports, the currency will be depreciated and violent fluctuations in the prices and in the foreign exchanges may arise. Besides, as pointed out in Financial Department Resolution, dated 9th February 1877, in reply to the Memorial of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, "A sound system of currency must be automatic or self-regulating. No civilized Government can undertake to determine from time to time by how much the legal tender currency should be increased or diminished."

3rd.—India may maintain her currency at a fixed value

relatively to gold without incurring on the one hand the heavy expense attending the institution of a gold currency, and without imposing upon Government the duty of judging how much increase or decrease in the quantity of coin is at any moment exactly needed.

This scheme is based on the effective principle of convertibility, under which silver and paper "tokens" circulate at a fixed value relatively to gold. It was suggested first in a letter to the *Statesman*, and was fully described in the October number of this *Review* in 1878.

In common with other countries, India has hitherto made her chief coins circulate at their intrinsic value, and has used the same medium for internal payments as for foreign payments and standard purposes. But this is unnecessary. Ricardo, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Sherbrooke, and other authorities have declared that, were English notes and silver coins made convertible into gold ingots instead of into gold coins, they would maintain their value, and the currency would contract and expand precisely as if it consisted of gold coins. Mr. Grenfell (late Governor of the Bank of England,) is of the same opinion: and a study of the circumstances that govern the Indian currency will shew that Indian rupees, currency notes and copper coins, in like manner, may be maintained at a fixed value relatively to gold without the introduction of gold coins.

All additions to the Rupee currency are at present made by the Exchange Bankers, who import silver bullion from Europe and China, and get it coined free of charge at the Indian mints. But, under the scheme proposed, the Government of India will cease coining on this footing, and will coin and dispose of rupees on the system followed by the English Mint in coining and disposing of its silver coins.

The Indian mints will buy bullion at the cheapest possible price here, in China, London or America, and will coin and sell rupees to the Exchange Banks and all other applicants freely without limit at a fixed price, say, 1s. 10d. per rupee. Under this arrangement the value of existing rupees will gradually rise, seeing that they will cost 1s. 10d., and that no additions will be made to the currency till they attain that value.

When the Rupee value has fairly risen to 1s. 10d., the Indian mints will engage to repurchase rupees at 1s. 9d., just as Indian Treasuries now undertake to repurchase copper coins at their full extrinsic value: and in this manner rupees, being procurable always at the mints at 1s. 10d. and re-saleable to the mints at 1s. 9d., will neither rise above the former price nor fall below the latter.

When buying rupees, the Exchange Banks will pay the price in sterling to the Bank of England and get a Council Bill or draft on the Indian Mint, and on re-selling the rupees the Banks will obtain from the Mint a sterling draft on the Bank of England.

A duty equivalent to the extrinsic value of the rupee will be placed on the import of silver by parties other than Government: and the value of the rupee will accordingly correspond with the local value of silver bullion, and illicit coining will be discouraged.

Under these arrangements, the Rupee currency will be maintained at a fixed value relatively to sterling, *i.e.*, gold, under the effective law of convertibility. Prices will be quoted proportionately to gold, and gold will be the standard measure of value. The quantity of the currency will be regulated in the usual automatic manner. When the rates of interest or exchange indicate that there is too much currency in India, or that the demands for remittance from this to Europe will likely exceed for a lengthy period the demands in the opposite direction, the Exchange Banks will tender rupees at the Indian mints for conversion into sterling orders. But this will be an abnormal condition of affairs, and all authorities will admit that the Exchange Banks must, as a rule, be steady purchasers of rupees at 1s. 10d. Government will make large profit on these sales, and even on the rupees taken over at 1s. 9d., there will be a profit of over four per cent., provided they are speedily re-issued at 1s. 10d. India produces no precious metals; and, under an infallible law, Indian currency can only become redundant on rare occasions and for short periods; and all that is required to complete the scheme is a fund on which India can draw largely when the Rupee currency becomes temporarily redundant and rupees are returned to the Indian mints in large quantities.

The money might be borrowed in the open market by the Secretary of State: but the Bank of England is in a position to transact the business on favourable terms. The Act of 1844 permits the Bank to hold one-fifth of its reserve against notes in silver. This reserve is kept in deposit and cannot be utilized in any other way, however large the amount may become. In 1881, the Bank of England offered to invest this fifth in silver, if France and the United States would agree to coin silver without limit: and the Bank might equally well employ the money in buying and re-selling the silver stored in the Indian mints, which might be held at the Bank's disposal by the Indian Government. The Bank will incur no risk, and

will reap large profit with funds that cannot be utilized in any other way. It will buy the rupees at 1s. 9d. and re-sell them at 1s. 10d., or at a difference of $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ per cent., and if the periods of redundancy last two months only on an average, each transaction will yield an average profit of $28\frac{1}{4}\%$ per cent. per annum.

The Government of India will realize large profits on coining rupees just as the Home Government reaps advantage on its coinage of silver. The loss on home remittances will be greatly reduced and with stable exchanges trade will improve and India will recover her borrowing power. Silver will fall to its natural value, and the cheaper it becomes the more profit will the Government of India realize on its coinage operations, and the more will the production of silver be curtailed.

To repeat words used in a letter to the *Pioneer* in April 1877: "The inconvenience occasioned by the diminished and fluctuating value of the Rupee currency can only be removed in one of three ways, *viz.*, by a wholesale change of silver for gold coin, by inducing leading commercial nations to adopt the bi-metallic system, or by placing the currency on a footing somewhat similar to that now proposed."

Judging from the statements made by Sir Louis Mallet at the International Conference, the Government of India is disposed to adopt the first in preference to the last remedy; though the former is expensive and will disturb the gold market: whereas the latter remedy is equally effective in the opinion of many leading authorities while it is profitable *per se*, and will neither affect the gold market, nor seriously injure the holders of silver.

A BANK AGENT.

ART. X.—THE PHONETIC SYSTEM.

1. ENGLISH SPELLING AND SPELLING-REFORM.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," October 1883.)

Knowledge to their eyes Her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll ;
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

THESE words were written in 1751. Are they as true of the English common people of the present day as they were of the Village Hampdens of Gray's time? It has been said that Gray's elegy is an "elegy of the past." For various reasons we should be sorry if it were. But with special reference to the lines at the head of this article, we think we may say it is *not*. There has certainly been a change for the better. More is being done to help the progress in knowledge of the common people of England. There are now numerous school-boards, and the schools connected with them are all but innumerable. But the modicum of knowledge furnished by these schools to the children collected in them is so small, as to make little difference in the educational status of the commonalty within the space of a century and a quarter. Writing of the children of the working classes in 1880, Dr. J. W. Martin declares that *ninety* per cent. on leaving school are unable to read with fluency any book placed in their hands ; that not even *forty* per cent. of the children leaving school are able to spell two hundred words of average difficulty without a percentage of ten mistakes ; that not even *twenty* per cent. can write a wellwritten, well-spelled, and well-composed letter on any subject which they may select. He further states that not twenty per cent. can be said to be well educated in reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, geography, or grammar. The Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1870-71, as stated by Max Müller in the *Fortnightly Review* for April 1876, shows that less than *one* scholar for each teacher and less than *two* scholars for each school inspected passed the sixth standard. The Education Blue-Book for 1882-83 shows a very dispiriting result for the Board schools. Of the children that leave school, ninety per cent. are recorded as not up to the sixth standard, seventy per cent. not having reached the fifth, and forty per cent. not having reached the fourth. The third standard is shown to be the standard of education of more than half the children leaving the Board schools, and that standard requires only reading from an easy story-book, and spelling a short passage for dictation from the same. And what can be the reason

of this? Considering the small amount of knowledge fixed upon for the third standard, and the efficiency of the schools and teachers connected with the school-boards, we might easily guess that the subject taught is one of peculiar difficulty. But it is not mere guess-work. It takes almost all the school-time of a child to learn to spell sufficiently well to understand "an easy story-book;" and what time is there left for more?

We see exactly the same thing in India. Even in schools attended by English-speaking children and conducted by intelligent and experienced teachers, pupils often come up to the higher classes without a sufficient knowledge of grammar, or even the ability to read, and with an utter dislike for writing. *Spelling* they cannot be expected to have mastered. It takes a life-time to learn the spelling of English words. There is no rule to guide the student, and a separate acquaintance has to be made with each word as it comes. Even men of the best scholarship are unable to spell a word that they have never met before, and it does not by any means follow that a man who cannot spell some particular word or words is wanting in ability or acquirements. We all know how troublesome it is to have to stop in the midst of a letter to assure ourselves of the proper number of *rs* and *ls* in *parallel* and *apparel*. How then can children of tender years be expected to master these eccentricities? And if they do not master them, they cannot read. And if they are kept at reading till they form an acquaintance with the spelling of a large number of words, their school time is spent before they come to Euclid, geography, and composition. If they are taken on to Euclid, geography, and composition, before they can spell tolerably well, they are through life exposed to the ridicule that is the lot of the "bad speller." Dr. March, President of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania, describes the present style of English spelling as "an absurd waste for the literary class and a wicked robbery of the scant school-time of the people." Such is also the testimony of all other trustworthy authorities on the subject of English education. Dr. Morell, for instance, says, "A child is taught the powers of the letters first of all, and, as it is set to read words, naturally expects to find this teaching verified. In place of this, it is wholly set at naught before he gets through the very first pages of his reading book. Henceforth a confusion of ideas sets in respecting the powers of the letters, which is very slowly and painfully cleared up by chance, habit, or experience. His capacity to know words when he sees them in print is gained by an immense series of tentative efforts, until, by sheer dint of memory, he can tell them as soon as they turn up in his book." Mr. Nickel, Inspector for the London School Board, although not as zealous a worker

for the reform as his vocation and opportunities would lead us to expect, yet expresses himself thus in the *School Board Chronicle* of January last:—"To my mind it is a pity that so much weight is laid on spelling in elementary schools. As an educational instrument the spelling lesson is of the lowest value, the only faculty exercised being the memory. The storing up in the mind, by sheer dint of memory, of forms in great part anomalous and recalcitrant to reasonable rule, is a weary task, and only profitable because it is fashionable. I say it without fear of contradiction, that the teaching of spelling involves more "grinding" than that of any other subject, and with less of educational result. What has a poor babe, who, after weary repetition, can spell *could* acquired more than a fashionable monstrosity." Professor March* exclaims again, "Woe to the child who attempts to use reason in the spelling of English. It is a mark of promise not to spell easily. One whose reason is active must learn not to use it." Every teacher knows how inconsistent English spelling is. Diphthongs are indicated by single vowel characters, and vowel sounds are indicated by combinations of several characters, as in the two syllables of *pious*. Single consonants have a double sound, and double consonants have the sound of one, as in *eighteenth*. Almost every consonant appears in scores of words without any sound whatever, and almost every vowel has often the sound of almost every other vowel. O-n-e is *one*, b-o-n e is *bone*, g-o-n-c is *gone*, and d-o-n-o is *done*. These are words whose spelling our youngest children are expected to know. They are also expected to remember the various sounds of *ou* so as to read the sentence "Four hours would be enough." Then come *uncle* and *ankle*, *liege* and *lieth*. When our little ones are taken on to derived words, they are no better off. There is no rule to guide them here either. *Truly* drops the *e* of its primitive; *wisely* and *sagely* do not. From the Latin *cedo* come *accede* and *exceed*, *precede* and *proceed*, *secede* and *succeed*. *Pass* drops an *s* in *pastime*, but not in *passbook* and *password*. So also *wellhead*, *welcome*, *welfare*, &c. When scientific words come (shall we remind our readers once more that our children are not born with a knowledge of French, Latin, and Greek?), they are a perfect puzzle. Our boys have learned to spell *pack* and *sack*, for their double tails have at last rendered them familiar, but how are they to spell *pachyderm* and *saccharine*? The Entrance Class boy who spells *yarn*, y-e-a-r-n follows trustfully in the line of *heart*, *hearth*, and *hearken*. The following

* Professor March announces a new periodical, *Language*, in which he will adopt the principle of the Spelling-Reform.

is the first paragraph of a letter sent by Professor Gregory of Edinburgh to the *Phonotypic Journal* in 1846:—

Tough thea Eaditer aph thie Foughnoitpick Jolonol.

Syrrh,—Eye obzerve yew proépeaux two introwdeauce ay nue sissedem ov righting, bigh whitch ue eckspress oanly theigh sowneds, anned knot thes orthoggerafey oph they wurdz; butt Igh phthiuk ugh gow two fare inn cheighnging owr thyme-ouurd alfahbeat, aned ading sew mennu neau lebtors. le meyk bould teo saigh thaat eit izz cwict eyezi toe ruyt akarding too sowend, withe theo leabtors hov theau oald alfabeht, aind indead, U1 halv faor maiui yeers begn een theye habbeyt auv dooing sough. Ey fomppt, aizz moast peaple dou, thacht ibt wowz ichmposible toeu maic ienney theug ovue thei caumun spealing, frogm thuay toatal wont owf rheulz; soa Hi meighed op meye migu-d tou discuaid orthouggrafuy, uand tho spul bey psownd, bote en ai malnor verry differeigut phrom yewrs; aand, Eigh flatur miselph, veiri seauperier thocu uit. Ett apiers thoe mee, thait awl thui righters aun thes psoubgeekt halph awltoughgeather missonderstould theg peikewlier karacktor ouph the English langwedge, whutch Ig taic phthu beigh thees, thabt evary ward mai bie speilt yuu aan infignit vareyeety ouf weighs kneau won ofue whieche ize moar write thann anoother. Ieny peorson wil see thatue ytt moost bee pso, iff hil komusidderz thatt everi "songud" ien eor languagewage yz eckspruessed uin aye grayt number ophue weaz, achnued koncequaintly epheri "wrode" not though bie, faur woards ar mayed upp ohv sengle sowndz. Thys innphinitley divoureifyed plaan aude spueling, ase joust obzearved, Ais teka thou beye thig peecuelier karac- kederissedick anned ghlowri hof owrrh ruiten language.

It will be seen that every spelling here is authorised by some received orthography.* What a state of confusion this represents, and yet it is scarcely worse than the fact. The only difference is that we are now, after years of failure and dictionary-turning (which will, however, go on as long as life lasts),

* Mr. Ellis has given a complete key to this letter in his "Plea for Phonetic Spelling." The following is the English spelling—"To the Editor of the *Phonotypic Journal*. Sir, I observe you propose to introduce a new system of writing, by which you express only the sounds, and not the orthography of the words; but I think you go too far in changing our time-honoured alphabet, and adding so many new letters. I make bold to say that it is quite easy to write according to sound with the letters of the old alphabet, and, indeed, I have for many years been in the habit of doing so. I found, as most people do, that it was impossible to make anything of the common spelling, from the total want of rules; so I made up my mind to discard orthography, and to spell by sound, but in a manner very different from yours; and, I flatter myself, very superior to it. It appears to me that all the writers on this subject have altogether misunderstood the peculiar character of the English language, which I take to be this, that every word might be spelled in an infinite variety of ways, no one of which is more right than another. Any person will see that it must be so, if he will consider that every 'sound' in our language is expressed in a great number of ways, and consequently, every 'word' ought to be, for words are made up of single sounds. This infinitely diversified plan of spelling, as just observed, I take to be the peculiar characteristic and glory of our written language."

pretty well used to the fashionable spelling and unused to Professor Gregory's way. But we have to teach our children that letters and combinations of letters have many sounds each, and that each sound has many letters and combinations of letters to represent it; and in our examinations we ask them to "illustrate by means of words the different sounds of each of the letters." This is what we proudly call EDUCATING our little ones!! Let us glance for a moment at the multiplicity of ways in which each vowel sound and diphthong is represented.

- a, Sack, Isaac, plaid, pageant, piquant, seraglio, harangue, moustache. 8.
- â, Hark, hearken, aunt, rhapsody, seraglio, clerk, are, fracas 8.
- e, Met, measure, guess, college, heifer, jeopardy, cheque, friend, conscience, palace, Michael, says, said, connoisseur, bury, myrrh, foetid, answer, debt, foreign, rhetoric, apophthegm, gunwale. 23.
- ê, Tamer, Raphael, pain, pane, champagne, gaol, gauge, gauger, pay, aye, gaol, aerie, plaise, dahlia, straight, great, eh, weigh, whey, weighed, conveyed, deign, their, there, c'er, heir, crochet. 27.
- i, Pit, pity, pitied, piteous, Parliament, guild, sieve, doctrine, tortoise, carriage, surfeit, women, busy, plaguy, rhythm, guinea, breeches, barley. 18.
- î, Demon, accede, exceed, e'en, lead, grief, grieve, receive receipt, deceit, æsthetic, phoenix, league, cheese breathe, key, keyed, quay, quayed, people, ravine pibroch, intrigue, impregn, debris, mosquito, demesne, strignory, diarrhoea, Leigh, Caius (College) Beauchamp. 32.
- o, Romp, rhomb, Georgia, George, hough, prologue, knowledge, extraordinary. 8.
- ô, Law, laud, awe, hall, talk, Maude, aught, ought, broad, Vaughan. 10.
- û, But, doctor, valour, hauteur, liquor, motion, vicious, love, rhumb, measure, blood, tongue, does, surgeon, outward, Malcolm, Byrne. 17.
- ô, O! oh! owe, note, boat, toe, yeoman, sow, sew, soul, sword, coarse, folk, beau, beaux, oglio, brooch, rogue, though, apropos, hauteur, haulboy, Cockburn. 22.
- u, Wood, would, caoutchouc, put, woman. 5.
- û, Too, two, do, shoe, wooed, move, who, goose, blue, blew, brewed, soup, bouse, through, rendezvous, manoeuvre, caoutchouc, fruit, trace, bruise, debut, ruler, rhubarb, rheumatic, Reuben. 25.

ei, *I, eye, eying, either, lie, height, night, style, lite, by, bye, buy, guide, guiding, rhyme, rhymster, rhinoceros.* 17.

iu, *Ewe, you, feud, impugn, Hugh, hue, hew, view, dual, use, fugue, beauty, deuce, lieu, queue, suit, puisne.* 18.

ou, *Allow, aloud, allowed, house, Macleod.* 5.

ai, *Aisle, ay.* 2.

oi, *Toy, toil, toyed, buoy, buoyed, noise.* 6.

The letter *a* has *six* sounds, *e* and *i* have *four* each, *o* *six*, and *u* *seven*. Thus—

A. Fat, fate, father, fall, what, any.

E. Pet, Peter, clerk, pretty.

I. Fir, fin, find, pibroch.

O. No, do, not, one, woman, women.

U. But, put, busy, bury, anguish, dual, truth.

The same inconsistency may be noticed in the use of digraphs, e. g., *eo* has *ten* sounds, as in *yeoman, people, jeopardy, feud, Macleod, George, surgeon, peony, geology, and reopen*; and *ea* has *eleven* sounds as in *lead* (to precede), *lead* (the metal), *hearken, pageant, great, measure, guinea, area, real, oration, Montreal*. It will also be seen from what has gone before that a vowel sound or diphthong is often represented by a jumble of so-called vowels and consonants, as in *rhetoric, weigh, straight, night, debt, folk, &c.* It may be objected by some that these are illustrations of "silent consonants." But we ask, in the first place, why we should recognise such a thing as a silent consonant, and, in the second place, what rule there is in English to guide the learner in the use of silent letters? In the business of teaching and learning the *ch* of *debt* and the *he* of *rhetoric* correspond with the *e* of *met*, and so are symbols of a simple vowel sound.

Professor Lounsbury remarks "If such confusion existed among the consonants, the acquisition of English orthography would be the work of a life-time." Though the use of consonants in English is far more consistent than the use of vowels, even here there is a great deal that is not in accordance with the primary object of alphabetic writing, the representation of simple sounds by simple signs. There are six consonant sounds in English for which there is *no* symbol whatever. They are (generally) represented by combinations of two consonants. These are the final sounds of *church, bush, cloth, clothe, and sing*, and the sound represented by *s* in *pleasure* and *z* in *azure*. Here, too, there is no consistency. *Tch* very often expresses the sound of *ch*, and *ch* itself is silent in *yacht*, and has various other

sounds in *ache*, *chaise*, and *publichouse*. In fact the use of these digraphs is entirely misleading, and the little boy who sounds the *sh* of *mishap*, like the *sh* of *ship*, the educated young lady who sounds the *th* of *neatherd*, like the *th* of *third*, and the University student who maintains that the *-tion* of *suggestion* is to be sounded like the *-tion* of *discretion* are but a few tary instances of thousands of English-speaking people who mispronounce words ON ACCOUNT OF THE FALSENESS OF ENGLISH SPELLING. The initial sound of *ship* is represented by various other combinations, as *associate*, *machine*, *ancient*, *nausea*, *schist*, *nauseous*, *cushion*, *negotiate*, *ocean*, *fushia*, *prescience*, *conscience*, *tension*, *passion*, *action*, *fluxion*. * Besides the double service it does in the *thin-and-then* class of words, *th* stands for various sounds in *thyme*, *eighth*, *Southampton*, and *burthen*. In *singer*, *ng* represents a nasal consonant, which is represented by *n* alone in *finger* while *g* is a flat guttural, and in *infringer* and *greengage* *n* has its normal sound while *g* is a palatal in one case, and a guttural in the other. *Ph*, moreover, is frequently used as an equivalent of *f*; but it is silent in *apophthegm* and stands for *v* in *nephew*, while in *up-hold*, *loophole*, &c., the *p* and *h* go back to their normal sounds. The *wh* of the *whut* class of words reverses the proper order of the letters, the order in Anglo-Saxon being *hw* which is a just representation of the pronunciation. The number of sounds for which the combination *ough* is made to do service is positively confusing,

As a Frenchman once found when he tried to explain
His complaint ; for the spelling so bothered his brain
That he said to the doctor, " I've got a bad *cow* ; "
When the doctor could only reply by a bow,
Again he attempted : " I've got a bad *eco*. "
But the doctor was dumb. Seeing this would not do,
He bethought him again ; " I have got a bad *co*. "
And he thought that the doctor was terribly slow,
And exclaimed to himself " C'est un médecin niais. "
But he tried it once more ; " I have got a bad *cuff*. "
The doctor lost patience, and said, in a huff,
" If thus *you go on*, I might take myself off. "
" That's it ! " cries the Frenchman,—" I have got a bad *cough*. "
Now the Frenchman was clearly each time in the right ;
For in spelling, *bough*, *through*, *though*, *rough*, and *cough*, do unite.
Besides, for the very same letters we're taught
The three sounds which occur in *hough*, *hiccough*, and *bought*. †
And how could a foreigner possibly tell
What *o-u-g-h* was intended to spell ? ‡

* Mr. Isaac Pitman in a lecture at Bath, 1859.

† Also Scotch *sough* (Morris.)

‡ Dr. William Gregory of Edinburgh, the author of the "Lector" quoted before.

It is most plain, then, that English spelling is far from phonetic or consistent. We have already shewn in a former article that it is neither etymological nor historical. From centre to circumference it is *rotten*. It may justly be described as the fossilized result of printers' obstinacy and etymological mis-knowledge. In science a fossil is useful in shewing what once existed on the earth. But what if it could be proved that all the fossils that have been so carefully treasured up in our museums are spurious, the accumulation of ignorance and deceit? The only existing value of fossils would then disappear, and they would become perfectly worthless. Our fossilized spelling has been proved by the greatest authorities to be utterly spurious and worthless from etymological, historical, scientific, and practical points of view, and it should be treated as a spurious fossil would be in science. The *Educational Times* declared three years ago: "If defective spelling is the most prolific source of failure, it is high time that correct spelling should be deprived of the importance attached to it. For this is a matter chiefly for the eye. There are some who learn to spell unconsciously. There are others again who can never learn to spell. No greater hindrance in the way of education was ever devised by the stupidity of red tape than correct spelling. In half the time that is wasted over the spelling and dictation lessons, the boys could acquire knowledge of a dozen useful and valuable subjects." *

Most people seem to find a difficulty in understanding that words are *sounds*, and not *letters*. Yet this has passed into a truism with those at all acquainted with philology. A standing proof of it is found in the fact that thousands of English-speaking people in India use vernacular words without knowing anything of their orthography. Let us take a common example. Every body uses the word *Sâhib*; yet how many know that there are three characters in Hindustani for the *s* sound, of which *suad*, and neither *sé* nor *sén*, is to be used in writing *sâhib* because the word comes from Arabic, and that for the same reason the Arabic *hé* is to be used and not the common *hé*. The word is

* See what Mr. Edward Jones says on teaching to read in Wales: "The orthography of the Welsh language is one of the most consistent, if not the most consistent, in Europe; but it is not perfectly phonetic. *Y* is the only letter in the alphabet that has more than one sound. . . . The Welsh is remarkably rich in vowel diphthongs, which are always represented by their elements. The names of the letters express the sound in every instance, and the teaching of the alphabet to children is the work of a few hours, and the combining of these into words follows mechanically. . . . The result is that in Wales everybody can read; and I have it on good authority that the quantity of literature bought and read by Welshmen is four-fold in proportion to that bought and read by Englishmen."

the *word*, because it has a meaning, irrespective of its spelling, and so it is used, and will continue to be used as long as it has any meaning. This fact needs to be brought prominently forward and thrust upon the attention of thinking men and those in power before we can hope that our children's valuable time will cease to be wasted on the drudgery of spelling.

English philologists look forward hopefully to the adoption of the English language as the common language of all civilized nations. This is a well-founded hope; for the English language, from its strength, its copiousness, and the simplicity of its accidence and syntax, is undoubtedly the best fitted of all modern languages for universal adoption. And it is slowly spreading. It is spoken in all quarters of the globe, and is even sometimes used by scientific men of other nations in preference to their native languages on account of the numbers who understand it. But, with its present no-system of spelling, it will take centuries to be adopted by all nations, if it be ever so adopted at all. The following are the words of Arinori Mori, the representative of Japan at Washington, in a letter to Professor Whitney in 1872: "The spoken language of Japan being inadequate to the growing necessities of the people of that empire, and too poor to be made, by a Phonetic alphabet, sufficiently useful as a written language, the idea prevails among many of our best educated men and most profound thinkers, that, if we would keep pace with the age, we must adopt some copious, expansible, and expanding European language, print our laws and transact all public business in it as soon as possible, and have it taught in our schools as the future language of the country, to the gradual exclusion of our present language, spoken and written. It may be well to state, in this connection, that the written language now in use in Japan, has little or no relation to the spoken language, but is mainly hieroglyphic—a modification of a corruption of the Chinese. The English language would be our first choice for very many reasons; but there are certain obstacles of an intensely practical character, which, if they cannot be removed, will make the introduction of the English language into Japan exceedingly difficult—all but impossible. *I allude principally to the absence of law, rule, or order in its orthography*, based either on etymology or on the sounds actually heard in words, and to the large number of irregular verbs; these latter being among the most frequently occurring words in the language, which makes the matter worse. Allow me to ask you, to bear in mind that I represent, in this communication, not my individual experience and convictions only, but also those of a large number of Japanese gentlemen, many of whom have endeavoured, during the last twenty years, with more or less success, to acquire a

knowledge of English. It is the opinion of these gentlemen, including those of them who understand English best, that, while there would be little or no difficulty in introducing into the schools of the Empire, and gradually into general use, a "simplified English," it would be, on the other hand, nearly useless to make an effort in that direction in behalf of the English language in its present form—a language so difficult to be learned, that a very large proportion of persons of whom it is the vernacular, including those who have been educated, pronounce it un-uniformly, speak it ungrammatically and write it in defiance of all the standards of orthography Indeed, I think I could not conscientiously recommend my countrymen to cause their children to devote to learning a language so replete with unnecessary irregularities, and in which the interchange of thought and the acquisition of knowledge are rendered so difficult by a fantastic orthography, six or seven of the most important years of their lives—years which should be devoted to the study of positive science and the practice of the useful arts." As Professor Whitney pointed out, the irregularity in the principal parts of certain verbs would not be felt by a nation speaking the English language as its vernacular, and the chief difficulty in the acquisition of English is its utterly senseless way of spelling. If foreigners of mature age, accustomed for years to learning and study, to meeting and overcoming difficulties of every description, declare that English spelling is well nigh impossible of acquisition by them, how can little ones who have scarcely learnt to speak be expected to master such a string of anomalies as even the reading lessons in *Step by Step*? Not only can foreigners not learn English *spelling*, but those who do not hear and speak the language daily, from their childhood and in their homes, can never learn its true pronunciation. Why is it that so many natives of India fail to speak English with a good accent? It is because they try to learn English from *books*. As we have shewn, the spelling of a word gives the student no idea whatever of its pronunciation. It is only when he has been in the company of English-speaking people from his infancy that a native can attain to a correct pronunciation of English. This ought to be proof enough to any reasonable mind that there is something radically wrong with the current English orthography. To explain by a parallel our line of argument, let us ask, how many students who pass the English matriculation examinations in French can speak the language so as to be understood? Not one in a hundred. And why? Because French is not written as it is spoken. Yet French orthography is far more *consistent* than English. As a writer in the *Indian Mirror* of the 28th of January remarks, there is nothing so

difficult as to learn the pronunciation of English from its written page. If, then, the English would have their language the common language of the 'civilized world, it is time they set about reforming their spelling. That the adoption of the English language throughout the world would be productive of the highest good there is not the least doubt. But this is rendered well nigh impossible by the present state of its orthography, to which Lord Trevelyan refuses the *name* of *orthography*, for he calls it "a labyrinth, a chaos, an absurdity,—a disgrace to our age and nation."

The laying aside of the present way of spelling will be attended with some little inconvenience; but nothing great is ever achieved without trouble. English spelling must be reformed, and the little inconvenience that must be undergone for so great an end should not be grudged. The chief inconvenience will be the slight loss of capital to printers and booksellers; but as the change will be very gradual from the present absurd way to the consistent and truthful spelling of page 195 this loss will not be so great as is pretended. Moreover, loss of capital is not adduced as an argument against improvements in machinery and scientific apparatus. Why then should it be considered valid against improvements in the means of teaching, which will throw open the study of mechanics and other scientific subjects by making reading and writing so easy to acquire. Mr. Hamilton, of Port Hope, writes—"The change will be much like that made in Canada, in 1859, when dollars and cents superseded the old pounds, shillings, pence, farthings, groats, florins, half-crowns, crowns, guineas, and sovereigns. Then in one part of the country we had York shillings of 12½ cents. The coins we handled were superscribed 'one shilling,' and were of the value of 24 cents nearly. We had pounds Halifax, and pounds Sterling. The jumble was great. Then our arithmetics were in pounds, shillings, and pence. Where are those books to day? Superseded, laid on the shelf among the cobwebs. Publishers have brought out better ones in dollars and cents. *Who was at the expense of the new?* Why, it never came up as a practical question? Those who urge it now must be hard up for an objection when they have to bring up one purely imaginary. Those who preferred kept on counting the old way. Most preferred the new. The change was voluntary. It was gradual." And surely this is the proper way to look at the matter. What is immediately wanted is that the prevalent reverence for the stereotyped spelling be dispelled, and that the rising generation be reared with a love of true spelling. In a sensible little letter written to me a short time ago, a thoughtful Anglo-Indian remarks—"Shûrli it iz a rong thing

that so mûch enerji shud bî ekserted wêstfuli. Either ful fōnotipi or this ôld leter fōnotipi shud bî yûzed in tîching English in ôl skûlz—az a kî ônli—and the present steil ov spelîng lernt in sê the 3rd or 4th standards. If this kud bê introduist intu ôl skûlz and kontiniud for about a dekêd, thêr wud bî no nîd for eni ajitêshon about Spelîng-Reform. Sound spelîng wud fōrs its ôn wê. Fulli akwênted with it at 15, that jenerêshon sîng the gên thê had dereived from it in the sêving ov teim in lernîng, &c., wud bî ônli tû glad to introdus it jeenerali az the korekt mōd ov reiting our nôbel langwêj.” It is perhaps, going a little too far to say that if the rising generation were trained in phonetic spelling, such spelling would force its own way. The outgoing generation *must* be convinced of the necessity of a reform before they will allow a reformed spelling to be used in the trainîng of their children. We hope to shew, in the most conclusive way, the great benefit arising from the use of phonetic spelling as an introduction to the present style. The best alphabet for this purpose is full phonotypy. Old-letter phonotypy is excellent; but, as Max Müller justly holds, “no great nation will settle down to such a number of diacritical marks.” There are at present four styles of phonetic spelling, all intimately connected with, and growing out of, each other, in use among the members of the Phonetic Society. The first style is an enlargement of the five American rules quoted towards the end of our last article. This is introduced by the members more or less into their ordinary correspondence so as to shew the general public that there is no necessity to keep to a stupid way of spelling like the current one. This is all it professes to do. It does not claim to be a *system*. Its object is to do away with the regard with which the current fashion is treated. The second style of phonetic spelling consists in using as consistently as possible the present imperfect English alphabet, omitting *c*, *q*, and *x* as useless, and allowing two powers each to *u* and *th* as shown in the first column of page 195. It is, as the Editor of the *Phonetic Journal* says, the best suited for the formation of a correct *habit* of spelling among the members of the Society. The third stage is old-letter phonotypy, which is illustrated in the letter quoted above. It is perfectly consistent, but has too many diacritical marks to be generally adopted. The highest stage of the reform is seen in the full phonetic alphabet.

There are in English 36 * elementary sounds and 23 useful

* Dr. Morris says there are 38; but the *hw* sound of *what* is really a compound sound, and the *a* of *ware* need not be distinguished in writing from the *a* of *fame*. *R* is a vowel disturber, but the vowel is the same: as well might we reckon as additional sounds the *î*, *ô* and *û* sounds of *sheer*, *shore*, and *sure*.

symbols to represent them. Phonotypy provides the 13 characters necessary to make the alphabet perfect, and then uses this thirty-six letter alphabet consistently. Diphthongs are represented by the elements of which they are composed. Thus *high* is written *hei*, *ay* is written *ai*, *boy* is written *boi*, *how* is written *hou*, and *mew* is written *miu*. *W* and *y* are of course used only as consonants. This system of spelling was originally invented by Messrs. Pitman and Ellis, but it has been very gradually brought to its present state of perfection. It is not the work of a day to be overthrown in a day, not a scheme "constructed as rapidly and as slightly as cardhouses, no sooner projected than completed, no sooner completed than blown away, no sooner blown away than forgotten." It has struck root downwards and bears fruit upwards, and it will continue to grow and strengthen, for it is based on truth and works by truth. On page 194 will be found the Phonetic Alphabet and a glance at it will shew our readers the truth of our statements. There are also suitable italic and script forms provided, so that there is no difficulty whatever experienced in writing the system. Through the kindness of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore in having the requisite type cast, we are able to give here a small paragraph in which all the phonetic letters are used. One who has looked carefully at page 194 will find no difficulty in reading it.

Bei ðe Fonetik Alfabet eni person, old or yny, mæ bi
tæt tu rjd, bæt in fonetik and in ordinari buks, in ðrj
mænts,—ai, often in twenti ourz' instrækʃon,—a task
hwig iz rerli akomplisht in ðrj yjrz ov toil bei ðe old
alfabet. Hwot fæter or tjger wil not hel ðis græt bun
tu ediukeʃon?—ðis pouerful mæʃin for ðe difuʒon ov
nolej!

Phonotypy answers to Dr. Latham's six laws for the formation of a perfect alphabet and orthography:—

1. That for every single sound there should be a simple sign.
2. That sounds within a determined degree of likeness be represented by signs within a determined degree of likeness, while sounds beyond a certain degree of likeness be represented by distinct and different signs, and that uniformly.
3. That no sound have more than one sign to express it.
4. That no sign express more than one sound.
5. That the primary aim of orthography be to express the sounds of words and not their histories.
6. That changes of speech be followed by corresponding changes of spelling.

This system has been put to the test of actual practice. Not only is it read by thousands in the *Phonetic Journal* and written by many members of the Phonetic Society ; but children have been taught to read it in several towns in England and America. By far the most important effort of this kind was made at the Portland Schools in Waterford, in 1871-75, under the superintendence of Dr. J. W. Martin. Before starting the experiments, Dr. Martiu sent a circular containing various queries to various teachers in the neighbourhood. "The general tenor of the answers received to these questions may be shortly stated as follows :—The average stay of a pupil was from three to eight years, the difference being noticeable as very short in manufacturing districts and longer in those where an agricultural population was in the preponderance. *The shortest time in which a child could be taught to read well* (and this was a hopeful view of the case) *was three years, the average time four and a half years. It took six years to make them fair readers of any book or piece of print placed in their hands.* At the end of three and a half years, outside their own National School Board books, they were unable to read or spell well." The experiments in the Portland schools were intended to show that the Phonetic alphabet might be used as a stepping-stone to the current style of spelling. Children were first taught to read and spell phonetically, and then taken on to the common spelling. It was found that children attained considerable fluency in reading books in Phonetic print after only a few weeks' practice, and in a few months could read the common print easily. The work in the Infant School was much hindered by an outbreak of measles in 1872 and of scarlatina in 1873, and by the departure of some of the most forward pupils for America ; and yet a class of six children, who were altogether ignorant of their alphabet in May 1872, could read with very fair ease and accuracy the Third Book of the National School Series *after twenty months' instruction, a feat never before accomplished in an Infant School.* The time devoted to teaching the class was only *one hour and three quarters daily.* All the teachers were of opinion that this class could not have been taught to read the Third Book in less than five or six years, had the teaching been done in the old way. All of us who have had experience in Infant Schools have known children who could never be taught even the alphabet thoroughly. There were several such in the Portland Infant School, who, when they commenced the Phonetic system, advanced rapidly, steadily and satisfactorily. In the Female School, children of nine years of age were taught to read and spell well phonetically in six months, being taught for only half an hour

a day and spending another half hour over their books at their seats, and in eighteen months they could read the Second Book of the National School Series with ease, and the Fourth Book in two years. They could also spell in the ordinary way better in two years than those who had been taught romanically for six years. These latter took two years to read the Second Book. "The Inspector expressed his *unqualified satisfaction* with the results, and freely acknowledged that *I had established all that I advanced for the system*. He in a special manner acknowledged that *his former prejudices against the system on account of the supposed injury it would inflict on the spelling powers of the children was unfounded, and that he now saw that if anything it strengthened them and brought them out.*" The real explanation is, that the children, having been trained phonetically, when taken on to the common spelling, compared its absurdities and inconsistencies with the Phonetic method with which they were already familiar, and so remembered them. Those who begin romanically, having no such standard of reference, are entirely puzzled and disheartened by the strange contradictions and whimsicalities of English spelling. One more point in connection with these experiments is worthy of notice, and that is, that it is not intended to take children so quickly as was done in these cases to the ordinary spelling if Phonotypy be introduced largely into schools. The teachers at Portland had the Inspector's visit threatening them in the distance, and the results obtained are in themselves sufficient to show that, had the children been kept at Phonetic spelling for eighteen months, the results would have been more striking than they were.* How many European parents in India can at present say that their children, on leaving school at fourteen or sixteen, are *well educated*? Children in European schools in India attend school ten years on an average. If all their instruction were for the first five or six years given by means of Phonetic spelling, at the end of the ten years they would be *thoroughly well educated*. How high, then, will that standard of education be at which those children will arrive, who, in the future, will never have the stupid romanian spelling to learn at all! *Almost the whole of their school-time will be utilised in acquiring really useful knowledge.* THIS IS THE GREAT OBJECT OF SPELLING-REFORM.

There are also various side issues that are of real importance. First among these comes the consideration that foreigners would be able to learn English easily, and those who have mastered

* As to the closing of the experiments, Dr. Martin remarks—"Owing to the exodus which took place, few children were left and my guidance was removed; and so the system fell through."

the grammatical structure of the language will be able to pronounce their words properly, having the pronunciation before them in the very spelling of the word. The Japanese will then no longer consider English almost impossible to learn, and the language will, in a very short time, be the common language of the civilised world. Professor Paul Passy of the Ecole Normale in Paris has adopted the Phonetic alphabet in teaching English. The great success that has attended this move has led others to try teaching in this method.

There are some who, when spoken to on the subject of Spelling-Reform, cry out that a language should be allowed to *grow* and that no deliberate change should be made. To these we reply that we do not propose to change the English *language*. A language consists in the use of words, in its vocabulary, in its constructions and idioms, in its proverbs and literature. These we glory in; these we admire and love. It is the gross falseness of the present received symbolisation of this great language that we object to. *Spelling* is not *language*. The grammatical construction of the language will remain the same in a phonetic notation, with this additional advantage that many of the inflectional rules will be simplified. Let us take, as an instance, the rules for the formation of the plural. The real plural termination in English is *es*, where *s* has the sound of *z*. This termination is sounded as a separate syllable only after a sibilant or palatal. Yet there is the rule about words in *f* or *fe* which puzzles our little ones so much, and the still stranger rule about changing *y* into *i*. The first of these would become perfectly simple in Phonetic spelling, and the second would disappear entirely. The formation of the plural of words in *o* is not worthy the name of *rule*. When the *es* of the plural is not a distinct syllable, it is generally contracted into *s*. This is really in itself a phonetic change, yet only partial, because we are bound to tell our children that the *s* does the work of *z* when preceded by a vowel, a liquid, or a flat mute or spirant. In the comparison of adjectives, again, the rule "Adjectives ending in silent *e* add *r* and *st* only" will be unnecessary, for there will be no such thing as a "silent *e*." Nor will there be a *y* to change into *i*, for *y* is only a consonant in Phonotypy and *noisy* is written *noisi*. *

We have shown conclusively that the spelling of English is not phonetic. It would be untrue, however, to say that phoneticism is contrary to the genius of the English language. There have been in the past very many phonetic changes in the spelling of words, and a phonetic tendency is clearly seen in some of the most important grammatical inflexions. The old feminine termination

* A similar remark applies to the formation of the past tense of weak verbs ending in *y* preceded by a consonant.

-estre has been changed to *-ster*, because it is now so pronounced. The useless final *e* of the French termination *-esse* has been dropped in forming the feminine of English nouns. Why, then, should we not be allowed to drop the useless *s* as well, writing *mistres* instead of *mistress*, which is already a partial phonetic reform of *maistresse*? The plural termination, too, may be traced through the various forms *an*, *en*, *es*, *s*: why not, then, into *z* in words like *heads* (*hedz*), *gases* (*gascz*), *boys* (*boiz*)? The possessive termination of nouns was once *es*, a syllable in itself; but the *e* was dropped when it ceased to be sounded. And so we may go on through the other parts of speech. Prepositions, conjunctions, numerals, and pronouns, being for the most part of pure English origin, present numerous examples of phonetic change. We see from Kington Oliphant that the pronoun *I* appears on Ruthwell Cross (680 A.D.) and in the *Rushworth Gospels* (900 A.D.) in the form *ie*; and later on came the forms *ih*, *ich*, *ik*, and *I*. But it is useless to multiply instances. A mere glance at any of Dr. Morris's Grammars will show an enquirer on this subject on what a large scale these changes have taken place.

It is not merely in grammatical inflexions that phonetic changes are seen. The prefix *a* is a phonetic representation of the unemphatic *on*, as in *agog*, *ahead*, *aslant*, *asleep*, *away*, *awry*, &c. Many English words may be traced through many stages of reform. Thus *aglet* comes from the French *aiguillette* through the intermediate forms *aygulet* and *aiglet*. *Alms*, from Low Latin *eleemosyna*, was first *almesse*, then *almesse*, then *almes*, and lastly *alms*. Since this latter word has passed through four forms already, why may we not leave out the now useless *l* and further rectify the notation by modifying the *a* to mark its difference in sound from the *a* of *am* and substituting a *z* for the now false *s*? From the old French *democratie* and *barbier* came first the forms *democracy* and *barbour*, which were, on a change of pronunciation, altered to present *democracy* and *barber*. From the Anglo-Saxon *bridd* came *brid*, and then *bird* by a transposition of sounds. The same transposition of sounds has taken place in the word *iron*: yet by the dictum of prejudice, we are forbidden to transpose the letters. Other words, such as *jelly*, *civet*, * *canteen*, *curfew*, † *sash*, *frolie*, and a host besides, are at once partially phonetized on their entry into the language and do not show a hankering after the spelling of their etymons, the Fr. *gelée*, *civette*, *cantine*, *couvre*, *chassis*, and the Dutch *vrolijk*,

* Then why should *corvette*, *quartette*, *coquette* be spelt in French fashion?

† *Couvre* is here phonetized into *cur*, and in *kerchief* into *ker*. We leave our readers to say which is the more reasonable.

Yet in hosts of other words we are told that we must be very careful to keep close to the spelling of the original foreign words from which they come. A very common phonetization is the omission of final silent *e* in words of French origin, such as *hermit, asp, bust, group, comet, caravan, &c.* The *c* of Anglo-Saxon words has been changed in several cases to suit the pronunciation. It becomes *ch* in such common words as *child, cheek, church, choose*, and *k* in *kettle, key, kerbstone, * dark, † ankle, &c.* When the *f* of a Saxon-derived word is sounded *v* in English, the change is generally expressed by a change in the spelling as in *give, dive, crave, anvil, &c.*; yet in the common word of the *f* is preserved by pseudo-etymologic zeal. *Amber, chamber, cloister, caliber, disaster, &c.*, for phonetic reasons transpose the *re* of their French etymons. The representative of the Anglo-Saxon guttural has disappeared from *daisy, key, belly, busy, hail, say, &c.* In several duplicates we see a hesitation between an unphonetic and a partially phonetic form, as in *apophthegm* and *apothegm, gaol* and *jail, spinack* and *spinage, baptise* and *baptize, &c.* On the head of new letters, too, there are precedents. It is not very long since distinct characters first began to be used for *i* and *j*, and for *u* and *v*.

The English language, then, is not opposed to phonetic changes; neither, indeed, can it be, so long as it is a *language, speech*. Yet phonetic spellings in it are rare, and antiphonetic changes based on false etymologies and often on mere caprice are far more common than phonetic changes.

We come now to another great advantage in the adoption of the Phonetic alphabet. This alphabet provides a sign for every elementary sound in the English language, and by a very slight modification might be made to represent the sounds of any language whatever. The subject of transliteration is already familiar to all Indian students and thinkers, and its importance need not here be dwelt on. What we wish now specially to draw attention to is the fact that the Phonetic alphabet is the best suited for transliteration. It possesses all the advantages that have been claimed for the system introduced by Dr. Duncan Forbes, with the additional advantage of doing away with almost all the diacritical marks. The illustrations at the end of these articles shew the adaptation of this alphabet to some of the Indian languages. They are for the most part the work of the Rev. J. Knowles of the London Mission in Travancore, the author of the next article. This alphabet will be useful not only for *transliteration*: the entire work of vernacular education may be done in it with

* Yet we must write *c* and not *k* in the primitive *curb*.

† Here there is a phonetic change in the vowel symbol too, as also in *darling*. But *clerk* is to retain the *e* (O.E. *derk, derling, clero*).

the highest benefits. The Indian characters are clumsy, difficult and diverse. Though the natives of various parts of India can understand those of various other parts of India when addressed by word of mouth, they can hold no communication with them in writing. The Phonetic alphabet would furnish a common reliable writing medium for all the Indian languages and dialects, and it is far easier to learn than any of the existing Indian alphabets. The symbolisation of the Indian languages, too, in spite of all that has been advanced for them, is *not* phonetic, and the adoption of the Phonetic system would save a great deal of time and expense in Vernacular education. Mr. Knowles shows that it takes Malalayam boys seven years old eighteen months and more to read the Third Book with native characters, but that they can be taught by means of the Phonetic alphabet to read it easily in one month. In *printing*, he says, the saving would be *at least* fifty per cent. and the long hand can be *written* in *half* the time the native characters can. This is no unimportant matter ; but one on which the future of the Indian people turns. Missionaries in Africa and the Pacific Isles, in notating the unwritten languages of the savages, adopt a phonetic system related to English in order to educate the people and lead them on to English, and to give them the Holy Scriptures in their own language. They succeed very well indeed. The children of Central Africa can now be taught to read and write in six weeks. The Phonetic alphabet was used in teaching the Mikmak Indians of America, and the Missionary who conducted the experiment reported that the Indians learn the alphabet one day and begin to read the next. The Rev. W. Gill adapted a phonetic system to one of the dialects of Mangaianese and printed part of the Bible in it. Max Müller writes that that dialect has gradually become the literary language of the island, and the work of education goes on with giant strides. Why may not the same benefits be claimed for India ? Why should missionary and educational efforts here be straitened by the use of the unwieldy and numerous Indian alphabets, leading in time to the more graceful but more inconsistent English notation ? If the Phonetic alphabet were adopted for English as well as for the Indian languages, Indian children would read and write their own language in a few weeks, and in a few months would be able to read English with ease. All this immense advantage is sacrificed for the preservation of a senseless and inconsistent notation like the current English spelling.

2.—THE PHONETIC ALPHABET AND VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

THE final Report on the Census of Bengal taken in 1881 shows that out of every 1,000 persons in that Province, 955 are altogether illiterate, and only 29 can both read and write, the average of illiteracy being, of course, swelled by the nearly complete ignorance of the women, of whom only 16 in 10,000 can both read and write. Commenting on this, the *Spectator* says: "Natives who cannot read are not necessarily as ignorant as Europeans in the same position, but the figures strongly support the arguments of those who think that the whole strength of the Education Departments should, for a generation at least, be devoted to primary vernacular instruction."

The Report on the Census of Travancore in 1875 gives a proportion of 5·74 per cent. instructed in the arts of reading and writing, and states that this compares favourably with the Madras Presidency where the proportion of those who can read and write is only 5 per cent of the total population. Under Female Education the same Report gives 46 women in every 10,000 as able to read and write, and says that in the Madras Presidency the number of women possessing this power is 16 in every 10,000. Among the Hindus there are 4 educated women to every 100 educated men. (*N. B.*—'Educated' here means able to read and write.) Concerning these figures the Travancore Report goes on to say with modest pride and an air of conscious virtue: "These figures are in the highest degree encouraging. Education (as above) is appreciated by every *caste* and *class* in the country. Each section of the community has its *select few* versed in the arts of reading and writing. The yearning for intellectual advance has permeated through and leavened society. While 50 per cent. of the male population of the proud Brahmins are able to *read and write*, the rude Baden—remotest from the precincts of civilization—is still able to count 19 in every 10,000." (p. 247.) The same Report goes on to state that, in respect of female numbers educated, the Malayala Soodra class stands first in the whole list, there being 2,656 women among them able to read and write. The native Christian women come next, the number of whom able to read and write is 1,593. Between these two classes of the community nearly 80 per cent. of the total educated are exhausted, leaving but 1,128 persons educated for the remaining 57 castes of the country (p. 248). That is to say, that *excluding* Soodra and Native Christian women but *including*

Brahmin, Eurasian and English women and 54 other "castes," an average of only 3·2 women in every 10,000 know how to read and write.

More is probably being done for vernacular education by the Travancore Government than in most other native states, yet the Administration Report for last year states that "The total number of boys and girls brought under instruction by the existing agencies for vernacular education is only 35,373, or a little more than 6 per cent of the children of a school-going age." On this the Dewan of Travancore, the Hon'ble V. Ramiengar, C.S.I., with a truer appreciation of the needs of the people and the work to be done amongst them, says: "This fact shows how much remains to be done in the matter of the Elementary Education of the general population." He adds, "In the *indigenous* schools the instruction imparted is useless if not mischievous, as being calculated to perpetuate the prevailing darkness." Such Reports and statements as these speak for themselves, and show us all too plainly the dense ignorance of the mass of the people and how really inadequate are the efforts that have hitherto been made to cope with it.

From the Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces for the year 1882-3, it appears that "educationally the Central Provinces are far behind what they ought to be. The total population is 11,548,511. Out of 5,000,000 males only 157,000 can read and write, and 76,000 are under instruction; and out of 5,000,000 females only 4,000 can read and write, and 3,000 only are under instruction. That is to say, that of the males only about 3 per cent. can read and write, and 1½ per cent. are under instruction. Of the females only 8 in 10,000 can read and write, and 6 in 10,000 are under instruction." The Report may well characterize these figures as disappointing.

No doubt many things have contributed to bring about this lamentable result. One great cause of the evil lies in the almost indefinite number and complication of the various characters in which the vernaculars of India are written and printed. This may be seen from the fact, that after the problem of how to print Malayalam, for instance, with the least possible number of separate types, has been solved in a satisfactory manner, at least 500 of such separate and distinct types are still needed. In the specimens of Malayalam I have given 400 of these types, and could give 400 more which would be required to print a manual of Geography. Even Tamil which professes to have only 28 letters, requires 148 types in printing—not only so, but all these types are very intricate and difficult to cut, many of them being "kerned" letters and liable to break in printing.

Of Sanskrit printing, Professor Monier Williams says :—"The number of distinct types necessary to equip a perfect Sanskrit font amounts to about 500." The same remark applies to the kindred Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Panjabi, Sindhi, Nepalese, Singhalese, &c., which require the same number (about 500) distinct types for printing. Yet the Gujarati alphabet is derived from the Sanscrit (Nagari) characters from which it principally differs in the omission of the connecting lines. Bengali is based on the Nagari characters. In some instances, the circular shape has been changed into an angular form, in others the form of letters has been entirely changed. Little by little the original alphabet, whatever that may have been, has diverged into the many.

The radical defect of the Indian vernaculars is that they provide symbols for the representation of *syllables* instead of symbols for *sounds*. "Vowels are the only real representatives of sound, and indeed the very life of the word, which without them would be a mere hard and helpless skeleton, and it is essential to an effective phonetic system of graphic symbols, that vowels should have at least as prominent a position in the written word as their attendant consonants." But the consonants in the Indian vernaculars are treated as if they were the lords of sound instead of its dependents and often its impediments, while the vowels (except when they begin a word), when they enter into combination with consonants, are either supposed to be inherent in the consonant itself, or indicated by various small marks placed above or below, before or after, or part before and part after, the consonants which they accompany ; in short, the vowels are tacked on to the consonants as mere appendages, instead of being properly symbolized and distributed side by side with their consonantal fellows, not as simple appendages but as close companions.

For the benefit of the uninitiated, if any such exist among the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, let me try to give an idea of the difficulties a child encounters in learning to read : I take Malayalam as an example.

First the child must learn the *initial* forms of the vowels, diphthongs, anuswara and visarga, altogether 18 forms. These forms are only used when the vowels, &c., begin a word. Two of the vowels however the child will in all probability never meet again. The long vowels are generally formed by the addition of a sign to the short ones, this sign not being the same throughout but varying. One letter has a curious long form. It consists of the signs for final *m*, *r*, and final *m* following each other, the whole making long *i*.

Then the child is introduced to the ordinary consonant forms,

of which there are 36. Each of these consonant forms is at first supposed to have the vowel sound *a* inherent in it, so that the child does not learn the *sound* represented by *k*, &c., but the *syllable* sound *ka*, &c., and thus misses an important lesson in failing to understand the difference between the *name* of a letter and its *power*. Just as if in English we wrote *k* but pronounced *ka*. Then the child comes to the series of syllables commencing *kā*, *khā*, &c., Here the vowel sound *ā* takes a form quite different from that which it has when it begins a word, (though the sound is exactly the same). This form is called the *medial* form of the vowel. The form is rightly placed *after* the consonant. The sound of *i* is added to the consonants by an appendage placed *over* the consonant. This appendage is slightly altered to indicate *ī* added to the consonants. The vowel sound *u*, when joined to consonants, assumes four different forms, each differing more or less from the other three, and all different from the initial form of the vowel; as if in *uk* the *u* had one form, in *ku* the *u* had another form, in *khū* the *u* had a third form, in *gu* the *u* a fourth form and in *nu* a fifth form. These appendages are placed *under* the consonant which they accompany. Similarly the *ū* vowel is indicated by five different marks. Up to this time the natural order of the syllable has been kept to some extent, *viz.*, consonant first, then vowel sign, but with the vowel *e*, a new method is adopted. The medial form of *e* is placed *before* the consonant *after* which it is pronounced, hence in order to write the syllable *ne*, the order of the letters is *e, n*. (For the syllable *e, n*, the order would be, initial *e, n*). Similarly for the *ē*. Next comes the diphthong *ei*: this is made up of two of the medial *e*'s. In this case both forms are placed first, as if the syllable pronounced *kei* were printed *ee k*. One would think this was enough, but no—medial *o* is made up of *two* appendages to the consonant, the first of which is exactly the same as medial *e* in form, the second like medial *ā*, and the two together make *o*, but one part is placed *before* the consonant and the other *after* the consonant, just as if the syllable pronounced *ko* were printed *eka*. Similarly, the long *o* vowel. The diphthong *au* has both parts placed *before* the consonant *after* which it is sounded; thus the syllable which is pronounced *kau*, is printed *ek +* a mark which has no meaning by itself. Even this is not all. There are cases in which the vowel sign comes *two* places *before* the consonant *after* which it is sounded, as if the word *avande*, were printed *avuend*. So that there are twenty medial forms of the vowels to be learnt in addition to the eighteen initial forms, making at least 38 forms for 14 vowels and 2 diphthongs. After this the child may

learn the final forms which some consonants assume. Owing to short *a* being supposed to be inherent in every consonant, the letters, *m*, *r*, *m*, joined together would be pronounced *marama*, but in order to indicate that the sound stops at the letter *m*, a final form for the letter *m* is introduced, quite different from the regular *m*, and thus *m*, *r*, final *m*, is pronounced *maram*. Similarly with the letter *h* and at least five other letters. After these the double letters may be learnt. The necessity for these arises from there being no sign for the short vowel *a*, as before explained. Thus the word *takka*, would be pronounced *takuka*, unless a double letter symbol were employed compounding the two *k*'s into one form. There is no rule for the formation of these double letters, so that each one has to be mastered separately: some have marks added to make them double, some vary the form of single consonant, in some the second consonant is written *under* the first. These double consonants have the medial vowel appendages placed after the double consonant or before, or part before and part after, above the letter or below it, as described for the single consonants. The semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, when they follow or precede a consonant, assume forms entirely different from their ordinary ones when standing alone; so different are these, that no one would ever imagine they were meant for the semi-vowels, until he was made aware of the fact. The need for conjunct consonants arises in the same way as the necessity for double consonants. There is thus an immense number of conjunct consonants. A great number are composed of two letters compounded together, many of three letters, some of four letters, and there is a curiosity of five letters. These take the usual medial vowel marks and appendages.

But in Malayalam this is not the end of the matter. The Malayalam vernacular is *not* phonetic. This is particularly the case with Dravidian words, but applies also to the Sanskrit derivatives, thus *vandanam* is pronounced *vannanam* (or *vannanum*), *janmi* is pronounced *jemmi*. The Malayalam *t* has a very different sound in *tanne* and *atine*; so of *k*. These changes are plainly seen in Tamil, and one letter has the three sounds of *r*, *t* and *d*.

Such being the case, the wonder is not that so many are unable to read, but that so many have attained to any degree of proficiency in the art. In fact the difficulties attending the learning to read according to the present method amount, as regards the great mass of the people and especially the poorer portions of the community, to a practical impossibility.

When a boy has with considerable difficulty learned to read one of the vernaculars of India, say Tamil or Malayalam, he finds that whilst he can comprehend the other dialects easily enough when spoken, yet the moment he attempts to read in

any but his own, he is stopped short by the great difference in the written character ; if read aloud to him he can follow it, but read it for himself, he cannot. In consequence of this, each vernacular is cut off from every other by an insurmountable barrier, and the benefits each might acquire by fusion are rendered impossible. This difference in character is a serious difficulty in the way of English people acquiring Indian vernaculars, and what is of far more importance is the fact that the literature of one portion of South India is inaccessible to others, who could understand it when read aloud to them. There are many excellent school-books in Tamil, there are hardly any in Malayalam, yet Tamil books are of no use to Malayalis, until translated.

It will readily be perceived how all this diversity of complicated characters affects the cost of printing, and consequently the price of books, and therefore the difficulty of providing the people and schools with books. I cannot in the compass of an article go into printing details, but from experience in the Government printing office, I find that it requires 500 pounds weight of Malayalam types to do what 50 pounds weight of Roman or Phonetic type will do ; that four pages of Native pica type, as in the specimens, can be put in three pages of Roman type and that the use of Roman type instead of Native, would reduce the cost of printing books at least 50 per cent. or half the cost, and then we could utilize the maps, plates, diagrams, illustrations, as we could have any books printed in England.

Now, what is to be done in the face of this evil ? We have seen that the great defect of the Indian vernaculars was that they provided for the representation of syllables rather than of sounds. A very simple and effectual remedy for this would be, to analyse the *sounds* of these languages, and give to every sound a distinct sign, thus giving to the vowels as prominent a position in a written word as their attendant consonants. Let the vowels be placed side by side with the consonants which accompany them, as they are in all European languages. By doing this and leaving spaces between words, &c., the necessity for the medial forms of the vowels and the compound consonants will be done away with.

In a common alphabet intended for general use, two things would be necessary :

- (1) every simple sound should have a single sign ;
- (2) no sound should have more than one sign.

Also, as far as possible, similar sounds should have similar signs : it should make reading and writing easy, and printing cheap. The Romans, after their practical method, made straight roads and a clear alphabet, and "the superiority of the simple forms of the Roman letters in themselves, and apart from use and

custom, to any other forms that have been or can be devised," is allowed on all hands. Max Müller says of language, "I hold that language is meant to be an instrument of communication, and that in the struggle for life, the most efficient instruments of communication must certainly carry the day, as long as natural selection, or as we formerly called it, reason, rules the world." If this be true of language, is it not also true of the character by which language becomes visible to us and takes the place of the living voice?

With reference to the application of the Roman alphabet, Professor Monier Williams says, "I have no hesitation in asserting that the Romanic system, expanded by the marks and signs now generally agreed upon, and still further to be improved hereafter, may be adapted to the Aryan languages of India quite as completely and appropriately as to the Aryan languages of Europe.

And again: "The employment of Roman type, far from discouraging, is designed to consist with, and even to conduce to, an accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit character, as well as to secure a correct system of transliteration."

The Roman letters are not only the best practical forms, but they are in more general use than any other. The common Roman letters are used exclusively in the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sweden, North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, the South Seas, South Africa, Madagascar, while in Germany nearly all scientific books are printed in it, and it is taught in their schools. It is estimated that about 2,468,000,000, or nearly two and a half billions of people, use the Roman letters.

Many efforts have been made to use Roman letters for the vernaculars of India. These efforts have not hitherto met with the success they deserve. Partly, perhaps, because it was found necessary to use many diacritical marks, partly because of the difficulty of procuring such accented type, &c., and partly because of the misuse of the Roman alphabet, the use of Roman letters has most unjustly fallen into discredit. In studying the efforts made by many minds to use Roman letters for the languages of India, it occurred to me that an adaptation of Mr. Pitman's English Phonetic Alphabet might meet the difficulty. If the phonetic alphabet is adopted for English, why should it not be adopted at the same time for the vernaculars of India? Then we should have one alphabet for the whole of the Aryan languages.

Now the scheme proposed meets the requirements of a common alphabet. Every simple sound has a single sign to denote it, in whatever position or combination it may be placed. No sound

has more than one sign, and, as far as possible, similar sounds have similar signs : compare the nasals in the Tamil and Malayalam alphabets. In one case the Phonetic alphabet has a decided advantage. Ten of the Malayalam (and Sanscrit) sounds are precisely the same sound as ten others with the aspirate added : compare *k*, *g*, &c., with *kh*, *gh*, &c., but the Sanscrit and Malayalam letters do not show this. Now if the sign for the aspirate be added to the unaspirated letters, it will considerably reduce the number of signs to be learnt, as the sign for the aspirate once learnt will do for all (practically). This is done in the Phonetic alphabet. In the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *au*, the Phonetic alphabet shows how they are made up, which the vernaculars do not. By these means the number of distinct signs to be learnt for Sanscrit is reduced to 32, for Malayalam to 40, for Tamil to 40, and the whole number of distinct signs necessary to be learnt so as to include *all* the Indian vernaculars, would be under 50. At the smallest computation 5,000 signs are used at present to represent the 50 sounds of the Indian vernaculars.

Professor Max Müller in a letter to me objects to the use of diacritical marks for *printing*, though the learned professor uses them himself in *writing*. In the phonetic alphabet the only diacritical marks used are a dot and dash, and these marks are used consistently and uniformly. All the letters with a dot underneath are cerebrals : this all Orientalists are agreed upon in theory though not in practice, as some use *sh* for the cerebral sibilant instead of dotted *s*. Besides the cerebrals and dentals, there are in Malayalam, Tamil, &c., a class of letters, with dento-lingual pronunciation, which are stopt (stopped) *between* the place for the cerebrals and the dentals. These are uniformly marked with a *dash* underneath. Fortunately all these letters, *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *r*, *l*, admit of the dot or dash being placed below the letters, as none of them comes below the line ; so that the dot or dash stands out clear and distinct, and marks the letter to the eye as a cerebral or subpalatal. All this helps to make reading easy. In the case of final *m* and final *h*, a dot is put after the letter, though this is hardly necessary, as, of course, they are nearly always final. With reference to the long vowels, two methods have been adopted by Orientalists, 1st, to place an accent over the letters, as *á*, *í*, *ú*, &c. This is open to the objection that it confounds accent and quantity and leaves no way (or room on the letter) for marking the real accent, when it is necessary to do so. Besides the accent mark cannot be placed over the capital letters, as there is no space for it on the type. 2nd, to place a long mark over the vowel, as *ā*, *ē*, *ū*, &c. This is much better, but it is open to the same objection that it cannot be

placed over the capital letters, and there is a much more serious objection. In all the English school-books published by the Madras Government, and in all others I have seen, a long mark over the vowel is used to denote \bar{a} as in fate, instead of a as in father; so also \bar{i} as in mine, instead of i as in police, &c. The Indian student thus learns \bar{a} as in fate, &c., and then has to attach another sound to the same sign. The phonetic alphabet avoids these difficulties, and has the advantage of an easy script character.

The phonetic alphabet makes writing easy. The script characters are given that the reader may judge for himself. It can be written in half the time taken with the native characters and is as easy as ordinary English. In the application of the phonetic alphabet to the Indian vernaculars, it is desirable, on practical grounds, to introduce no type not already in use. In the specimens given this has been done. (With regard to one letter I am waiting for Mr. Pitman's reply). By the addition of a few pounds weight of inexpensive type, any printing office which can print English will be able to print the phonetic alphabet. A complete fount (120 lbs) of new type may be had, if desired, from V and J. Figgins, Ray Street, Farringdon Road, London, E. C., for from Rs. 75 to 100. An ordinary fount of Malayalam type costs at least Rs. 1,000, and will not last as long as Roman type.

In preparing a Malayalam 1st Book for the Vernacular schools, in which my object was to simplify as much as possible the arrangement of the conjunct letters, I was more and more impressed by the necessity of some scheme for the use of Roman letters, and it occurred to me that it might be well to use the English phonetic alphabet for this purpose. I entered into correspondence with Mr. Pitman, who has taken a kind interest in the matter and given me all the help he could. For help in the San-crit and Malayalam transliteration, I am indebted to the kindness of Kerala Varma, Esq., F. M. U., Valiya Coil Tampuran, a distinguished Malayalam and Sanskrit scholar, who has taken great interest in the scheme. The Hon'ble V. Ramiengar, C.S.I., Dewan of Travancore, kindly allowed me the services of a skilled workman, T. Dharmalinga Achari, to make the punches for the type, and the use of the Government Press to print a few specimens.

With the specimens thus printed, I made experiments upon boys of ages varying from nine to sixteen years. Some of these, who were reading the 2nd and 3rd English Books, caught the idea very quickly: the few new letters seemed to present little difficulty to them. They were astonished to find themselves reading their native vernacular in phonetic letters, as I had carefully abstained from giving them any hints as to what the specimens were when I put them into their hands. I found one lesson sufficient with

these boys as they knew a little English. These were the two elder classes. I then tried it with some little boys of the lowest caste, aged 7 to 10, who as a reward for learning the Malayalam alphabet were being taught the English one, and who very nearly knew it. Some of them could read easy words of one syllable. I found to my astonishment that they caught it sooner than the elder boys, which I accounted for by the fact that, knowing little more than their letters, they had no *arrière pensée* as to what it might mean, and went straight at it phonetically.

With the object, however, of obtaining a more satisfactory test, His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore, &c., has given permission to have the phonetic scheme for the vernacular tried in two of the grant-in-aid schools for six months. I have also to thank His Highness for the specimens with which this article is illustrated.

I have submitted the specimens to Prof. Max Muller, who writes, 13th December 1883: "You will see from a pamphlet I send you what I think of Mr. Pitman's system. I shall be very glad if it could be adopted in India for all practical purposes. For scientific publications, particularly for transliterating Sanskrit, we want something more. Italics, I grant, are not pretty; but that is in one sense an advantage. They startle the eye and attract the necessary attention. No language will, in the long run, submit to diacritical signs. We grudge the dot over the *i*, and often leave it out. Palatals and gutturals are organically so closely related, that the true scholar will prefer to write *vākmi*, *vākshī*, *vākti*, &c., not *vāchmi*, *vākshi*, *vākti*, &c. I do not object to printing cerebrals, as *ḍ t n*, with dashes underneath; in fact I always write like that. But I tell my printers that underlined letters are to be printed as italics, and I find that many scholars in Europe adopt, either partially or altogether, the same plan. But, as I say, I shall be glad to see Pitman's system adopted—unity or uniformity is better than accuracy."

I have to thank the Editor of the *Calcutta Review* for his kindness in allowing me to bring the subject before its readers, and shall be glad if an appeal to those who can read helps to bring about some scheme by which those who cannot read may be taught. I shall gladly receive any suggestions for the improvement of the scheme. Something surely ought to be done to alter a state of things in which it is easier to find a blind woman than one who can read.

J. KNOWLES.

LONDON MISSION :

Quilon,

TRAVANCORE,

S. India.

THE PHONETIC ALPHABET.

THE English Phonetic Alphabet consists of 36 letters, viz. the 23 useful letters of the common English alphabet, (*c, q, and x* being rejected,) and the 13 new ones below. The vowels *a, e, i, o, u*, have invariably their short sounds, as in *pat, pet, pit, pot, put*. (The Continental pronunciation.) All the other old letters have their usual signification. The italic letters below denote the SOUNDS of the new letters.

VOWELS.

A <i>a</i> ,	E <i>e</i> ,	Ī <i>i</i> :	O <i>o</i> ,	Ō <i>o</i> ,	U <i>u</i> :	Y <i>y</i> .
alms,	age,	air,	eat:	all,	ope,	food:
son,	but.					
s <i>s</i> ,	ē <i>ej</i> ,	ēr <i>er</i> ,	īt <i>it</i> :	ol ,	ep ,	fud ,
sms,						sen, bxt.

CONSONANTS.

Ĉ <i>ĉ</i> ,	Ĥ <i>t</i> ,	Ď <i>d</i> ,	Σ <i>s</i> ,	Ξ <i>z</i> ,	Ŵ <i>ŵ</i> .
chair,	thin,	then,	shoe,	vision,	sing.
ger,	ĥin,	ĉen,	ŝu,	vizon,	sig.

THE ENGLISH PHONETIC ALPHABET

The Classification, ORDER and names of the letters.

CONSONANTS.

Mutes.

P <i>p</i> ,	B <i>b</i> ;	T <i>t</i> ,	D <i>d</i> ;	Ĉ <i>ĉ</i> ,	J <i>j</i> ;	K <i>k</i> ,	G <i>g</i> :
pee,	bee;	tee,	dee;	chay,	jay;	kay,	gay:

Continuants.

F <i>f</i> ,	V <i>v</i> ;	Ĥ <i>t</i> ,	Ď <i>d</i> ;	S <i>s</i> ,	Z <i>z</i> ;	Σ <i>s</i> ,	Ξ <i>z</i> :
ef,	vee;	ith,	thee;	es,	zee;	ish,	zhee;

Nasals.

M *m*, **N** *n*, **Ŵ** *ŵ*:
em, en, ing:

Liquids.

L *l*, **R** *r*:
el, ar:

Coalescents.

W *w*, **Y** *y*:
way, yay:

Aspirate.

H *h*.
aitch.

VOWELS.

Guttural.

A *a*, **Ā** *a*; **E** *e*, **Ē** *e*; **I** *i*, **Ī** *i*:
at, ah; et, eh; it, ee:

Labial.

O *o*, **Ō** *o*; **Y** *y*, **Ō** *o*; **U** *u*, **Ū** *u*:
ot, awe; ut, oh; ūt, oo:

DIPHTHONGS.

EI <i>ei</i> ,	IU <i>iu</i> ,	OU <i>ou</i> ,	AI <i>ai</i> ,	OI <i>oi</i> .
as in by,	new,	now,	ay,	boy.

REFORMED SPELLING.

FIRST STAGE.

Without new letters.

Here and there a fin Inglish wurdz may be found in the uzhual orthografi, hwich leav no room for dout az tu their pronunsiashon. But this iz kweit eksepshonal. Yet we ar shure that our speling woz orijinali fonetik. It iz nou propozed tu revért tu thát prinsipel. In this short paragraf, hwich kontainz the 36 singel leterz and 5 difthongz ov the Niu Alfabet, onli the cheef points kud be inkluded, but the alfabetik law iz jenerali klear, and the eí wil be abol tu juj priti wel hwot the apearans wud be in printed buks. Komperd with the old alfabet, duz it not bear away the palm? Ai (*ay*).

FINAL STAGE.

With 13 new letters.

Hjr and ðer a fin Iyglis wurdz me bj found in ðe yuʒual ortografi, hwiʒ lɪv nɔ rʊm for dout az tu ðer prɒnʌnsiʃən. Bʌt ðis is kweit eksepʃnəl. Yet wɛ ar ʃʊr ðæt our speliŋ woz oriʒinali fonetik. It iz nou propəʒd tu revért tu ðæt prinsipel. In ðis ʃɔrt paragraf, hwiʒ kontɛnz ðe 36 singel leterz and 5 difθɔnz ov ðe Niu Alfabet, ɔnli ðe ʃɪf points kud bj inklʊdɛd, bʌt ðe alfabetik lɔ iz jɛnɛrəli klɪr, and ðe eɪ wil bj ɛbəl tu jʊʒ priti wel hwot ðe apɪrəns wud bj in printed buks. Komperd wið ðe ɔld alfabet, duz it not bɛr əws ðe psɪm? Ai.

MAX MÜLLER ON SPELLING.

Ei fɪl konvist ov ðe truθ and rɪzənəbelnes ov ðe prinsipɛlz on hwiʒ ðe Fonetik Reform rests, and az ðe innɛt regard for truθ and rɪzən, haz ɔlwɛs prʊvd irrezistibəl in ðe end, ɛnʃliŋ mɛn tu part wið ɔl ðe həld mɒst dɜr and sskred, ɛr dout not ðæt ðe ɛfɪt and kɒrɹpt (Ingliʃ) ɔrθɒgrəfi wil fɔlə. Nɛʃɔnz hav befer nou ʒɛnjd ðɛr niuɛrɪkəl fiʒiʊrz, ðɛr leterz, ðɛr kronoloji, ðɛr wɛts and meʒɔrz; * On spelling. p. 14.

THE PHONETIC ALPHABET, FOR THE TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT, &c.

VOWELS.

A a अ I i इ U u उ R r ए — ए

As आ H j ई — ज R r ए — ए

SEMI-VOWELS.

E e O o AI ai ऐ M. m. '

Es ए Oo ओ AU au औ H. h. :

CONSONANTS.

K k क	KH kh ख	G g ग	GH gh घ	W ॠ उ
Q q च	QH qh छ	J j ज	JH jh झ	U ॡ ञ
T t ट	TH th ठ	D d ड	DH dh ढ	N n ण
T t त	TH th थ	D d द	DH dh ध	N n न
P p प	PH ph फ	B b ब	BH bh भ	M m म
Y y य	R r र	L l ल	V v व	
S s श	S s ष	S s स	H h ह	
Vedie	L l ऋ	L H l h	ॠ	

PHONETIC TYPES 34.

a d i j u u ε o r ̄ k g u g j ̄ t d n t d n p ̄ m y r l v
s s s h l

SANSKRIT TYPES 500.

... Thus it arises that an immense assortment of *conjunct* consonants is needed. Each of the fourteen vowels (except *ā*) has two symbols, according as it is initial or non-initial, and the form of some of those obliges them to be printed before the letter after which they are pronounced, and in various awkward places, thereby exposing them to fracture, and increasing the general complication. So that with unusually numerous vowel-symbols, with thirty-five consonants, and an almost indefinite number of intricate conjunct consonants, the number of distinct types, necessary to equip a perfect Sanscrit fount amounts to about 500. (Monier Williams' Sanscrit Dictionary.)

SANSKRIT (Transliterated.)

YŌHANA-LIKHITA SUSAM· VĀDAH·.

Prathamē 'ddhyayah·.

Adau Veda ssj̥t, sa ḡa Veda H̥ṣvareṇa'srddham-
 2 ssj̥t, sa Vēdah· svayam· H̥ṣvara eva. Sa sds̥v H̥ṣvareṇa
 3 sah·-ssit. Tena sarvum· vastu sasr̥je, sarveṣu sr̥ṣṭa-
 4 vastuṣu kim· api vastu tens sr̥ṣṭan nē-'sti. Sa j̥jvanasys
 5 ''karah·, taḡ ḡa j̥jvanam· manus̥ysns̥j̥ jyētiḥ·; Taj Jyētir
 andhak̥sre praḡak̥ṣe, kintu andhak̥sras tan na jagr̥ṣha.
 6 Yēhan nsmaka ēkē manuja H̥ṣvareṇa presayan ḡak̥sre.
 7 Tad d̥v̥sra yatha sarve visvasanti, tad arthan sa taj jyē-
 8 tiṣi pram̥ṣṇan d̥stun s̥k̥si svarūpē bhūtv̥s 'gamat. Sa
 svayan taj jyētir na kintu taj jyētiṣi pram̥ṣṇan d̥stum·
 9 sgamat. Jagaty' sgatya yah· sarva-manujebhyē d̥iptin
 10 dad̥sti tad eva satya jyētiḥ·. Sa yaj jagad asr̥jat, tan
 maddhya eva sa ssj̥t, kintu jagatē lōk̥s tan nē'janan.
 11 Nij̥s'dhik̥sran sa sgag̥gat, kintu pra-j̥s tan nē'gr̥hn̥an.
 12 Tath̥s'pē yē yē tam· agr̥hn̥an, arth̥st̥ tasya nsm̥ni vya-
 ṣvasan, tebhya H̥ṣvarasya put̥rs bhavitum· adhik̥sram-
 13 adad̥st. Tēss̥j̥ jan̥ih·-s̥ṣ̥n̥it̥n na, s̥sr̥j̥riks·'bhil̥ss̥n̥ na
 14 m̥nav̥s̥n̥sm· ig̥gh̥st̥ n̥a, kintu H̥ṣvareḡ abh̥avat. Sa
 Vsd̥e manus̥ya rup̥n̥s·-vat̥irya, satyats·-nugrah̥sb̥h̥ysm·
 paripurn̥ah· san srddham· asm̥abhir nyavasat, tatah·
 Pitur advitiya-Putrasya yōgyē yē mahims tam· mah-
 imahan tasy̥s 'paṣ̥ysma.

MALAYALAM.

VOWELS.

A a	അ	I i	ഇ	U u	ഉ	R r	ര	—
Ā ā	ആ	Ī ī	ഈ	Ū ū	ഊ	Ṛ ṛ	ഠ	—
E e	എ	O o	ഒ	EI ei	ഐ	M. m.	മ	
Ē ē	ഈ	Ō ō	ഓ	AU au	ഔ	H. h.	ഹ	

Ara-u-ksram ४ ४ °.

CONSONANTS'

K k ക	KH kh ഖ	G g ഗ	GH gh ങ	W w ഊ
Q q ച	QH qh ഞ	J j ജ	JH jh ഡ	N n നെ
T t ട	TH th റ	Dd ഡ	DH dh ഡ	N n നെ
T t ത	TH th ഡ	Dd ഡ	DH dh ഡ	N n നെ
P p പ	PH ph ഫ	Bb ബ	BH bh ഡ	M m മ

Y y	உ	R r	ஓ	L l	ல	V v	வ
S s	ச	Sh sh	ஷ	ss	ஸ்	H h	ஹ

L l R r Rr o
N n ND nd TT tt oo
 (T & Medial o) (H & Medial o)

PHONETIC TYPES 40.

a s i j u q r f e s o e r
 k g n g j n t d n t d n p b m y r l v s s s h l r r
 (q d t d n)

MALAYALAM TYPES 400.

[illegible]

MALAYALAM (Transliterated.)

YŌHANAN ERUTIYA SUVIŚSAM.

Onnsm. Addhysyam.

- Adiyil Vaḡanam. unt-sy-irunnu, s Vaḡanam. Deivat-
 totṣ kṛte sy-irunnu, s Vaḡanam. Deivavum. sy-irunnu.
- 2 Ayatṣ sdiyil Deivattotṣ kṛte sy-irunnu. Sakalavum.
- 3 avanṣl unt-skka-petṭu ; unt-skkapetṭatṣ onnum. avanṣe
- 4 kṛtste unt-skka-petṭatum. illa. Avanil jīvan unt-sy-
- 5 irunnu, a jīvan maṇṣraruṭe veliḡgam. sy-irunnu. A
 veliḡgam. iruḷil pra-kṣikkunnu, iruḷ atine pari-grahiḡ-
- 6 ḡatum. illa. Deivattil ninnṣ ayakka-petṭa oru maṇṣyan
 unt-sy-irunnu, avanṭe nsmam. Yēhanṣn ennṣ sy-irunnu.
- 7 Ayavan tan mṛlam. ellavarum. vi-ṣvasikk-entūnn-atinnṣ
 s veliḡgatte kuṛiḡḡu sskṣi-peṭuttuvṣn-syiṭṭṣ sskṣiy-syi
- 8 vannu. Avan s veliḡgam syi-irunn-illa, s veliḡgatte
 kuṛiḡḡu sskṣi-peṭuttuvṣn syiṭṭṣ ay-aka-pettavan atre.
- 9 Lēkattilekkṣ varunna maṇṣyane okkeyum. pra-kṣip-
- 10 pikkunnatu satyam.-uḷḷa velḡgam. sy-irunnu. Avan
 lēkattil sy-irunnu, lēkam. avanṣl unt-skka-petṭu, lēkam.
- 11 avanṣe ariṇṇatum. illa. Avan svantattilekkṣ vannu, avan
 ṭe svantakkṣ avanṣe keikonṭilla. Ennṣl avanṭe nsmat
- 12 til vi-ṣvasikunn-avar-syi, avanṣe kei-konṭ-avar sy-avarkṣ
 atreyum., Deivattinṭe makkaḷ-syi tīrunnatinnu, avan
- 13 adikṣrum. koṭuttu. Avar raktattil ninuṣ eṇkilum., jad-
 at-inṭe iṣṭattil-ninuṣ eṇkilum., maṇṣyaruṭe iṣṭattilninnṣ
- 14 eṇkilum. alla, Deivattil-ninnṣ tanne janiggu. A Vaḡa-
 nam. jadam.-syi tīrukay-um., kṛpa-konṭ-um. satyam.
 konṭum. niraṇṇatum.-syi, nammṇṭe iṭiyil vasikkayum
 ḡeytu, Pitsvinṭe ēka-jstaṇ-sy-avanṭe mahatvatte pēle
 avanṭe mahatvam. ṇaṇṇaḷ kṣnnukayum. ḡeytu.

THE PHONETIC ALPHABET.

TAMIL.

VOWELS.

Aa அ Ii இ Uu உ Ee ஏ Oo ஒ EI எ ஐ
 Hs ஹ Fj ஈ Uu ஊ Ee ஏ Oo ஒ AU au ஔ

CONSONANTS.

	Initial.	Medial.	Double.	With Nasal.	Combined.
K k க்	K k க	T g க	KK kk க்க	NG ng ங்க	KT kt க்த
G g ச்	C c ச	C c ச	GG gg ச்ச	IJ ij ஞ்ச	RE rg ர்ச
T t ட்	T t ட	D d ட	TT tt ட்ட	ND nd ண்ட	ST st ஷ்ட
T t த்	T t த	Ṭ ṭ த	TT tt த்த	ND nd ந்த	PT pt ப்த
P p ப்	P p ப	V v ப	PP pp பப	MB mb ம்ப	PT pt ப்த
R r ர்	R r ர	R r ர	TT tt ர்த	ND nd ன்ற	RE rg ர்ச

NASALS.

Ng ங் Nj ஞ் Nn ண் Nu ந் Mm ம் Nn ன்

SEMIVOWELS.

Yy ய் Rr ர் Ll ல் Vv வ் Rr ர் Ll ல்

SIBILANTS AND ASPIRATE.

Ss (ச) Ss ஷ் Ss ஸ் Hh ஹ்

PHONETIC TYPES 40.

a si j u u e e o o k g t t p r n n n m n y r l v r l s s s h
 (g c d ṭ b g d j) .

TAMIL TYPES 148.

அ ஆ இ ஈ உ ஊ ஏ ஏ ஒ ஒ ஐ - க ச ட த ப ற - க் ச் ட் த் ப்
 ற் ங் ஞ் ண் ம ன - ங் ஞ் ண் ந் ன் - ய ர ள வு மு ள - ய் ர்
 ள் வ் மு ல் - ஷ் ஸ ஹ கூ - ஷ் ஸ் ஹ் கூ - கி கி டி தி பி நி
 னி ஞி ணி நி மி னி யி ரி னி வி ழி வி ழி லீ ஹ் கூ - கி கி டி
 தி பி ற் றீ றீ னீ றீ மீ னீ யி ரீ ளீ வி ழி லீ ஷ் லீ ஹ் கூ -
 கு சு டி து பு து டு து ணு து மு னு யு ரு ளு வு மு ளு ஷு
 ஸு ஹு கூ - கூ கு டு து பூ து டு து ணு து மு னு யு
 ரு ளு வு மு ளு ஷு ஷு ஹு கூ - ர ளு ளு ரு - ஃ

TAMIL (Phonetized)

YOVAN ERUTINA SUVISESAM.

Mudalsam Adiksram.

- Adiyile Varttei irundadu, anda Varttei Devan idattil
 2 irundadu, anda Varttei Devan-sy-irundadu. Avar s^{ti}-
 3 yile Devan^odu irundar. Sakalanum avar m^ulam-sy
 und'-sy'-ittu; und^osnad^ondum avarsle-y-all^omal und'-ska-
 4 v-illei. Avarukku jⁱvan irundadu, anda jⁱvan man^usa-
 5 rukku oli-y-sy-irundadu. Anda oli irulile pirak^osik-
 6 kira^odu; irul snadu a^odei pat^ottikollavillei. Devan^osl anup-
 7 pappatta oru man^usan irund^osn avan per Y^ovs^on. Avan
 tan^osl ell^osr^um visuv^osikkum-padi anda oliyei kurittu
 8 s^odgi kodukka s^odgiyska vand^osn. Avan anda oliyalla,
 anda oliyei kurittu s^odgi kodukka vandavan syirund^osn.
 9 Ulakattile vanda anda man^usaneiyum pirak^osippikkira
 10 oliye anda meyy^osa oli. Avar ulakattil irund^osn ulakan
 avar m^ulam^osy und^osyittu, ulakan^o avarei ariyavillei.
 11 Avar tamakku son^odam snadile vand^osn, avarukku son-
 12 dam snavarka^o avarei ettuk^okollavillei. Avarudeiya
 n^osnattin^onel visuv^ossam ullavarka^osy avarei ettukonda-
 varka^o ettane^oi perka^ole, attane^oi perka^olum Devan^oudeiya
 pil^oleikal^oekumpadi avarka^olukku adig^osr^um kodut^osn.
 13 Avarka^ol, irattattin^osl sva^odu, m^omsa gittattin^osl sva^odu, pu-
 rusan^oudeiya gittattin^osl sva^odu, pirav^osnal Devan^osls piran-
 14 davarka^ol. Anda Varttei m^omsam-ski, kirupeiyin^oslum
 satti^oyattin^oslum nireindavar-sy, namakkulle vssam pan-
 nin^osn; avarudeiya makimeiyei ka^ondem ada Pid^osvikku
 ore per^osnavarudeiya makime^ol^okk^ou etta makime^oi yskave
 irundadu.

THE GOSPEL AKORDIŲ TU

ST. JOHN.

Ferst Chapter.

1 In ðe beginiŋ woz ðe Wƿrd, and ðe Wƿrd woz wið
 2 God, and ðe Wƿrd woz God. ðe sƿm woz in ðe be-
 3 giniŋ wið God. Ōl þiŋz wer mƿd bei Him; and
 4 wiðout Him woz not eniþiŋ mƿd þat woz mƿd. In
 5 Him woz leif; and ðe leif woz ðe leit ov men. And ðe
 6 leit þineþ in darknes; and ðe darknes comprehended
 it not. ðer woz a man sent from God, hƿz nƿm woz
 7 John. ðe sƿm kƿm for a witnes, tu ƿer witnes ov ðe
 8 Leit, ðat ōl men þry Him meit beljv. Hƿ woz not
 9 ðat leit, ƿt woz sent tu ƿer witnes ov ðat Leit. ðat
 woz ðe try leit, hwiġ leitet everi man, ðat kƿmet
 10 intu ðe wƿrld. Hƿ woz in ðe wƿrld, and ðe wƿrld
 11 woz mƿd bei him, and ðe wƿrld niu Him not. Hƿ
 12 kƿm ƿntu hiz ƿn, and hiz ƿn resjved him not. Ƒt
 az meni az resjved Him, tu ðem gsv Hƿ pouer tu bekƿm
 ðe sƿnz ov God, þven tu ðem ðat beljv on Hiz nƿm:
 13 hwiġ wer born, not ov blƿd, nor ov ðe wil ov ðe fleþ, nor
 ov ðe wil ov man, ƿt ov God. And ðe Wƿrd woz mƿd
 14 fleþ, ard dwelt amƿŋ uz, (and wƿ beheld Hiz glori,
 ðe glƿri az ov ðe ƿnli begotten ov ðe Fƿster,) ful
 ov grs and tryþ.

The Script Characters



Vowels.

A a *A a* I i *I i* U u *U u* R r *R r* — —
 A s *A s* I j *I j* U y *U y* R r̄ *R r̄*
 E e *E e* O o *O o* Ei *Ei ei ei* M m *M m*
 E ε *E ε* O σ *O σ* Au *Au au au* H h *H h*

Y *Y*

Consonants.

K k <i>K k</i>	Kh <i>Kh kh kh</i>	G g <i>G g</i>	Gh <i>Gh gh gh</i>	W w <i>W w</i>
Q q <i>Q q</i>	Qh <i>Qh qh qh</i>	J j <i>J j</i>	Jh <i>Jh jh jh</i>	W —
T t <i>T t</i>	Th <i>Th th th</i>	D d <i>D d</i>	Dh <i>Dh dh dh</i>	N n <i>N n</i>
T t <i>T t</i>	Th <i>Th th th</i>	T t <i>T t</i>	Dh <i>Dh dh dh</i>	N n <i>N n</i>
P p <i>P p</i>	Ph <i>Ph ph ph</i>	B b <i>B b</i>	Bh <i>Bh bh bh</i>	M m <i>M m</i>

Y y *Y y* R r *R r* L l *L l* V v *V v*

S s *S s* S s *S s* S s *S s* H h *H h*

L l *L l* R r *R r* R r *R r*

T t *T t* D d *D d* N n *N n*

T g

d a n s

HINDUSTANI.

IN PHONETIC LETTERS.

ST. JOHN : CHAP. I. vv. 1-14.

Ibtids-men., kalsm ths, aur kalsm Xuds-ke ssth
 2 ths, aur kalsm Xuds ths. Yihj ibtids-men., Xuds-ke
 3 ssth ths. Sab kugh us-se paids hys, aur jor sab paids
 hys un-men.-se ek gij bagair us-ke paids na-hys. Zin-
 4 dagi us-men. thj, aur wuh zindagj sdmjen.-ke nur tha.
 5 Aur nur tsrjkj-men. gamaks, par tarjkj-ne use darysft
 na-kiys.

6 Xuds-kj taraf-se Yuhanns nsm ek jafs bhejs
 7 gays. Wuh gawshj ke liye sys, ki nur-par gawshj
 8 ds, tskih sab us-ke sabab-se jmsn lawen. Wuh nur na
 9 ths, par nur-ke hak-men. gawshj dene sys. Nur-i-hak
 10 wuhj hai jor dunys men. ske har s dmj-ke rorjan karts
 hai. Wuh dunys-men. ths, aur dunys usj-se paids kj
 11 gaj par dunys-ne use na pahcans. Wuh apne mulk
 12 men. sys, aur uskj rayaton.-ne use qabul na kiys;
 Lekin jitnen.-ne use qabul kiys, yane us-ke, nsm-par
 13 jmsn lse us ne unhen iqtidar bakjs kih we Xuda-
 ke farzand hen. We na lahu se, na nafsenj Xwahij
 se, na sdmj kj kwahij se magr Xuds-se paids hys hain.

14 Xalsm mujassam hys, aur fazl aur saggsj-se purs
 hoke hamre bjg men. rahs; aur ham-ne us-ke ha jmat
 ko jais Bsp ke yek laute-ke ha jmat gahs waisj dekhs.

KANARESE.**YOHANAN'S BAREDA SUVARTE.****Modalane Sandhi.**

- Adiyalli Vskyavx ittx, s Vakyavx Deivara balayalli
 2 ittx. A Vskyavx Deivarsgittx, adx sdiyalli Deivara
 3 balayalli ittx. Adarinda ells untseyitx, adx illade un-
 4 tsdavugalalli ondsaray untsgalilla. Adaralli jivavx
 5 ittx, s jivavx manusyara belaksgittx. A belakx katta-
 6 lalli sraksxisuttade ; kattalu adannx grahisalilla. Dei-
 7 varinda kaluhisalvattha obba manuyan iddanx avana
 8 hisarx Yohananx. Ellarx avana mularagi visvassisu-
 vahsgi, avanx belakina visaya sskxi koduvadakke sak-
 shiyagi bandanx Avannx s belakalla, s belakina visaya
 9 sskxi koduvadakke bandanx. Adx lorkakke oruva srati
 10 manuyanige belakx koduva nijavsa belaksgittx. Lorka-
 kadalli iddanx ; lorkavx avaninda untseyitx : sdare
 11 lorkavx avanannx ariyalilla. Svantavsdaddakke ban-
 12 danx. sdare svantavsdavarx avanannx angjkarisalilla.
 Adare avanannx angjavarige karisidavarastx avana
 13 hesarinalli visvasavidx vavarsda Deivara makkalsgu-
 vadakke adhikara kottanx. Ivarx raktadindalla mam-
 sada jittadindalla, surusena jittadindalla Deivarindale
 huttidarx.
 14 Idallade Vskyavx mamsavsyitx krseyindaly satyadind-
 alu tumbagi, namamlli vssamsditx, mattx tandeyinda
 obbanei hutti davana mahimeya hsege avana mahimeyan-
 nx nrdidev.

SINGALESE.

YOHAN VISIN LIYANTA.

YEDUNA SUBHARANIYA.

1. PARIČĤEDAYA.

- Paṭaṅgēmmehi Vṣkyaysnē siṭiyasya. Vṣkyaysnē
 Devīyanvahanse samaga siṭiyasya. Vṣkyaysnē Devi-
 2 yanvahanseva siṭiyasya. Unvahanse paṭaṅgēmmehi Devi-
 3 yanvahanse samaga siṭiyasya. Siyalla Unvahanse ka-
 ranakōtagēṇa mavanulēbuvṣya, mavs tibeān kisivak
 4 Unvahanse nētuva mavanulēbuve nēta. Unvahanse tūla
 jṣvanaya tibunṣya, ē jṣvanayada manuṣyayangē slēkavava
 5 tibunṣya. Alēkaya andhaksrayehi bēbilenavṣya and-
 haksrayada ēka piḷigatte nēta.
- 6 Devīyanvahanse vetin evanulēbū Yohannamvū manuṣ-
 7 hayek svṣya. Ohu karanakōtagēṇa siyallēma adahana
 piṇisa ē slēkaya gēṇa sakṣi dēṇta ohu sakṣi piṇisa svṣya.
 8 Ohu ē slēka nova, ē slēkaya gēṇa sakṣi dena piṇisa
 9 svṣya. Eya lēkayāta ennavū siyalu manuṣyayan slēka
 10 karannsvū sēbevū slēkayaya. Unvahanse lēkayehi siti-
 yṣya, lēkayada Unvahanse karanakōtagēṇa mavanu lebu-
 11 vṣya, numut lēkays Unvahanseva ēndinnē nēta. Unva-
 hanse Tamangēma sṭhṣnavalāta svṣya, numut Unva-
 12 hansegēma senaga Unvahanseva piḷigatte nēta. Ehet
 yam pamaṇa denek Unvahanseva piḷigēṇa Unvahansegs
 nsmaya kerehi adahagattṣda ovunṭa Devīyanvahansegs
 13 daruvē venṭa Unvahanse balaya dunṣya. Ovun leyen-
 vat msm·sayē kēmēttēnvat manuṣyaysgē kēmēttēnvat
 nova Devīyanvahansegen upannṣya.
- 14 Tavada Vṣkaysnē msm·sava karuṇavēnda sēbevēndapṣṣ-
 ṇṇava apā atarehi visuvṣya Piṣṣnan vetin (s) ēkajataka
 putrayagē tejayamen Unvahansege tejaya duṭuvēmuva.

ART. XI.—PERICLES.

An old Athenian, who had lived to see Athens captured by Lysander, laments, and in his lament recalls the glories of the Periclean age, and the career and death of Pericles.

'Tis done—flows crowned and brimming o'er
The wrath-charged cup of Fate,
Lysander's galleys in the Bay,
Lysander at the gate.

Hark ! the cursed flute's shrill strains subdue
The sea-ward stretching walls,
Nor wake our happy dead—'tis thus
Imperial Athens falls.

Was it for this we shook the world
At Marathon ? for this,
Red rolled the waves that bore our sires
To the fight at Salamis ?

For this bath Pallas swayed so long
Her high serene abode,
For this the thunder of the Pnyx
Pealed o'er the sacred Road ?

Deep strike the pitiless gods—I bow
Before Zeus' victor blast,
But fly yon maddening shouts, and seek
Salvation in the Past !

Where o'er down-trodden time I view
Our deathless empire won,
And mightier than the rolling years,
Xanthippus' peerless son.

Aye—even the Mede-subduing strength
Of great Themistocles,
Consummate Cimon's grasp of steel,
Far stretching o'er the seas.

What are they, to the shapes that sprang
From that divine control,
The gods of Poesy and Art,
The conquests of the soul ?

But I to sing Olympian heights,
O'er whom the death-clouds rolled,
I, compassed by the iron years,
To hymn the Age of gold !

Yes, for I climb the cliffs of Fame,
I feel the rapturous glow,
And breathe the freshening gales, unknown
To those that sleep below.

From bright Athenæ's brow I view
The veil of years withdrawn,
And fair and free Hymettus' peaks
Flush purpling to the dawn.

Clear through yon shattered barrier-clouds
The conquering Day-God breaks,
And glorious from her sleep divine
The Virgin City wakes.

Westward in proud Piræus,
Rides many a galley brave,
Beyond the mighty triple chain,
That links her to the wave.

Again the statues of the gods
Gleam thro' the plane-tree shades,
Again the white-robed throng of girls
Streams through the colonnades ;

Even as Hymettus' bees outpour
Their deathless murmuring,
The silvery voices float—the soul
Of Greece is on the wing !

I see the Warrior and the Bard,
The Statesman and the Sage,
The lightning-glance of glorious Youth,
The majesty of Age.

The stars that flashed athwart the heaven
Of that resplendent time,
When yet the flower of Greece bloomed fair,
Athenæ in her prime !

Lo He*—all towering thought within,
All majesty without,
Ah, those who seek *his* port, must sail
The soundless seas of Doubt.

And He † whose Master-wit hath power
To brighten or eclipse,
The lightning in his eyes, the laugh
Of scorn upon his lips.

* Anaxagoras.

|

† Aristophanes.

And listeners throng round Him * who knows
The birth-springs of the mind,
The kindly genius, skilled to track
The thoughts that sway mankind.

Marked ye the glance of fire that shot
From Cleinias' brilliant son,
But Self *his* guiding-star, his creed
The Many for the One.

And Pheldias—'mid Earth's mightiest sons,
No mightier name may be,
I bow before the Master-mind,
Ah! who so skilled as he,

To clothe with sweet Ionian grace
The Dorian style severe,
Soft-tempering with ethereal hues
The Majesty austere?

Fair gleams the golden dawn of Art,
Nor shall Time know again
Such subtle strength as his who wrought
Athenæ's stately fane.

And He, † o'er whose enchanted heart,
With freshening lustre shone
The Morning Star of History,
Who wrote of lands unknown,

And outraged Greece in arms, and Him,
Whom the dread gods beguiled
Down tragic steep of Destiny;
But simple as a child.

Who comes, with mien austere, that veils
The deathless fire below,
To place another wreath of Fame,
On fair Athenæ's brow?

Lord of the eagle-glance, that scans
Time's fountain-springs afar, ‡
Clear thro' the storm of years shall shine
Thy Star-strewn Tale of War.

This morn Piræus' mariners
Are flocking from the Bay,
Acharnæ's sturdy burghers
Troop city-wards to-day.

* Socrates

‡ Thucydides.

† Herodotus.

Press in from rugged Parnes
 The dwellers of the North,
 And temple-crowned Eleusis
 Hath sent her votaries forth.

Past groves of green Colonos,
 The nightingales' abode,
 By holy Cerameicus,
 And up the sacred Road ;

Their eyes are bright with glorious thought,
 Their throbbing hearts aflame,
 Fired with the lustre and the light
 Of one surpassing name.

Ye might have deemed, when that great voice
 The breathless silence broke,
 That sun-bright Hermes soared to light
 From Pheidias' master-stroke.

So sweeps some tempest-driven wave,
 Resistless o'er the beach,
 But aye the Sovereign mind controls
 The torrent of His speech.

As seas below the conquering Moon,
 Beneath him, hushed and still
 Heaves all yon mighty multitude,
 He sways them at His will.

How, to the varying theme attuned,
 The great voice soars and falls !
 So towers o'er listening gods the Sire,
 High in Olympian halls.

Not theirs the free ethereal flight,
 The soul-subduing glow,
 Who throng the Courts, where Justice holds
 Her chequered sway below.

Where, face to face with Guilt at bay,
 The dread Accuser stands,
 Strong with relentless truth, that gives
 The victory to his hands.

But Evce ! let the stormy Past
 Sleep as a tale untold,
 And twine with flowers of rose the brow,
 Pour high the wine of gold !

To-morrow let Life's myriad cares
Sweep on in sullen flight,
O'er the vexed Ocean of our hearts,—
We will be glad to-night.

Royally robed and garland-crowned,
The happy guests recline,
Amid the banquet-splendour bright
Sparkles the sunny wine.

Into the soul the flute-tones melt,
The glorious love-chant glows,
And dark eyes flash beneath the brow
White as Cithæron's snows. .

"The foot-fall of the girl I love,
Beats on the marble floor,
The laughter of the lips I love,
Floats rippling o'er and o'er.

"The murmur of my Love's sweet lips,
Is as the silver sea's,
That sleeps below the Moon all night,
Kissed by the summer breeze.

"Ah, when we revel in those eyes,
And feel the soft cheek's touch,
Not even the thought of darker days
May vex us over much ;

"When all too swift Time's chariot whirls,
Adown the steep of years,
Nor laughter of the lips we love,
Makes music in our ears."

Night wanes—the joyous guests are gone,
The vacant halls are still,
But blithe the soaring skylark chants,
High o'er Hymettus' hill.

Well may yon warbler hail the Morn,
Faint-flushing in the East,
In great Iacchus' praise this day,
We keep Iacchus' feast.

We throw the treasures of the mind,
Before the Wine-god's feet,
The bloodless laurels of the muse,
His festival to greet.

Rejoicing in the sweet spring-tide,
 The Virgin city smiles
 On well-loved faces of her sons,
 And strangers from the isles.

The streets are thronged, the soft air thrills
 With gladsome murmurs loud,
 As o'er the rock-hewn benches fair
 Surges the mighty crowd.

A moment—e'er the pathos-touch,
 That all may understand,
 A moment—e'er the People's heart,
 Thrill to the Master-hand.

Far o'er the southern sea the sails
 Gleam white beneath the Sun,
 And all the mighty Theatre
 Is as the soul of one.

There thrice unhappy *Cædipus*
 Sits careless as the wind,
 Nor heeds the inexorable Doom,
 That ever steals behind.

Or bound for that far shore, where ne'er
 The light of love hath shone,
 Mourns desolate *Antigone*,
 The Bride of *Acheron*.

Lo ! statue-like *Prometheus* lies,
 Sublime in suffering,
 Or treads the purple toward his doom
Mycenæ's murdered king.

Thus, as we view the *Nemesis*,
 Who tracks the good and great,
 And scan the guilty bosom torn
 By Rage and Grief and Hate,

Right thro' the barriers of the soul,
 The great woe throbs amain,
 And tragic terror thrills the heart,
 With purifying pain.

The thunder-stroke of *Æschylus*
 Might awe the gods—be mine
 The mellow chant of Him who sang
Colonus' glades divine,

The Poet of the nightingale,
Whose tuneful grace outshone
The mightier music of the Bard,
Who fought at Marathon.

And many a plaintive lyric sweet,
The lofty Lord endears
Of subtle word-fence, * and the fount
Of bright pathetic tears.

Who treads the pathway to the tomb,
With star-clear face serene?
Death-conquering Love shall conquer Time,
O fair Thessalian Queen!

All thro' the golden hours the crowd
Gaze beauty-quelled, nor miss
One beat, one cadence, till the sea
Glows with the Sun-god's kiss.

Soon shall the Victress Night renew
Her tranquil reign, and soon,
The clear cut Temple of the Maid
Gleam white beneath the Moon.

But when the glorious day is o'er,
More blest than all to me,
Ilissus, and the crystal flash
Of cool Callirhoe.

Or grouped with white armed girls, to chant
The lofty choral song,
Where murmuring thro' his olive-groves,
Cephissus steals along.

What though Taygetus o'ershade
The smiling vale below,
And fair Eurotas glides, and twice
Laconian roses blow,

For hearts whom Nature charms in vain,
Uncultured slaves and cold,
With them the woman as the man,
The child is as the old.

Ours are the storied mount and wave,
The fane-crowned cliff sublime,
The snowy heights Pentelican,
Hymettus' murmuring thyme.

* Euripides.

And ours the tutelary Rock,
Wherefrom, supremely fair,
O'er sunset-tinted Salamis,
Athene towers in air.

Then, with unswerving brain and hand,
The earnest Sculptor wrought,
And glorious in the marble grew
The Builder's lofty thought.

Oft shall yon pillared vault * resound
With great Athene's praise,
When in glad summer-tide we keep
Her mighty festal days.

O'er Persian masts the music
Rolls, as in days of yore,
The war-cry of our fathers,
From sea to echoing shore.

Oft shall the vast procession
Press up the snow-white road,
Meet for the stately throng, who seek
Her high serene abode.

Athene's massive roof below,
Thro' many an age's stress,
Clear o'er the Doric shafts shall shine
The sculptured loveliness.

Lo ! conquering Pallas' contest gleams
Above the Western stair,
And deathless shapes of beauty breathe
Around us every where.

No vision of the Poet's soul
Was half so fair as these,
Where Art's imperishable flower
Blooms perfect in the frieze.

O'er snowy limbs symmetrical
The light robes flutter free,
The mighty rearing battle-steeds
Chafe as a storm-vexed sea.

* The roof of the Odeum was constructed with the yards and masts of the Persian ships which were captured at Salamis.

But in the Eastern Chamber,
Majestic and august,
Calm broods the Victress Virgin,
In whom the Athenians trust.

From whom thoughts bright and holy,
And beautiful have birth,
Olympian halls are scarce so fair,
As this her shrine on earth.

Lo ! strong with glorious toil severe,
The gallant wrestlers play,
I see them grappling in the sun,
As if 'twere yesterday.

The subtle graces of the feint
I lovingly recall,
The wary glance, the strenuous grip,
The thunder of the fall.

Their brows are knlt, their sinewy limbs
Are lustrous with the oil,
Alcmena's son might thrill to see
Their great heroic toil.

O bridegroom, radiant as the morn,
Strong as the glad sea-tide,
Into the crystal clear moonlight,
Lead forth the happy Bride.

Now is she fresh and coy, as is
A violet of the spring,
But as the vine-wreath round thy brow,
She to thy heart shall cling.

Lo ! with Love's mighty minstrelsy
The festal air is crowned ;
Elysium wanes—with Heaven itself
About us and around.

Lo ! the high gods inexorable
Are loftier than the hours ;
What shall we render to our Dead ?
The white shroud and the flowers.

The tender wailing flutes that pierce
The bright air delicate,
What time the black-robed mourners
Stream thro' the western gate.

O'er sacred Cerameicus,
The blue Athenian sky,
The blue Hymettic marble,
Keep tryst eternally.

But free from toil, and careless
Of Fortune's frowns or smiles,
Our heroes hold high converse
In far off Happy isles.

In myrtle groves they wander,
Beside the murmurous shore,
Whereon the low waves musical
Are lapping evermore.

Thus, amid Poesy and Art,
The keen wit's happy play,
The feast—the dance—the song—so fleet
The golden years away.

For Life beat high and strong, as heaves
The sunlit Ocean-swell,
Bright from the cradle and the toy,
Unto the 'Friend, farowell!' *

But high above the storms of Fate,
Yea, mightier far than these,
And brightening with the brightening years
The Star of Pericles.

Thro' vanished years I see the boy,
Proud memories o'er me roll,
Divine unrest, and eyes that gleamed
With prescience of the goal,

On solitary shores he mused,
In leafy groves apart,
The statues of the heroes thrilled
His glory-haunted heart.

And loftier in the days to be,
A visioned Athens bloomed,
By the great democratic fire
O'er-mastered and illumed.

Swift thro' the pulses of his youth,
His life-blood eddying ran,
In days when Athens led the League,
With Cimon in the van.

* A common inscription on Greek tombstones.

And he struck deep, when calm, and crowned
 With more than Victory's wreath,
 Round their lost Leader's arms the Friends
 Fell fighting to the death. *

Fast o'er Life's visionary stage
 The Phantoms come and go,
 On fatal Coroneia the Chief, †
 The ill-starred Chief, lies low.

And roused Eubœa rising spurned
 The Empress-City's sway,
 And hard upon Eleusis gleamed
 The Spartan war-array.

Well that in those dark days was ours
 A Leader, calm and strong
 Amid the battle-blasts, that swept
 Our sunless sky along.

Nor might the war-waves, rolling dread,
 The State's fair ship o'erwhelm,
 Safe 'mid a thousand reefs she rode,
 For He was at the helm.

Then smiled from thunder-blasts of war
 The bright supreme release,
 Breathed soft and fair thro' golden years,
 The lustre of the Peace.

When Athens' towering glory rose
 Imperial o'er the sea,
 And Art and loftiest song enshrined
 The greatness of the free.

Swift streamed the beauty-freighted hours
 Of that transcendent Past,
 Ne'er may a mighty Empire's calm
 Be scathless from the blast.

Arm, e'er in utter night go down
 Miletus' menaced star!
 Black o'er the Asian sea-board rolls
 The thunder-cloud of war.

At the battle of Tanagra, where Cimon's friends retained his panoply and assigned to it the station in the ranks which he would himself have occupied : they then entered the engagement with desperate resolution and one hundred of them fell side by side in their rank.—*Grote's Greece.*

† Tolmides.

To Samos ! lo, with wind and wave
Our war-ships wrestle free,
The shafts of holy Artemis
Fall fair upon the sea.

Ah ! white shall grow their lips, who spurn
Divine Athenæ's name,
Low shall they lie in dust, who mock
The splendour of her fame.

But off those stubborn leaguered walls,
For nine long months we lay,
E'er, victory brooding o'er our prow,
We hailed Piræus Bay.

And then the silver speech, that throws
The violet of renown
On our dead heroes, to the shades
Thrice gloriously gone down.

She too, whose heart was as a fire,
Whose soul was as a shrine,
White-browed Aspasia, thro' all Time,
From the far Past shall shine.

What marvel that immortal Love
The statesman's soul disarms,
Quelled by the lustre of that glance,
That bosom's snowy charms.

With her he roamed the realms of Thought
Above the maddening glare,
Above the thunderstorms of State,
In Wisdom's happier air.

Still for a space the high gods smiled
On those great days supreme,
Majestic as their sculptors' thought,
Bright as their Poets' dream.

Fair gleamed the Virgin City's crown,
Where conquering storm-winds rave
Shrill o'er the islands, and her arms
Stretched wide upon the wave.

But to portentous fight the fleets
O'er Western Seas rush forth,
Fierce o'er Pallene breaks the storm,
That thunders in the North.

Ever the cursed Corinthian hates
Our loved Athenæ's name,
Ever the Spartan yearns to pluck
The fruitage of her fame.

Now through dark clouds defiant gleamed
The proud Athenian Star,
And brooding o'er the nations hung
The blackness of the War.

Our Attic glades are mute this spring,
No merry rustic shout,
No maiden's laugh melodious
O'er hill and plain rings out.

From the boon Earth in vain this year,
The tender blade escapes,
In vain the olive's silver gleam,
The rare blush of the grapes.

Lo! city-wards the people,
From vale and woodland throng,
And toward the friendly sheltering walls,
Press stormily along.

And now the Spartan war-cry proud,
Came shrilling clear and high,
The blood-red gleam of Spartan war,
Flashed northwards thro' the sky.

Then round our great unshaken Chief,
The tempest howled amain,
I marked him, calm as Phedian Zeus
In Elis' stately fane.

Even as a lofty sea-girt rock,
Unconquered and untorn,
He towered amid the surge of hate,
And scathing bolts of scorn.

High o'er the frenzied crowd he smiled,
Deep-rooted in the Past,
So Sunium's snowy fane defies
The billow and the blast.

Then 'mid the clash of warriors,
Fell in the front the brave,
With Him to throw the deathless crown
Of glory o'er their grave.

The Hero sons of Athens,
 Who died in happiest hour,
 For Her, of earthly States the pearl,
 The world's transcendent flower.

But hark ! The heaven-piercing shrieks,
 The tempest of despair ;
 Exultant Ruin is abroad,
 The Plague-fiend in the air.

Through languid summer hours unloved,
 His viewless pinions beat,
 O'er god-deserted shrines austere,
 And ghastly silent street.

Vain 'gainst the rush of those black wings,
 Our fleetest galley's flight,
 And death-presaging Horror hung
 O'er Athens, day and night.

Pale City, cast the violet crown
 From thy dishonoured brow,
 Not Hades' hapless Queen was half
 So desolate as thou !

Come, Father, statue-white, and wreath
 The well beloved head,
 Come, storm of tears, and break that calm,
 For Paralus is dead.

And now sank glorious to his sleep,
 That sun majestic,
 Yet a few hours, and Death shall chill
 The foremost of us all.

Yet a few hours, and we shall say,
 Lo ! such *was* Pericles,
 Lo ! hastes he to the shades of night,
 As sunset strikes the seas !

Some, e'er Life's eventide, o'er-cloud
 Their bright victorious Past,
 Self-conquered e'er the goal, but He
 Was lofty to the last.

Men say, that when the pall or dread
 Was deepening on his face,
 What time the weeping friends pressed round,
 Keen for the last embrace ;

“ I reckon not of the fame,” he said,
“ My victor-brain hath wrought,
Time conquers all—I praise the gods,
For this thrice glorious thought.
By me hath no Athenian heart
Been ever dashed with gloom,
By me hath no Athenian found
His pathway to the tomb.”
As when some three-banked galley proud,
Victorious from the war,
Comes battling on ’gainst wind and tide,
Where, off the harbour-bar,
Lashed by the keen North-East, the waves
Roar maddening for the strife—
So into Death’s calm port he steers
From the rough sea of life.
But o’er him, as a warrior armed,
Triumphant Death came on,
And blackness hung o’er land and wave,
For Pericles was gone.

C. A. KELLY.

THE QUARTER.

FROM a political point of view, the past quarter has been in India peculiarly uneventful, and public attention has been confined to the dry discussion of dull State papers. The most important of these is the long-expected Report of the Select Committee on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which was submitted without discussion to the meeting of the Legislative Council on March 14th, and published in the *Gazette* on March 29th. The report consists of a detailed statement, chapter by chapter, section by section, of the changes which, in the opinion of the majority of the Select Committee, it is advisable to introduce into the original Bill, accompanied, however, by only very brief and occasional statements of the reasons that have influenced the Committee in recommending these changes. We proceed to indicate briefly the most important of the proposed modifications, without attempting to enter into the innumerable details of this excessively dull document, which can only be read under the combined stimulus of a strong sense of public duty and a full appreciation of the gravity of the issues involved.

First, as regards occupancy-raiyats. The original Bill provided, that when a landlord gets into his own possession land held by a tenant who had acquired occupancy-rights, any new tenant to whom the land may subsequently be let shall have at once a right of occupancy. In other words, when a tenant had once acquired a right of occupancy in land, this occupancy-right became, as it were, inherent in the land, and passed over to any new tenant to whom the land was let without any necessity for a 12 years' occupancy. This provision was introduced with the intention of strengthening occupancy-rights and of doing away, to a large extent, with the continual strife between landlord and tenant, the latter attempting to acquire the right of occupancy, the former doing his utmost, by fair means or foul, to prevent its acquisition. The Select Committee propose, however, to omit this enactment, and to restore the 12 years' rule in its old form, for the reason apparently that the proposed change had naturally provoked the strongest opposition amongst the landlords. A new division has been added to the chapter on "occupancy-raiyats" entitled "restrictions on sub-letting," the object of which is stated to be to "discourage the purchase of the occupancy-right by non-agricultural speculators, and to protect the sublessee of a raiyat." In order to discourage sub-lettings, it is proposed that if an occupancy-raiyat sublets more than half his holding, he shall be punished by becoming, as far as regards his sub-lessees, a tenure-holder, remaining, however, an

occupancy-holder as far as regards his landlord's powers of enhancing his rent. So that his sub-tenants may acquire rights of occupancy against him, whilst he himself will be liable to summary sale for arrears and to the other incidents of tenure-holdings. It is further proposed that a sub-lease shall not be valid for a longer period than seven years. It is objected to these new proposals, that they place no sufficient restriction on sub-letting, attaching no penalty to the multiplication of small holdings, provided they do not exceed half the holding of the lessor, and only a nominal penalty in the latter case. In his minute of dissent published with the Report, the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal, who may be considered as holding a brief for the landlord party, says: "Considering the decidedly advantageous position of the tenure-holder, exempted as he is from the obligations of the occupancy-holder as regards pre-emption and distraint, this will operate as a premium on sub-letting. The provision that the sub-lease shall not be valid for a term exceeding seven years will be no loss to the sub-lessor, for the shorter the lease the greater his gain."

As regards the sale of occupancy-tenures and the landlord's right of pre-emption, no material changes are proposed. The landlord is to have the right of pre-emption either at such price as may be agreed upon between himself and the raiyat, or, in case of such agreement not taking place, at such price as may be fixed by the Civil Court. The new provisions are that the landlord must tender the price within one month from the date on which it is agreed on or fixed by the Court, and also that, if the landlord claims to purchase, the tenant has the option of keeping the land. It is objected that this bears rather hardly upon the landlord, and takes away considerably from the value of the right of pre-emption, as when the tenant has once put the occupancy-right in the market, and the landlord has gone to the expense of obtaining the decision of the Court as to the proper price, it is unfair to allow the tenant the option of subsequently declining to sell.

With reference to the enhancement of the rent of occupancy-raiyats, considerable alterations, tending in the direction of greater definiteness, are proposed. In the case of enhancement by contract, the contract must be registered, and the registering officer, instead of being set the indefinite task of satisfying himself that the contract is "fair and equitable," as in the original Bill, is only required to satisfy himself that it is in accordance with the provisions of the Act, these provisions being—

(1).—The rent must not be enhanced so as to exceed by more than four annas in the rupee (25 per cent.) the rent previously payable by the raiyat.

(2).—The contract must fix the rent for a term of at least seven years.

(3).—If the enhanced rent exceeds by more than two annas in the rupee (12½ per cent.) the previous rent, the contract must fix the rent for a term of at least fifteen years.

In the case of enhancement by suit, the new proposals provide that this can only be instituted on one of the following grounds :—

(a).—That the rate of rent paid by the raiyat is below the prevailing rate payable by occupancy-raiyats for land of a similar description and with similar advantages in the vicinity.

(b).—That there has been a rise in the average prices of staple food-crops in the locality or at the usual markets.

(c).—That the productive powers of the land held by the raiyat have been increased by an improvement effected by, or at the expense of, the landlord.

(d).—That the productive powers of the land held by the raiyat have been increased by fluvial action.

The provision in the original Bill limiting the maximum enhancement to one-fifth of the average annual gross produce has proved unable to withstand the adverse criticism which it excited, and has been abandoned. In its stead it is proposed that an enhancement on the ground (a) as above shall not amount to more than eight annas in the rupee, and an enhancement on either of the grounds (b) and (d) shall not exceed four annas in the rupee. In the case of enhancement on the ground of increased productive powers in the land due to improvements made by the landlord, (c), no hard-and-fast limit is fixed, and merely general directions are laid down for the guidance of the Courts. Although these new proposals regarding enhancement of rents are an undoubted improvement on the original Bill, and constitute perhaps the most important part of the recommendations of the Select Committee, they are open to obvious criticisms from the point of view of either side in this vexed question. No sufficient reason, or no reason at all, is advanced to explain why in some cases the limit of possible enhancement should be 25 per cent., in others 50 per cent., or why, again, in one case no limit at all should be fixed. Nor is any explanation given of the proposal, that where the enhancement does not exceed two annas in the rupee, the contract must fix the rent for a term of at least seven years; but where it lies between two annas and four annas in the rupee, the contract must fix the rent for at least 15 years. The reasons for these elaborately devised differences are not even hinted at. Granting the desirability of a limit, why not adopt a uniform limit in all cases? On the other hand, we may quote from the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal's minute, to indicate an objection obviously logical from the other side :

It is observable that where the enhancement is sought on the ground of the present rent being below the "prevailing rate," common sense

suggests that the rent should be raised to the limit of the "prevailing rate"—it is not clear why a maximum limit of fifty per cent. should be fixed in such a case. Again, where the enhancement is sought on the ground of rise in prices, and the increase is to be given according to the rule of proportion, it is not equitable that there should be again a maximum limit of twenty-five per cent.

It is to be regretted that the Select Committee has published its decisions without publishing its reasons, as a great deal of the public discussion to which the Report will be subjected during the next year must perforce be a mere "beating of the air" until the elaborate differentiation in some of its proposals is explained, as it will no doubt be at the first meeting of the Legislative Council in Calcutta in November next.

Passing on to the "ordinary raiyat," that is, the raiyat without a right of occupancy, the first change to which he is subjected is re-christening. He is in future to be called the "non-occupancy raiyat," to distinguish him from his more favoured friend with occupancy rights. And in the distribution of favours by a kindly disposed Government, he is not to go altogether empty-handed. In the former Bill, it was enacted that, in case of the ejectment of such a non-occupancy raiyat for refusal to pay an enhanced rent, the ejected tenant should receive compensation in the shape of a money payment of ten times the amount of the proposed enhancement. This was intended as a precaution against the arbitrary exercise of the landlord's right of ejectment. In place of this it is proposed to enact that, in case of such a dispute about enhancement of rent between a landlord and his non-occupancy tenant, a "fair and equitable" rent shall be fixed by the Court, and the raiyat shall have the option of holding on at that rent for five years, during which he may of course complete the 12 years' tenure which gives him a permanent occupancy-right. This extraordinary provision seems framed with the intention of meting out very hard measure, indeed, to an erring landlord. If the Court considers that the enhancement of rent demanded by the landlord is ever so little above what is "fair and equitable," the landlord is to be punished for his error, which after all might be venial, by his tenant being presented with provisional rights of occupancy for five years with the chance of their becoming permanent. Punish the landlord by all means for having committed so heinous a crime as the over-estimating by ever so little what was due to him, but let his punishment be "fair and equitable." By all means reward the public spirit displayed by the raiyat in bravely refusing to comply with his landlord's demands, but the reward of being made practically an occupancy-raiyat for five years may reasonably be considered somewhat out of proportion with the merits

of the case. There is some force in the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal's remarks on this head—

But the substitution of the judicial lease for five years involves a great injustice to the landlord, who is tied hand and foot by the Court in a matter in which he has always enjoyed perfect independence of action. The raiyat in whose favour the judicial lease is ordered may be most obstreperous and turbulent, may by his bad advice be tainting the whole flock around him, and may thus prove most mischievous, not to say that the landlord, if he settles the land with another raiyat, may get better rent and perhaps better security for payment of rent. But the judicial lease will give him no such option or advantage. I cannot help thinking that the provisions relating to non-occupancy raiyats, involve a further invasion of the proprietary rights of the landlord, and that in favour of a class of tenants who are not attached to the soil, and have, therefore, no manner of moral claim upon the consideration of the landlord.

This is another point on which the Select Committee would have done well to publish their reasons as well as their decision : the decision without the reasons is incomprehensible, and can only have the regrettable result of strengthening the conviction of the landlords, that the aim of the proposed legislation is simply to rob them ultimately of all their rights and privileges, a conviction which prevents the possibility of a durable settlement. With reference to distraint, no material alterations are made in the original Bill, so that the sharp, prompt, and effective means of realising his rent which previously was the landlord's *dernier ressort* is taken from him, and distraint becomes a mere process of Court.

The Report concludes with a statement of various difficulties on which the Committee wish to receive the advice of the Local Government and of the High Court, and recommends that the Bill, as now amended, should be re-published, which has since been done.

The Report is accompanied by dissenting minutes from Baboo Kristo Das Pal, Messrs. Gibbon and Reynolds, and the Maharajah of Durbhunga. The nature of these dissents may be briefly summarised by stating that Kristo Das Pal, Mr. Gibbon and the Maharajah, representing the zemindari interest, are opposed to every enactment of the new Bill equally with every enactment of the old, whilst Mr. Reynolds considers that in some of the proposed changes the interests of the tenants have not been sufficiently protected. The most weighty of these dissents is that of the able Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, from which we have quoted several passages above. From the opening paragraph in which he complains that no witnesses were examined, it is clear that he is of opinion that the Committee have evolved their Report out of their inner consciousness without any reference to external facts, following the famous German method of arriving,

at a knowledge of the camel, and with a result of equal practical value. But his criticisms and objections, as also those of Mr. Gibbon and the Maharaja of Durbhunga, fail of their effect, because so obviously inspired by an uncompromising hostility to this Bill, or to any other Bill having the same objects. No legislation being required in this direction, the present state of things being so delightful and so near an approach to millennial perfection, every proposed change must be radically bad and must be opposed tooth-and-nail. This obvious spirit gives an air of unreality to these minutes, and throws suspicion upon the genuineness of the arguments advanced even where these seem forcible and convincing.

The publication of this Report has been followed by a letter from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, calling attention to those particular points on which the Select Committee desire the further advice of the Local Government, and indicating certain of the alterations recommended by the Committee on which the Supreme Government would be glad to know the views of the Bengal Government, and of those amongst its officers whom it deems it expedient to consult. The principal alterations are referred to in detail, and although it is clear that most of them are approved, there are others about which considerable hesitation is expressed. For example, the recommendation that occupancy-raiyats who sub-let more than half their holdings should be converted into tenure-holders is referred to as "the most doubtful feature of the scheme," and the special attention of the Bengal Government is invited to it, with reference to the expediency of giving the privileges of freedom from pre-emption and distraint, which a tenure-holder enjoys, to a sub-letting tenant as a means to discourage sub-letting. It is perhaps a little startling to find the enquiry soberly made whether a tenant will be discouraged in a certain course by conferring upon him privileges for adopting it! The Government of India, moreover, states that it accepts the curious recommendation to give the non-occupancy raiyat, when enhancement is demanded, a five years' lease at a judicial rent, as a substitute for compensation for disturbance in the original Bill, and does not even invite an expression of opinion from the Local Government on this point. As regards distraint, the Supreme Government approves, on the whole, of taking it out of the zemindars' hands and making it a process of Court, but invites an opinion as to whether there is any foundation for the objection so strongly made, that the delay caused by an application to Court will practically render distraint futile. A reply to this letter is requested before the end of August. The High Court has

also been asked to furnish the Select Committee with its opinion on these points on which a reference to the judges was desired.

This communication from the Supreme Government has led to the issue of a circular letter from the Government of Bengal to all Commissioners of Divisions directing them to institute enquiries and collect opinions on the points raised. In this, the Commissioners are instructed to hold a conference of Collectors and other officers to discuss the questions at issue :

"When the matters on which further enquiry is needed shall have been duly investigated, and when your District Officers, having taken such advice as may be necessary, or may be tendered by persons interested in the measure, shall have formed their conclusions on the matters referred for their opinion, then it is the Lieutenant-Governor's wish that you should hold a conference of all your Collectors and such other officers as you may desire to consult, that you should thoroughly discuss the matters referred to you in personal communication with them, and draw up a report embodying the general opinion of the conference."

We shall thus shortly be in possession of another voluminous set of opinions of local officers and Government Secretaries on the points raised in the Report of the Select Committee, and another vigorous flogging of the dead horse will take place during the coming autumn. In the face of these innumerable Reports, Commissions, Committees, draft Bills, opinions of selected and other officials, and so on, it is difficult to understand the oft-repeated assertion of the landlords, that the measure is being forced through without any sufficient enquiry, unless, as is probably the case, their contention is that these numberless enquiries all proceed on a radically wrong principle which totally fails to bring out the truth. In this connection we may notice that the proposal for a peripatetic Commission to travel over the country, district by district, and collect evidence on the spot, is again being revived. But surely no Bill was ever passed through the Legislature with such innumerable preliminary enquiries of all sorts, nor with such an appallingly voluminous body of evidence and opinions to guide our legislators. The proposal to appoint another roving Commission can only originate in the hope that, by the time its Report is completed, a change of rulers may have saved the zemindars from the danger which threatens them. We may remark that the meetings against the Tenancy Bill have ceased since the publication of the Report of the Select Committee, probably for the reason that the leaders of the agitation are taking time to grasp the meaning of the changes proposed so as to be in a position to direct it along the proper lines. However, this lull in the storm is apparently at an end, as we see a meeting of zemindars is to take place immediately at Bankipore to protest against the recommendations of the Select Committee. The agitation

under a temporary lull here, is increasing in force at home. Taking advantage of the interest in India which the violent controversy on the Ilbert Bill has excited, retired Indian officials and miscellaneous philanthropists and politicians "of sorts" are seizing the opportunity to instruct and interest the British public in the rights of the zemindars, or the wrongs of the "down-trodden millions of India." The Indian raiyat has become the recipient of the floods of weak sentiment and hysterical pity for which no other fitting object is at present before the public, and has been erected into a political "personage:" whilst the threatened Zemindar has been taken under the protection of those who are always on the look-out for some attacked interest to defend, and upon whom the word "confiscation" has the same effect as a red rag upon a bull. Papers are being read, lectures delivered, resolutions passed, fiery letters written, and the retired Anglo-Indian has an unlooked-for opportunity of regaining in the popular estimation at home some of that importance which he generally leaves behind him when he enters the Mediterranean on his way home. In Parliament, too, awkward questions are being asked, petitions presented, and notices of motion given, just as if the future of the land laws of Bengal were of as much importance as the extension of the franchise or the effects of short service.

A prolonged correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, relating to the Church establishment in India, has been published during the quarter, and has served as an explanation of the report circulated at the beginning of the year to the effect that the question of disestablishing the Church was being actively taken up by the Viceroy. It has also served as an interesting illustration of the political art of discovering a grievance. The correspondence shows that the Viceroy and his Council have been exceedingly reluctant to open the question, and have only done so in obedience to continuous and almost angry pressure from the Secretary of State. The original instigator of the enquiry was that meddlesome individual, Mr. Baxter, who came out here some years ago in quest of grievances the diligent harping upon which might enhance his Parliamentary standing, and returned home determined to carry war into the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Empire. Instigated by him and by the ordinary desire of politicians to earn a cheap reputation by bringing into the light of day a hitherto unsuspected wrong, the Secretary of State first enquired, with an obvious motive, whether it was not a fact that chaplains were not frequently appointed to stations where they were not required. Receiving to this suggestive question an emphatic and conclusive reply

in the negative, his Lordship then, explaining, almost in so many words, that in order to please the Non-conformist supporters of the Ministry, it was necessary to ask such questions, proceeded to enquire "whether the number of chaplains went beyond the obligations of Government as reasonably understood." After considerable pressure, the Secretary of State succeeded in getting an answer to this question. Or rather three answers, for there was no unanimity, and the Viceregal Council was divided into three sections, the opinions of each of which were forwarded to the Secretary of State. First, there was the view of the Governor-General himself, Sir Evelyn Baring and Mr. Ilbert, which was forwarded as the opinion of the "Governor-General in Council," although only held by a minority of the Viceregal Council. This view virtually answered the Secretary of State's enquiry in the affirmative, by declaring that State-aid should be confined to providing chaplains for soldiers and their families and the servants of State Railways: and that the establishment should be reduced to what was necessary for this purpose by refraining from filling up vacancies as they occurred. The next opinion was that of the Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Gibbs, General Wilson, and Sir Steuart Bayley, recorded in a minute of dissent. In their view, the number of chaplains did not exceed what was in accordance with the obligations of Government, which extended not only to British soldiers, but also to all other Christian servants of Government. The third opinion was that of Mr. Hope, also expressed in a minute of dissent, who not only held that the number of chaplains was not in excess of the just obligations of Government, but considerably in defect, as in his opinion not only were Government bound to make adequate provision for British soldiers and all Christian servants of Government, but also to a limited extent to aid the European and Eurasian non-official community in obtaining religious ministrations. One cannot but sympathise with the irritation of the Secretary of State, thus baffled completely in his praiseworthy but Quixotic attempt to discover a grievance, an irritation which found vent in his sharply pointing out that the opinion put forth as that of the "Governor-General in Council" is only that of the Viceroy and two members of the Council. His Lordship is not yet, however, completely baffled, as he has asked that the matter be re-considered and referred to the Governments of Madras and Bombay. Obviously Earl Kimberly has determined to do something, and is enraged at finding the Viceroy's Council less ready to take a hint than he had expected.

The question of raising the age of candidates for the Civil

Service has been kept prominently before the public during the quarter, and is giving rise to an organised agitation amongst the advanced section of the native community. The results of the enquiries instituted by the Secretary of State, at the instigation of the Bombay Government, into the alleged deterioration in the physique of the Civil Service, have been published, and do not conclusively show that the new class of civilians are physically equal to the old. The opinion of all those who are, or have been, engaged in preparing candidates for the service, is unanimously against the lowering of the age, whilst as the new rule acts as an almost complete prohibition against natives entering the Civil Service by competition, it can scarcely be expected that the native communities should submit to it quietly. The bitterness of native feeling on the point has been largely stimulated by the unearthing of a despatch of Lord Lytton's which has resulted from a remark of Lord Kimberley's to the deputation that waited upon him on this subject. From this it undoubtedly appears that, when the Statutory Civil Service was instituted for natives, it was desired by the authorities of the time, Lord Lytton included, to close the competitive service against them, and that, if the proposal to lower the age of candidates for the competitive service was not directly made for that purpose, this was at least one of the reasons that led to that proposal being approved. In the face of the published despatch, the authenticity of which has not been denied, it is difficult to understand Lord Lytton's denial that there was any truth in the statement imputed to Lord Kimberley. The Statutory Civil Service has proved so unsatisfactory from every point of view, that its doom is probably sealed, and now that the motive of the lowering of the age of candidates for the competitive service has been so unexpectedly revealed, we cannot greatly blame our native friends for doing their utmost to open again the door of entrance by competition into the Service by getting the age raised to the old, or an even higher, limit.

Considerable interest is naturally being taken in India in the reports of the examination of witnesses before the Parliamentary Committee now sitting in London "to enquire into and report upon the necessity for more rapid extension of railway communication in India, and the means by which this object may be best accomplished, with special reference to the report of the Famine Commissioners, and with due regard to the financial condition of India." This Committee commenced its sittings on the 12th March, when Mr. Baxter was elected Chairman. The first witnesses examined were Sir John Strachey and Sir James Caird, with reference to the recommendations of the Famine

Commission: then commercial evidence was taken from witnesses representing various mercantile interests: and finally will come the evidence of the special representatives sent home by the Indian Government, Major Conway-Gordon, Mr. J. Westland, and lastly Dr. Hunter. The evidence so far, which is published in full in the Indian papers on the arrival of each mail, has been unanimously in favour of a comprehensive and systematic extension of the present railway system, although some witnesses, as, for example, Sir J. Caird, consider the proposals of the Government of India as going a little too far, whilst all unite in repudiating the demands of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce as absurd. As regards the agency by which this is to be affected, the general opinion is in favour of constructing and working the lines by companies with Government guarantees, Government however retaining in its own hands sufficient control to prevent the lines from being worked against the interests of the country, and making arrangements for ultimately becoming sole owner of all. All the witnesses in a position to speak with authority on the state of the money market are of opinion that there would be no difficulty whatever in raising annual loans to the amount of £10,000,000 in London, although several suggest that part of this might be raised in India. As to gauge, the general opinion is that all the trunk lines should be on the broad gauge, the metre-gauge being only used in isolated sections of the country where the lines would form a system by themselves, such as Kattywar or British Burmah, or on small feeding lines. Only one friend of the metre-gauge has given evidence, Mr. Martin Wood, who apparently would exactly reverse this policy, being of opinion that the lines through the north and west of India should be uniformly metre-gauge, on the ground that it had been conclusively demonstrated that the large saving effected on the metre-gauge system more than compensated for all its defects. On the whole, the evidence so far has been encouraging to those who hope that a result of these enquiries will be to do away with the obstructive influence hitherto exerted by the India Council on railway enterprise, and to show conclusively that the present railway systems may be immensely extended without any undue burden on the Exchequer or conspicuous danger to the public credit, and that such extension, besides forming a permanent security against famine and an immense benefit in times of war, must have an almost infinite effect in the development of Indian trade and industries, and in opening up remote parts of the country to progressive influences.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CLVIII.

ART. I.—THE PROLETARIATE MODERN.

No. I.

IN the earliest census of the Roman people, the same that is traditionally attributed to Servius Tullius, the sixth and lowest class, was the *Centuria proletaria*, so-called because the only definable service that it rendered to the State was to increase the numbers by rearing *proles*—offspring. This class, originally small, increased, and continued to increase as the lands of Latium became agglomerated into large estates—the *latifundia* of Pliny—a process whereby the population of the districts became herded within the city walls, while what had once been the farms of humble but manly yeomen, were converted into vast areas, tilled by unwilling slaves for the profit of an absentee and despotic master. The urban throng fell into two classes, as described by Tacitus, who says (in what historians have characterised as “a precious passage.”)—

“Clients and freedmen of nobles that had been condemned to death or exiled, formed the solid portion of the people, and that linked to the great houses. But a vile mob, and one wedded to the public entertainments of the theatre and the amphitheatre, was made up of the lowest slaves and of those ruined men whose maintenance was the disgrace of Cæsar.”

This latter was the *fax Romuli*; the mob of *mendicæ, mimæ balationes*; reinforced by the slaves of the farms and the urban pimps and buffoons, and orientals of foul life; whose home was the *Therma*, or public bathing-house, and their subsistence a constant and general system of outdoor relief. Venerating the crapulous tyrants who fed them and gave them bloody spectacles, yet too effeminate to strike a blow in their defence

against the mutinous legionaries, the members of the Roman proletariat sank into a casual and unorganised army of *lazzaroni*.

"The wealth of millions of subjects was lavished on these mendicant masters. * * * This extravagance was retained without relaxation throughout Nero's reign: had he paused in it for a moment the days of his power would have been few." So says Merivale of one period when this element was more than commonly powerful; and he adds still more significantly;—that "*the Emperor and his people united together; and the division of the prey was made, apparently, to the satisfaction of both equally.*" * * * The clients of the condemned nobles were kept effectually in check by this hungry crowd, yelling over every carcass with the prospect of a feast." Absolute power establishing itself by sacrificing culture to the concupiscence of the multitude.

It is well to recall to mind such a condition of affairs at the present day, when in various countries, large numbers of persons, without fixed remunerative labour, scorning alike the moderate wages open to them in civil industry and the honourable profession of arms, throng the great cities, occupying the position and even assuming the name of this most pernicious body. Political reform is achieved from time to time with great and growing benefit; but it is *non tali auxilio*; in all progressive societies one class after another rises to demand a share of power, an extension of privilege; and sometimes these claims are not made good without violence. But the text and justification of such movements is their *ultimate success*. The enfranchised classes join in the organisation of civil life; prosperity is diffused; the levels of achievement become easier, if not lower; peace returns.

Such results do not mark the blind, almost purposeless revolts of brute force. Instead of the storm of rain or the flood of the swollen river, followed by a re-distribution of land-marks with enhanced fertility, these risings resemble the eruption of some long-dormant volcano under whose fiery dominion fields and gardens are turned into stony deserts, and the domestic and public monuments of man lie buried for ages under an abomination of desolation.

The substratum of modern society may, at first sight, seem to be made of other materials. Nevertheless the two elements co-exist there as in the old Empire, however, changes in manners may have co-operated to disguise the resemblance. That is, in place of the clients and freedmen of great houses, we have now the minor *bourgeoisie*—retail traders and skilled urban artisans—and this, though often the subject of sneering and

disparagement, is a conservative, progressive force of the highest value. In place of the *Capite-censi*, the class formerly supported by the State and for ever demanding its *panem et circenses*, we have underlying the minor *bourgeoisie* a social peril of our own, a mass of poor, precariously supported and roughly amassed, together with a still more helpless mass of utter paupers (nearly 30 per thousand in England, as it is said). In both cases the advantage is slightly in favour of modern life, but there is evidently large room for improvement before society can be really safe.

Nevertheless we may admit that there has been some progress ; more knowledge better police, a purer air of popular feeling. The origin of this improvement must be sought in a study of the History of Modern Europe, from a social standpoint, and it is very much to be desired that some one, possessing the necessary leisure and the necessary qualifications, should some day undertake and complete the task of painting that vast panorama.

In the meanwhile it may be permitted to a humbler student to invite attention to the woes that menace civilisation in modern Europe from the ill-informed attempts of the successors of "the sixth-class" to relieve their misery by struggles of Eucledas ; movements of a helpless Titan, stirring in the subterranean darkness and beneath a superincumbent mountain. The Roman Empire was not indeed finally overthrown by such upheavals. Its degraded proletariats after preliminary orgies of crime ultimately sank lower and lower, to become even more miserable and more helpless. That ancient organisation owed its final fall to the incursions of barbarians from without. But modern Europe has its barbarians too : the difference being, that, instead of having their appetites appealed to by rumours of distant riches awaiting attack, the wants and passions of the modern enemy are kindled by the more immediate temptation of prosperity that they behold daily ; whose resources they do not understand, though they hope to master their defences.

I.

The great but usually inert force of the uninstructed is sometimes set in motion by agitators who by no means share the ignorance of their followers. No doubt the more successful movements of the more enlightened classes are also incited by leaders who have recourse to the machinery of agitation. In the case which forms the particularly most notorious type, it would seem that the peasants of the Isle de France rose without either leaders or programme. If so, it is an additional reason for their utter failure to do anything but inflict great immediate

suffering and retard the progress of their own cause. In the succeeding generation a far more definite and reasonable insurrection, that of the Kentish malcontents under Wat Tyler and John Ball failed for a like reason. Pretending to the countenance of John o'Gaunt, these poor people had in reality no influential guides or patrons; so that when Tyler had been treacherously slain and Ball executed, the king was able—with the concurrence of Parliament—to annul with impunity the promises that he had made in the short hour of their success. The fact is not important: we can be sure that demagogues will not be too closely criticised if their object has been rational *and has been gained*. The evil is when a mass of hereditary bondsmen, without definite plan or competent leader, prompted by the lower appetites, make havoc of a civilisation that it cannot comprehend, in pursuit of gratifications which it has not the means of realising. The educated *plebs* obtain its ends because it is educated; no amount of skilled agitation will make the efforts of the ignorant insurrection anything but a horror and a chaos.

The history of modern Europe is supposed to begin with the mighty and manifold march of mind that ensued upon the fall of the Byzantine Empire in the middle of the fifteenth century. But, in truth, it had begun more than one hundred years earlier. Chaucer, Dante, Wyclif, are modern. Modern history, in fact, began as soon as the germs of urban life, of organised trade, of self-government, and of a middle-class, came into existence. To the dark ages belong the robber-barron exercising despotic power round and in his castle, the feudal levy, the tortured Hebrew money-dealer, the thrall wearing the collar of slavery like a brute-beast. To modern history we should assign such symptoms as mercantile and operative guilds, freehold and copyhold tenures, grammar schools, Vernacular literature, and paid bodies of professional soldiery.

Contemporaneous, however, with the dawn of such institutions was a mass of miserable toilers, rather in the country, it may be, than in towns; *tailléables et corvéables à merci*, as the phrase went; of whom it is wonderful that their lives were thought worth preserving even by themselves. A very brief retrospect will serve to show how this state of things had come about. Ancient Gaul had become completely Romanised from the time of Augustus. The land was either held in *latifundia* originating in benefices bestowed on men of influence who leased it out to clients and followers, or the tenure known as *emphyteusis*; or it belonged to village communities of the old Aryan type or to other corporations. Then came the Frankish invasion, most dominant in the East and North, under which it may be

surmised that the lands formerly held in the various forms of corporate tenure were maintained—so far as was possible—in the shape known to the conquerors as *allod*. But the rule of *væ victis* would be too tempting wherever native Romanised chiefs were subdued, and the models presented by the existing Roman tenures, being adopted by the new occupants would naturally grow into the *feudal system*. By virtue of this the larger properties once wrested from their native holders continued indivisible; and, as in the older Latin territories, cultivation by a servile class, would be the only possible form of agriculture. Meanwhile the allodial lands being constantly subject to partition, would be in the hands of an ever-weakening class which would gradually tend to the condition of villenage. Thus at the end of the thirteenth century, when the power of the kings was becoming consolidated, there was—especially in the Northern portions of the country now known as France—a state of hostility between the Teutonic feudal aristocracy and the Celtic peasantry nursing traditional claims to the land and yearning for emancipation. Unhappily we have, in the present state of a portion of the United Kingdom, a living example of this, for what is at the bottom of the sad irreconcilability of Ireland if it be not the product of this undying Celtic craving opposed to the haughty resistance of Teutonic feudalism?

Upon these fragile social arrangements of Mediæval France broke the storm of English invasion. Beaten down at Cressy and Poitiers, and with their chiefs held to ransom by the business-like islanders, the French aristocracy were in evil case, and had forfeited the confidence of the country.

Their prestige must have been greatly lowered by their utter failure to encounter successfully the numerically inferior armies of the English. At Cressy there were according to Froissart, 40,000 English troops opposed to a force of 100,000 French. Mainly owing to the steadiness and good shooting of the British archers the battle was gained, 30,000 French men being slain, including the flower of their chivalry, and the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. At Poitiers the French king himself was defeated at the head of an army of 60,000 men by a body of not more than 14,000 English and Gascons. On that occasion, too, the knights were overthrown by infantry, and the king would have been either killed or taken by soldiers of that class if he had not handed his sword* to an officer of comparatively humble rank who had deserted from the service of his country. These

* More strictly, his gauntlet. See the picturesque passage in Froissart, who says that the king, on learning that Marbecque was a knight, "lui boilla son destre gant."

democratic successes not only exposed the French nobility to the contempt of their unprivileged fellow-countrymen, but they held before the latter a standard of social self-assertion in a neighbouring nation. Of this, indeed, Prosper Mérimée made signal use, in his feudal drama on the subject, when (with great propriety) he introduced the English Archer, Brown, moving about among the French peasantry during a subsequent truce and dilating to them upon the comparative freedom of the yeomanry of his own country.*

As for the system of ransom, it must have been ruin to the people on whom it ultimately fell. In barbarous times, when the soldier received little regular pay, he lived by booty in which were included not only the chattels of the vanquished but their persons also. As manners softened and chivalry became a sort of masonic bond, it was at once recommended by covetousness and by courtesy that the lives of presumably solvent captives should be spared on condition of money-payment. Indeed, even where the ransom was never paid, the life of the prisoner—if of gentle blood—was still sacred. The ransom demanded for king John of France after his capture at Poitiers was so enormous (500,000), that it could never be realised; his ruined subjects were unable or unwilling to raise the money to buy back their king; and he died a prisoner-of-war in England. But the minor knights, held to ransom by individual captors, were assessed in a more reasonable spirit; and hundreds—perhaps thousands—of them were redeemed by their friends, who extorted the money from vassals and villeins on their estates or in their following.

These explanations will suffice to show how greatly the decay of the feudal omnipotence must have been accelerated under the first kings of the Valois dynasty. When the peasantry, always clinging to their allodial claims, saw that their usurping lords were powerless to protect the country and were draining it of its last resources to save themselves from the results of their own imbecility, it cannot be doubted but that democratic ideas received a formidable impulse, though the result showed that they were not ripe for realisation.

The efforts of two individuals were co-operating. Charles the bad, king of Navarre, in virtue of his descent from Louis X had a claim, of the same sort as that of the English king, to the throne of France and was intermeddling and intriguing in the

* For an instructive sketch of the state and progress of the English Proletariate at this period, see Sir E. Creasy's *History of England*, Vol. 11., Chap. IV. The independence of the Saxon nature was a cause of the difference which must not be forgotten.

north of that country. Short of stature, and not distinguished by prowess as a soldier, this remarkable man was a sort of modern statesman displaced in the middle ages, who attempted to do by the brain and tongue what some of his contemporaries were doing with coarser instruments. The part that he aspired to play has been since repeated under the Bourbons and Bonapartes. *

But in another section of society also a forerunner was appearing. This was Etienne Marcel, Provost of the merchants of Paris. That city—even then large and turbulent, was rather peculiarly constituted mainly by reason of its peculiar situation. Instead of lying, like London, on one bank of a great tidal river—which brought to her city-gates ships laden with the produce of all countries—and so tending ever towards unity, Paris was divided into two towns by a stream which, if small, was not easily barred. On the left bank were the University and its “nations” of students, on the right the guilds of trade and manufacture, in the centre the Isle of the Seine with its church and its courts. Living apart, the burgesses and operatives formed a strong body in sharp antagonism to the residue of the inhabitants. †

Some remarks on the manner in which opinion in the rural *communes* were affected by this, will be found in Thierry (I. 43. f. f.) ‡

Already, a year before the battle of Poitiers, the States-General had protested against the further extension of taxation. Then, when the king was taken prisoner, when Charles of Navarre was plotting, when the Captal de Busch and other military leaders of more might than principle, were threatening the frontiers or plundering the interior of the country, § the feeble regency of the Dauphin was driven to the old expedient of adulterating the currency in order to provide funds for carrying on the very semblance of a government. This not sufficing, the States were once more convened.

II.

It is here necessary to say a few words as to the origin of the States-General and the rise of the *bourgeoisie*, or third estate in French towns.

* An interesting report of this royal intriguer's speech of the 9th November 1357 is given by the continuer of Guillamen de Naugis.

† See the poetical description of Michelet; Livre VI, Chap. III.

‡ My citations are from the *English Version* by Bosworth, London, 1855.

§ See the frightful facts related by Michelet (*ubi sup.*) on the testimony of Froissart (who sees no harm in it) and other contemporary authorities.

The Council of the tribe—an ancient Aryan institution of which there are traces in the *Rig Veda*—was transmuted under the early feudal monarchies into an elective council of the nation when the amalgamation of tribes, under a common government had rendered the community too numerous to attend in person. So far as France was concerned, at least, the national council was originally formed of the nobility and clergy—or their deputies—these being, in the earlier period of the Turkish conquest, the only governing or emancipated classes. But, here as elsewhere, the necessities of Government involved an expansion of the franchise. When Philip the Handsome, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, quarrelled with the Pope, he conceived the idea of appealing to all the French nation for support. Hence arose royal messages in which political equality was declared in the plainest and most absolute terms (see the extracts *ap. Thierry* ; *Tiers Etat*, Vol. 1, p. 53 f. f.) But this principle was never carried out to its full logical extent, and the political enfranchisement did not go beyond the towns ; the rural *communes* remaining unrepresented. The feudal system always recognised the right of all members of the feudal hierarchy to a voice in the grant of subsidies and the imposition of the consequent taxation. The chartered towns entered that hierarchy at the period under notice, but the privilege was not extended to the rural *communes* ; and the servile population of which they consisted, which (in France at least) continued subject to the lord of the manor.*

And, now that the national calamities and the inability of the king and his *noblesse* to prevent or avenge them had alarmed the intelligence of the *bourgeoisie*, the members of that class began to assert that preponderance which they never after entirely lost, although it did not occur to them to seek constitutional and abiding alliance with the peasantry. The latter consequently became in truth what the newspapers have been since called, a "fourth estate," recognisable only when it spoke in tongues of fire and with armed hand.

The States-General of 1355, of which mention has already been made, commenced work with much vigour. The resolutions of that assembly received the royal assent, and formed the basis of an exceedingly liberal constitution almost as much so as that established by its more fortunate successor of 1789 (V ordinance of 28th December 1355, *ap. Thierry ab. suf.* 64.) In the following year came the disaster of Poitiers, and the

* It has been pointed out by Maine that the English fiefs being all held from the Crown greatly facilitated the relaxation of feudality in this country.

complete discrediting of the nobles of France. The Dauphin, as Regent, convened a fresh assembly; 800 deputies, of whom a full half were of the Commons. They met at Paris, and recorded a very full assertion of national sovereignty. But the movement was premature. The deputies of the nobles retired annoyed at the preponderance of the Commons; and their retirement was followed by that of the deputies of the clergy. The remaining deputies, despairing, without light or leading, and desirous of leisure to attend to their own affairs, left the business of State in the hands of the metropolitan members. It was then that Marcel, Mayor (as we should say in England) of the city of Paris, took the position due to the opportunity and to his extraordinary abilities.

"This écheoin of the fourteenth century," says Thierry, "by a remarkable anticipation, designed and attempted things which seem to belong only to recent revolutions. Social unity and administrative uniformity; political, co-extensive with civil rights: the principal of authority transferred from the Crown to the nation; the States-General changed, under the influence of the third order, into a national representative body; * * * circumstances like those of our own century." Among minor features of this kind there is here only space to add the assertion of "*la volonté du peuple*" (*Chronique de S. Denis*, VI., pp. 88, 89, *ap.* Thierry), distinctive colours (red and blue, these, united to the old white of the Royal army, have become the famous Tricolor) to be worn by all friends of the Revolution; and overtures to a Liberal (or supposed Liberal) member of the blood-royal: "*Iverunt ad rigem Navarræ*" (Charles the Bad), "*qui autea per cos tanquam capitanes vocatus fuerat * * * ut tandem, cum ipse rex ad sceptrum regale et regnum Franca ascenderet et regnaret; nam dictus rex ad hoc totis viribus anhélabat . . .*" (*C-de 'Naugis*, *ap.* Thierry *). It would be impossible to imagine a more complete anticipation of the situation at the end of the reign of Charles X.

Such was what the historian justly calls this "premature attempt at hastening the grand designs of Providence and the mirror of the bloody changes through which those designs were destined to advance to their accomplishment." For the schemes of Marcel, premature as they may have been, were otherwise rational and capable of realisation.

* "They went to the king of Navarre, who had formerly been called by them as their Captain . . . in order that ultimately, when he should obtain the kingly state and power, a thing to which he aspired with all his might," &c.

They took root in the blood of the *bourgeoisie*; and their ultimate establishment, consciously and deliberately pursued through five centuries, has given to the populations of French towns, and notably to that of Paris, that intelligent paramountship which they now enjoy.

Widely different have been the fortunes of the peasantry. Unrepresented, ignorant without clear views of what they want or how to help themselves, they have continued ever since in much the same case (*mutatis mutandis*) as then. Though the constant and finally successful efforts of the townsmen have removed their chains, they are still apathetic, submissive to whatever government may chance to exist, or only roused, at rare intervals, to blind and furious fits of violence which subside to leave them as helpless as ever, buried in the wreck and ruin of their own eruption. So late as 1565 a pamphleteer writing against the Genises, could cite the name of Marcel, as one of those the bearers of which would never endure the rule of the stranger, "be he Italian, English, Scot, or of Lorraine," but no leader of the peasantry has left "a name at which the world grew pale;" no patriot memories ennoble the story of "Jacques Bonhomme;" when the fair land of France was trampled under the feet of foreign invaders a few years ago, there was still no serviceable echo from the fields, to the brave voices sounding from Paris, Tours, or Bordeaux. It was asserted by M. Taine not much more than ten years ago, that nearly 57 per cent. of the French peasantry were unable to read or write. Whatever progress may have taken place since, it will obviously be some time before this frugal and industrious class becomes alive to its own true interests or to the means by which alone those interests are to be secured.

Let us now glance lightly at the first struggles of this strange and terrible (because blind) political force.

III.

In the tract formerly known as the Isle of France, one of the most important tracts was that of which Beauvais was the chief town. In ancient Gaul the region was known as a settlement of the Belgæ, and was called (perhaps from a tribe of that race) the country of the Bellovaci, a name shortened in the middle ages to Belvacum, and afterwards modernised into Beauvoisis. The towns, which is only thirteen leagues to the north of Paris, was old even at the time of which we are taking note: it lies in the valley of the Thérain (a tributary of the Oise), and is girt about by wooded hills. All round there were seats of the Seigneurs descended from the Frank invaders, and the town itself was the see of a Bishop and the site of an established municipality which sympathised

with its powerful neighbour the commune of Paris. Suddenly when the Dauphin had gone to Compiègne with the States-General and Marcel was preparing in Paris to hand over the government to the King of Navarre, while the good burgesses of Beauvais, were doubtless, pursuing their views of political reform with the deliberation that characterises their class, in the first week of April 1358, the tocsin sounded and reports were heard of simultaneous assemblages of an alarming kind in many of the adjacent manors. In the language of a contemporary ; — " Certain folks of the villages, without a head assembled together, of whom there were not at first one hundred men, who said that all the nobles of the kingdom of France, knights, and squires, were dishonouring and betraying * the kingdom ; and that it would be a great good that all of them were destroyed. And every one of them said : " It must be so ! cursed be he by whom it shall be that all the noblemen are not destroyed ! " And then they gathered together and went on *without other advice*, and with no arms excepting loaded clubs and knives. * * * And they multiplied so, that soon they were six thousand ; and every where they went their number grew ; for every one of their kind followed them. * * * And so multiplied they were, that had they all come together they might have been one hundred thousand. And when they were asked why they did this, they answered that *they did not know* ; but they saw others doing so, and even so, did they. "

Thus for honest Froissart, from whom as the high pacing celebrant of Chivalric pageant we are not to expect sympathy with " Jacques Bonhomme. " It has been supposed that the concluding words of the above extract mean that the insurgents excused their own excesses by pleading that they did as they were done by. But the simple meaning of the aristocratic reporter appears to be to illustrate the purposeless character of the rising. In the words of Thierry, they were " unable to give an account of the objects which they sought, or the motive which instigated them. " If you asked the members of any particular assemblage why they were thus wandering about with knives and clubs, they told you that they were doing like their neighbours, though they could not say why their neighbours did it. Leaders came forward to take advantage of this new and aimless force. They went to Compiègne under a captain named Guillaume Calle, presumably with the view of making a demonstration, or perhaps coercing, the Regent and the members of the national assembly : possibly with no view at all. And when refused entry did not attempt

* Always the same helpless cry that we have heard with our ears and our fathers have told us of—" Nous sommes trahis ! "

force, but turned off and marched them to Seulis, where some of the townspeople joined their company. Soon they became masters of all the plain country between the Oise and the Seine. Not only did the poorer inhabitants of the towns in this region join them—as at Seulis—but the governing burgesses also saw their account in the unholy alliance.

The municipality of Beauvais, after a faint attempt at resistance, admitted their forces and executed their decrees: "They took many of the gentry into Beauvais, and there they were slain with the consent of the people of the town; also the Mayor of Amiens sent a hundred of his people to the aid of the serfs."—(*Flemish Chronicle*): "Many who went out from Paris, * to the number of three hundred or thereabouts, whose captain was one called Peter Gille, a grocer, and about five hundred who had assembled at Cilly, of whom was captain one called Vaillant, Provost of the Royal Mint, all went to Meaux * * * And in every way there were then few towns or cities in *Langue d'oïl* (North France), but were moved against the nobles, as well in favour of the men of Paris who hated them so, as for the popular movement (*Chron de S. Denis*.) Thus organised—if organization be the due word—thus led—if leading be not too strong a term to denote the casual adherence of the companies sent out by the towns—they began in May to besiege the castles and country-houses of the aristocracy, burning what they could not batter, murdering the lords and their gendarmerie, maltreating the unhappy ladies, loading themselves with cloth of gold and plate armour. A mitigated picture of one of these scenes is given by Mérimée (*La Jacquerie*) who, however, avails himself too far of poetic license when he represents the movement as organised by a monk and governed by an English officer. As Thierry says, they were "like the barbarian of the great invasion a . . . savage force." But (so the old chronicles relate), though consisting in the main of mere labourers, there were rich men among them—"bourgeois et autres." They attacked the castle of Ermenouville with the aid of the Parisians. The commander there, was an officer named Robert de Loreis who had risen from the ranks of the Paris *bourgeoisie* in which he was born. Alarmed at the power of his assailants, he hastened to make terms for himself: "*pour peur de mort reïna gentillesse et dit qu'il aimoit mieus labourgeoisie que chevalerie.*" This deserter of his adopted class was allowed the benefit of

* Michelet gives a most interesting letter on the subject written by Marcel which owes its publication to the Royal Academy of Belgium. Marcel evidently sympathised with the peasants, but strove to restrain their excesses. The letter bears date 11th July, after the Jacquerie had been suppressed.

his desertion, "*par ce fut il sauoé et sa femme et ses enfans*"—(*Flemish Chronicle*). It is like the rising of the *Khálsá* in the Punjab, when the soldiers walked about the streets of Lahore in 1841, opening the hands of the passers-by and murdering all whose palms were soft? Or, like the risings of some of the rural tribes in British India during the temporary paralysis of power in portions of the country caused by the mutiny of the Bengal army. The people were miserable, and sought a sudden and hopeless remedy in sweeping away everything that seemed to stretch between them and the sky, the vain nostrum of Nihilism which it was reserved to our advanced era to see adopted by educated persons.

Terror became universal among the classes that had hitherto ignored the existence of these unhappy serfs, or only recognised them as a peculiarly helpless sort of brute-beasts. No Seigneur but might expect to be tortured and put to death, no fair and luxurious chatelaine but might fear to meet a worse fate, and linger out her life in degradation, the victim of lust and the slave of slaves. A number of these panic-stricken ladies had collected in the town of Meaux which we have seen sympathising with the "Jacques." Here were the Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Normandy, with a number of helpless ladies and children who saw from the windows of their lodgings the swarms of armed barbarians, dressed in the spoils of the *chateaux*, and thronging the town in their usual purposeless way.

Of a sudden came deliverance, and the way in which it came is one of the most extraordinary features of this singular chapter of history. The Captal de Busch, an adventurer (already mentioned) who had sided with the English in their invasion of his country, had gone, in company with the Count de Foix, to take part in the war which the Teutonic knights were waging (in what is now the kingdom of Prussia) against the Lithuanians and the Poles. In the first days of June 1358 the two lords were returning with a few mounted followers; and, on arriving at Châlons, heard of what was going on at Meaux. Riding rapidly over the hundred miles or so that intervened they entered the town, where they found the insurgent peasantry assembled in the marketplace "black and little, and very ill-armed." With lance in rest, the armour plated cavalliers charged the mob whose first ranks fell before the shock, impeding the action of the crowds in the rear. They were overthrown in heaps, says the chronicler, like driven cattle, seven thousand of them were slaughtered, and the city set on fire. This was on the 9th June. A tremendous reaction immediately set in; during which, according to a contemporary writer, the nobles of France did more harm to the

kingdom than could have been caused by a second invasion of the dreaded English. The details of murder, arson, and pillage, are given in a later letter of Marcel's: "These nobles," concludes the Tribune—so soon himself to share the fate of his contemporaries Artevelde and Rienzi—"indisposed for taking arms against the common enemy, have thrown themselves against the poor Commons whom they hate, and have done us such damage, that it is a wonder." And the Dauphin Charles,—the Regent of the kingdom—adds his testimony; concluding in those words: "The nobles ride from town to town, so that the inhabitants thereof have to flee to other places, and their houses are left empty and all the goods of the country perish in the fields, and also the other heritages lie waste, uncultivated, and useless," &c. This despatch is dated in August; the worst excesses of the *Jacquerie* had lasted about three weeks, the reactionary havoc began in the second week of June and was not over when the Dauphin wrote: Its theatre—says Perreus—was almost the whole country of *Langue d'oil*. The Regent enumerates eight cities that had been sacked by the nobles.

When one reads of these things one ceases to wonder why the French, having missed the secret of true constitutional government, have elevated into a fanatical article the dogma of social equality. Macaulay failed to perceive the reason of our English political progress. It was not the power of the purse that the French States-General possessed. It was the fusion of classes arising from causes too subtle to be easily explained, but of which the basis was the absence of that selfishness which beset the French. In England the various orders, sitting in different chambers, worked in concert or in conflict for ends that, on the whole, were common to the entire nation. In France the nobles and clergy continued to resist taxation, and though sitting together never united.

Yet the true *Tiers Etat* was never again entirely reduced to subjection. Although the States-General ceased to meet under the later Bourbon kings, yet the *bourgeoisie* maintained the power that they once more signalised during the Fronde, and even continued to increase it up to the Revolution. This was doubtless owing to the position of the town councils, first of Paris, and then of the other large towns; to the growing intelligence and instruction possessed by members of the class, and to the depression of the nobility commenced by Louis XI, and carried out by Richelieu. Louis XIV. has usually derived his epithets of praise from his foreign policy, brilliant, though not, on the whole, triumphant; he deserves a higher meed of commendation for his good sense and firmness in providing a complete form of administration

and laying the foundation of modern France. It is well said by Augustus Thierry (*Tiers Etat*, I. 356 f. f.) that the spirit of his government was to tend by every means possible towards the approximation of classes. Instances chiefly from St. Simon who, of course, cites them with scorn and anger,—are to be found in the place cited. One of the strongest is, that the king employed many ministers of non-noble origin (such as Colbert,) and that these enjoyed precedence over all subjects, excepting princes of the blood.

The ambition and intelligence of the *bourgeois* of that day receive recognition from La Bruyère (*Caractères*, Ch. IX); and such institutions as the Academy caused a more or less complete fusion, in the society of the capital at least, and drew society to the centre of the kingdom. The cases of Voltaire and Beaumarchais will occur to every recollection; but at the same time they show that the social disunion continued still at work lower down.

But none of these advantages reached “the fourth estate”—if that term may be applied to the peasantry. In Chap. IX. of his *Early law and custom*, Sir H. S. Maine has abstracted the conclusions drawn by the best and latest French writers from the *cahiers* or books of instruction presented at the *States-General* of 1789. From these it appears that the weakness of the *noblesse* had not caused the strength of the peasantry to increase. The latter only lost such protection as the feudal system had once afforded them, while continuing to pay in money and in labour, the price that used to be its consideration. Thus the attempt of Pontchartrain to restore the finances failed, because the privileged classes would not bear their share of taxation. The consequence was that, when in the towns—even in Paris—itselt the growing discontents were only manifesting themselves in civilised and constitutional action, the peasantry, in many parts of the country, had already broken out. And, as noticed by Maine, there was a further cause at work. “M. Taine has described in the sub-division of his work called ‘*L’Anarchie Spontanée*,” those terrible outbreaks of rural violence which occurred even as early as 1789, and which are sometimes designated collectively “the burning of the chateaux” * * * * *

The majority of the French nobles, it should be understood, had littler or no analogy to what we understand by a landed aristocracy. A certain number had great estates, but the largest part of them lived on the money produce of the small incidental services due, as we should say, from owners of copyhold land to the lord of the manor Now, on the legal foundations of these privileges, a strong controversy was proceeding amongst French lawyers during the half-century preceding the

Revolution" (Maine, *ub. sup.*) The result of this controversy had been that the Seigneur had laid by in the muniment rooms of their country-houses a vast collection of deeds showing their titles to fines, tenths, monopolies, whereby they made their incomes at the expense of the happiness of the actual occupants and of the prosperity of agriculture. And "the burning of the chateaux" was principally caused by the desire of the peasants to obtain their freedom by destroying evidence of this distressing servitude.

Naturally, all sorts of excesses accompanied these enterprises; and thus the descendants of those who had been the temporary allies of the citizens of Marcel's time came forward with no other resource than a fresh *Jacquerie*. This was all the political progress that the uneducated and even unenfranchised proletaries had made in more than four centuries. Instead of beginning with slaughter and ending with arson, Jacques Bonhomme had learned to begin with arson, for legal ends, though he proceeded readily enough to slaughter afterwards. And when the noblesse were overthrown, the new device became "*a bas les bourgeois!*"

Thus did this unguided, almost unnoticed force, after smouldering under the surface for ages, reassert itself, and punish the *dilettante* oppressors of its rights and neglectors of its woes that had long fought and dauced over it. The most submissive of slaves thus become, at rare moments, the most deadly and cruel of enemies. The lesson will bear repetition: may it never be forgotten. The war of ignorance is not against institutions only, it is against discipline and against light. But it is provoked by neglect. If now, we seek for reasons why England and Scotland have, on the whole, surmounted these evils, we shall find them—summed up in the one word—education—even Wat Tyler and Jack Cade were succeeded by progress.

Among many indications that the mediæval English peasantry were in a more forward state than the French, we may safely take the popular literature of the day in England: the best extant specimen is doubtless Langland's *Vision*; but many other such pieces existed. Creasy, remarking on another *Ploughman* of the time, says that the political poetry which circulated among the people has only come down to us in the shape of a few fragments; and adds, that the *Ploughman* was adopted in popular literature as the typical "representative of political and religious purity." Obviously, all this supposes readers and hearers demanding and relishing such literary compositions. Again, as to the craving of this class for instruction, we have the evidence of the *Parliamentary Rolls* of 1391, when the houses addressed the king demanding that it might be enacted "*que nul naif on vilein*

mette ses enfans, de ci en avant, à Ecoles pour eux avancer par clergie." [That no simple person or serf should put their children to school to advance them by learning, *henceforth*] Richard II., to his credit be it recorded, peremptorily refused his assent; the last words of the extract show that the practice must have been more or less prevalent, and it would naturally increase under Royal patronage. The motive of this narrow-minded attempt on the part of an aristocracy and middle class, urgent enough for their own objects, is bluntly stated in the words that conclude the prayer: "*et ce en maintenance et salvation de l'honneur de tous Franks du Roïanme.*" The same assembly—or rather its predecessor of ten years earlier—had refused to act on a proposal from the throne that the serfs should be emancipated by statute. But it was all unavailing. Encouraged by the king, hallowed by the Church, enforced by the self-interest of landholders of a less romantic but more business-like spirit than their French contemporaries; and, above all, maintained by their own intelligent and enlightened ambition, the enfranchisement of the peasants proceeded slowly but surely, till the general *debâcle* of the wars of the Roses which soon made predial servitude thenceforward almost impossible in most parts of the kingdom. It is very remarkable that in France, Philip the handsome and his son had both emitted edicts of enfranchisement of the most absolute kind based on abstract statements of the equality of men by birth, and that these edicts had remained dead letters and had produced no effect upon the ignorant class to which freedom was vainly offered. Can this be, because French serfs and lords were men of two different races, while in England Normans and Saxons were after all of one common ancestry and character?

H. G. KEENE.

ART. II.—PETER THE GREAT AND THE POLICY OF RUSSIA.

- 1.—*Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia (a study of historical biography)*: By Eugene Schuyler, Ph. D., LL.D. 2 vols. London, 1884.

HISTORY contains no more striking instance of a nation's growth and the formation of an Empire being identified with a single individual, than the manner in which Russia is, and always will be, associated with the name of Peter. Other peoples and countries have had their great sovereigns and conquerors, and some of them enjoyed a much larger share of success than this Russian ruler. His fame also is not due to his having delivered his people from a foreign yoke, for the Tartars had been defeated and driven out more than a century before his birth, while it cannot be attributed altogether to his conquests which were surpassed in both extent and importance by those of the Empress Catherine the Second and the late Czar Alexander. Still, although he was neither a national deliverer nor the greatest of conquerors, Peter was undoubtedly the true author of the present power and position of Russia. He was also the originator of most of those plans which have been adopted as constituting the national policy, and of which some have been carried out, while others yet await realisation. He found his country in the possession of the bigoted ecclesiastics of the most superstitious, and semi-idolatrous of Christian churches, and of a self-styled aristocratic class of almost incredible ignorance; while the small share left to the sovereign in such government as there was, was performed with difficulty during the brief intervals snatched from the public praying and other ceremonies of devotion to which the tyranny of the Greek church bound him. Peter left Russia with the monarch restored to his legitimate position, the Church excluded from interference in secular affairs, the nobility reformed if not civilised, and the nation entitled to take its place among European Powers. Long before Peter, the Russians had won their right to independence by expelling the Tartars, but apparently they had exhausted themselves in the effort. Certainly they did not show themselves capable of converting to the attainment of national greatness the remarkable popular effort which had restored their liberty. The fruits of success promised to be dissipated in the long dynastic struggles that followed the death of Ivan the Terrible. The conquest of Siberia achieved without an effort had given Russia the name of a vast dominion in Asia, but it possessed little or no real importance; while at home the Russians could be

hardly said at any point to touch the sea, for their one harbour of Archangel was closed throughout the greater portion of the year. Surrounded by a vigorous Poland, an active and aggressive Sweden, and the powerful Empire of the Sultan with his formidable armies and many posts of vantage on the Pruth and the Euxine, it seemed as if the young State would be hard pressed to retain the position and the liberty which it had won from the Tartars and defended against the Poles. It was at this critical moment that Peter appeared with his vigorous mind, and still more vigorous frame, to repair the blunders of the past, and to restore the credit of a family which had latterly been represented by cripples and imbeciles.

Our present object is not to follow the biographical details of Peter's life. We wish to show what influence he exerted on the policy of Russia, and the form which he desired that policy to take. But with regard to Mr. Schuyler's work, it may be said that he has laboured under some peculiar difficulties not wholly of his own creation. In the first place, so little is generally known of the history of the period, and the information placed in his hands was so voluminous, that he could not resist the temptation to be diffuse. A very large portion of the first volume is taken up with the exhaustive description of matters in which Peter had no share, and the necessary consequence is, that the central figure throughout the work is obscured and sometimes thrust quite out of sight. Mr. Schuyler has failed to realise the character of the inspired biographer, but he has certainly made a vast quantity of information accessible to the English reader, and it is not at all certain that in this particular case this is not the greater service. Mr. Schuyler had already proved himself a diligent, painstaking and trustworthy collector and recorder of facts, and this work will certainly confirm his reputation on that ground.

The Czar Alexis married in 1671 *en secondes nocces* Natalia Naryshkin, the ward of his minister Matveief, and the descendant of a noble but little known family of Tartar origin. By his first wife, a Miloslavsky, the Czar had still two sons living. The elder Theodore was always weak and sickly, the younger Ivan was "almost blind, had a defect of speech, and lacked little of being an idiot," Natalia Naryshkin was not like the women of Russia at that time. She had been accustomed to mix with men on a footing of equality, she had been educated after the manner of foreigners, and she used to dress "in what were called German clothes." She seems to have had much good sense, and she was as healthy and vigorous in her body as in her mind. The whole Court declared against Natalia, and her guardian was accused of having resorted to witchcraft to infatuate the Czar, but still the schemes of jealousy and prejudice were ultimately baffled and the marriage was celebrated.

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The offspring of this alliance—which had not been in accordance with the traditional practice of either the Romanoffs or their predecessors—was a boy born on 9th of June 1672, who was christened by the name of Peter. It very soon became evident that whatever the young prince might prove intellectually, he was going to be, unlike his half-brothers, physically strong. He could walk at six months old, and at every age appeared bigger and more active than other children and boys of the same year. When Alexis died his eldest son Theodore became Czar, and the Miloslavsky's coming into power, employed their opportunities by banishing Matveief, and Natalia, with her son Peter, was placed in a kind of honourable confinement in the country-house of Preobrazhensky. What seemed a misfortune proved a benefit. Peter escaped from the close and confined routine of the Kremlin, and in the fresher and freer life of the country his health became assured, and his intelligence was developed under the most favourable circumstances. If the education he received was calculated to awake ideas rather than to supply sound information, it was still a better one than any other Russian youth of the time could boast.

The reign of Theodore closed in 1682 after six years. Personal considerations, rather than any strong conviction in the excellence of the choice, led to the proclamation, after what was called a public election, of Peter as Czar. His half-brother Ivan was thus completely set on one side. It is possible that Peter's minority, under the regency of his mother, would not have been disturbed by any serious event, but for his ambitious and aggressive half-sister the Princess Sophia, whose real ambition while working in the name of her brother Ivan, alone seems to have been to place the crown at the disposal of her lover Prince Basil Golitzin. She found the instruments of her policy in the Streltsi or archers, a kind of national guard—who had lately manifested some symptoms of discontent and insubordination in consequence of their officers having defrauded them of their pay. The ready compliance with their requests shown by those in power encouraged them to believe that they were masters of the situation, while the skill with which the Princess Sophia worked upon their feelings made them the enemies of the Naryshkins and the avowed supporters of the young prince Ivan. On the 25th of May 1682, they broke into open mutiny and invaded the sacred precincts of the Kremlin. They murdered Matveief, several of the Naryshkins, and all who had excited their suspicion or dislike. Intoxicated by their success, it looked for a moment as if the Streltsi meditated stirring up a popular war. They declared the abolition of serfdom, and exhorted the slaves to turn upon and defy their masters. It seemed as if the Princess Sophia had roused a demon which she would find it difficult to

allay. A week after the terrible scenes which accompanied this military revolt, the Streltsi presented a petition that Ivan should be associated with Peter as Czar. They also required that Ivan should be the first Czar, that Natalia should be excluded from the Government, and that the Princess Sophia should be appointed Regent. What they wished was law, and thus Peter was relegated to a secondary position, while the reality of power passed into the hands of the Princess Sophia. Peter, who had been in the midst of these scenes, and who had beheld with his own eyes the murder of his relatives, had no reason to remember the Streltsi with affection.

Peter, relieved from much of the irksome routine of filling the throne alone by the success of Sophia's machinations, again returned to a great extent to the rural life which he liked best at Preobrazhensky. By this time he had grown so big and strong, that when he was only eleven a foreigner took him for sixteen. His tastes had now become confirmed in favour of military exercises, and his country home became the head-quarters of a force which at first, only calculated to produce boyish amusement, was destined to become historically famous and to form the nucleus of Peter's subsequent power. Seeing that he was already pronounced to be "a youth of great expectancy, prudence and vigour," it is strange that his inclination was not discouraged, and that he was allowed everything he asked for out of the arsenals and military stores. There were some who already looked for definite result from this confirmed taste for martial pursuits, although the most that was hoped from him was that he would one day "better restrain the attacks of the Krim Tartars." Mr. Schuyler gives a very interesting description of how devotedly Peter applied himself to his soldier's duties, and it is not surprising to learn that under the tuition of German and other foreign officers, he made himself an adept in his exercises and attempted some of the higher duties of a Commander. Mr. Schuyler is not disposed to give Peter the credit of having any definite object in all these proceedings, and treats them as merely the gratification of a boy's taste for amusement. In this opinion we do not think Mr. Schuyler will find many to agree with him. In a similar manner, when his attention was turned to boat building, he threw himself with all the energy of his nature into the subject, but it will be hard for his biographer to convince any one that these early proclivities and amusements did not lead him to ponder on the necessity of his possessing, as Czar, a military force to make him independent of the Streltsi, and of Russia having for her external development a fleet, and with that fleet harbours and a free way to the sea. The germ of Peter's later policy is to be discovered during the period of his second residence

at Preobrazhensky when he was Czar in name, but excluded from all share in the government by the ambitious Sophia.

The first act of independence and self-assertion which Peter took was on the return of Prince Basil Golitsyn from his second abortive, if not disastrous, invasion of the Crimea. His consent to the liberal rewards conferred on the officers and men was only obtained with the greatest difficulty, and when they went to present their respects to him at Preobrazhensky, he bluntly refused to receive them. Peter was then 17, and it was clear that he would not consent much longer to be effaced. His attitude also signified that he did not see why defeated generals should be rewarded like conquerors, and that he could not believe that disastrous campaigns should be regarded as military triumphs and as beneficial to the interests of the State. Only a few weeks after this affair, open war was declared between Peter and Sophia. The collision occurred in connection with the latter insisting on her right to accompany a religious procession from the Kremlin to the Kazan Cathedral, when Peter had publicly ordered her to retire. She had replied by taking in her hands the picture of the Virgin, and walking after the crosses and banners while he hastened off to his country seat at Kolomenskoe to mature his plans. In this crisis while Peter had the support of his self-trained regiments and of the great mass of the aristocracy, Sophia could only look for support to the Streltsi, who were in doubt as to their best policy, and undecided how to act. The Regent spared neither exhortation nor promises to ensure their devotion, but although she received assurances of fidelity, the Streltsi vacillated and were possessed by no resolution similar to that which had seized them seven years before. In consequence of an alarming report that the Streltsi were about to attack Preobrazhensky, Peter fled during the night, and it must be added in a very undignified and rather ignominious manner from that place to the monastery of Troïtsa, where his friends and supporters began to rally some hours later. Peter's principal stroke of strategy was to summon the colonels of the different regiments of Streltsi to Troïtsa, and notwithstanding all Sophia's efforts to deter them, the summons was eventually obeyed. The struggle closed with Peter's complete triumph. The Streltsi abandoned Sophia, and she had to surrender her favourites and chief supporter to be tortured or banished to Siberia. Sophia herself was dismissed from all share in the government, and very shortly afterwards placed in the Novodevitchy convent.

One of the first matters to which Peter turned his attention was how to develop his external trade and increase the national marine. With infinite pains he had constructed more than one war vessel, and he had navigated some of the inner lakes of the country. But

this did not satisfy him, and indeed his labours as a shipwright would never have gained him much fame, had they stopped at this point. Peter, therefore, hastened off at the earliest opportunity to Archangel, where he found his yacht waiting for him, and in this he took his first cruise on the open sea for 200 miles to the mouth of the White Sea. The experience thus acquired confirmed his partiality for the sea, and rendered him more than ever determined in his resolve to attain naval power. At one moment he meditated placing a fleet on the Caspian, and at another nothing less than an opening to the Baltic would satisfy him. While the young ruler was credited with these schemes, he had really determined on another and still bolder one, seeing that it involved a direct attack on his powerful neighbour the Sultan. With the view of opening the navigation of the Don, and of making his way to the Black Sea, Peter had resolved to attack and take the fortified town of Azof at the mouth of that river. He made the attempt in 1695, and failed partly through the badness of his troops, but chiefly on account of the incompetency of his commanders and his own impetuosity. He renewed it in the following year with fresh troops, and although the result remained some time in doubt through the military inexperience of the Russian army, Azof at last surrendered and received Peter's garrison. The success was of great importance, and fully justified the rejoicings to which it gave rise. In the first place, the possession of Azof provided Russia with the means of restraining the Krim Tartars, and in the second, it gave Russia that access to the sea, which was necessary to her development. Peter at once began to make arrangements for the construction of a large fleet, and the Russian merchants, clergy, and landed proprietors were called upon to give under compulsion sums of money, in proportion to their wealth, towards the completion of the good work. The most striking incident in connection with the Czar's firm resolve to collect a strong fleet, was his determination to go and learn for himself in the ship-yards of England and Holland. The death of his brother Ivan had already left him in possession of sole power, and the journey could be performed in safety while there was internal peace, and before any serious complication had arisen with his neighbours.

Peter's foreign tour was cut short by the receipt of bad news from Russia, where Peter's enemies were taking advantage of his absence. Perhaps the fact that most impressed Peter himself was the outbreak of a fresh spirit of insubordination among the Streltsi. Before Peter could return the Streltsi had thrown off the bonds of discipline, marched in the direction of Moscow, and had been defeated by General Gordon. The survivors were captured. More than 100 were executed and nearly 2,000 imprisoned. The scenes

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which followed on the Czar's return were worthy of a barbarous society, but while they reveal the personal cruelty of the man, they tended to assure Peter's position by destroying the power of the Streltsi, who were the only military force that could have menaced him. Then, for the first time, Peter was able to turn his attention seriously to questions of foreign policy. While one of his envoys took a certain part in the negotiations that preceded the Treaty of Carlovitz, and another went to Constantinople to arrange a truce with the Porte, Peter had bound himself, by the terms of an alliance, with Augustus of Poland to declare war upon Sweden. That country had retained possession of the coast provinces of Livonia, Esthonia and Carelia which had been Russian, and the Russian Government had on more than one occasion recognized the fact and admitted its inability to recover the Baltic provinces. The Princess Sophia, as Regent, had concluded a formal treaty with Sweden, accepting the conditions of the Treaty of Kardis. The capture of Azof had not given Peter all he hoped. He had followed it up by the rapid construction of a war-fleet, but the outlet from the sea of Azof depended on the favour of the Khan of Kertch, and the navigation of the Euxine could only be secured with the assent of Turkey. A good commencement had been made, but Peter not feeling strong enough to cope alone with the Sultan, suspended his operations on the Don, and devoted his attention to the coming contest with Sweden. The year 1699 was employed in the despatch of embassies and missions for the express purpose of deceiving Sweden as to the secret alliance just concluded against her between Russia and Poland. At the very time that this momentous decision had been come to, Peter went through the farce and the fraud of ratifying the treaty of Kardis, which bound Russia to waive all her claims to the province of Livonia. Ustrialof, described as "the official historian of Peter," wrote on this subject—

"Peter was not afraid either of the taunts of his contemporaries, or of the judgment of posterity. Advantages gained to his country were for him higher than all considerations, and he regarded nothing in a matter which tended to increase the greatness of his beloved Russia."

Although his allies the Poles and the Danes took the field against the young king Charles the Twelfth, Peter was compelled to further delay and dissemble by the report that Turkey was preparing for war and by the ignorance of what his ambassador was doing at Constantinople. Peter could find no stronger argument in support of his good faith than to ask how it was possible for him to "consent to begin an unjust war and to break an eternal peace that I have just

confirmed?" It was only when the news arrived of the conclusion of peace with Turkey did he throw off the mask, and declare war upon Sweden.

The Polish campaign against Riga had not succeeded, but it did not seem possible that the young king of Sweden would be able to hold his own against his numerous enemies, when Peter formally declared war from the Bedchamber Porch, and followed it up by moving the greater portion of the army, which he had recently organised on the Preobrazhensky model, to the frontier of Ingria. Those who had hoped to profit by his youth had not calculated correctly as to the character of Charles the Twelfth. While his lieutenants more than held their own against the Poles, he had himself crossed over to Denmark, placed Copenhagen at his mercy, and imposed a humiliating peace. When Peter's first act of overt war was made, Charles's hands happened to be free to deal with him alone. The Czar would have been wise to dissemble a little longer. Peter's plan of campaign was, by the capture of Narva which is in Livonia, to cripple the power of Sweden on the eastern side of the Baltic, and thus acquire unopposed possession of the coveted provinces. The Russian army laid siege to Narva, but through deficiencies in military supplies and the badness of the powder, little damage was done by a protracted bombardment, and several assaults were repulsed with heavy loss. By this Charles had completed his own preparations, and he hastened to Pernau with an army of 12,000 men. While Peter was absent from the camp procuring the services as generalissimo of the Duke de Croy, and generally hurrying up supplies, Charles had completed his arrangements to attack the Russians, and effect the relief of his garrison. The battle was fought on the 30th of November 1700, but although some of the Russians fought with ill-directed gallantry, their defeat was as complete as possible. At the very moment when Peter thought he had made his success morally certain, he learnt that his principal army had been routed and overwhelmed. Peter did not allow himself to seem in any way disheartened. He threw all his energies into the formation of new armies, into the construction of new artillery from the bells of the churches, and to collecting in his own hands, for purposes of war, all the treasure of the State. He had his reward when Sheremetief defeated a Swedish General at Erstfer with heavy loss little more than 12 months after Narva. Six months later the same commander won a still more brilliant victory at Hummelshof. The campaign of the year 1702 closed with the capture, by Peter in person, of Noteborg on the Neva.

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The capture of Noteborg was most important. It placed Peter on the Neva and within a short distance of the sea. It was possible to employ some of his naval force on the great lake Ladoga, and to bring it within reach of the Baltic. The capture of Noteborg was followed by that of the other forts on the Neva. A relieving Swedish flotilla was driven off with the loss of two vessels; and notwithstanding the unpromising commencement of the war, the defeat of Narva was avenged and Peter was in possession of what he wanted—a free Russian way to the Baltic. It showed the self-confidence of the man and the importance he attached to the acquisition, that he resolved to build a new city and to make it his capital on this strip of land which had just been gained from the Swedes. In 1704 the stability of the Russian success was rendered assured by the capture by storm of Narva. The impression produced by these Russian successes was very great throughout Europe, and they gave point to the apprehension expressed by the famous Duke of Aloa, nearly a century before, that it was “inexcusable to provide Russia with cannon and other arms, and to initiate the Russians into the way war was carried on in western Europe because, in this way, a dangerous neighbour was being educated.” During this period the Swedish monarch had left the Russians undisturbed, while he concentrated all his forces in overrunning Poland and deposing Augustus. The conclusion of this campaign brought the two great enemies again face to face, but this time not on the Neva but on the Niemen.

The energy and promptitude of Charles enabled him to secure several successes, and to shut up the Russian army under Ogilvie in Grodno. But he failed to prevent its retreat, and the season of the year, as well as the difficulty of the country, soon compelled the king to abandon a vain pursuit. There would be no advantage in following the details of the negotiations that ensued and that went on down to the year 1707. Charles himself declared that “the Czar is not yet humiliated enough to accept the conditions of peace which I intend to prescribe.” But Peter showed unexpected moderation, and declared that he would yield everything to Sweden except Noteborg, St. Petersburg and a narrow strip of territory on both sides of the Neva. Charles was not animated by any similar desire for peace, and declared that he would “sacrifice the last Swedish soldier rather than cede Noteborg.” With such resolution in the cause of war on the part of the King of Sweden based, let it be said, on the conviction that Peter would not observe the obligations to which he bound himself by treaty, it was

impossible to suppose that peace would endure longer than for the interval required to prepare for a bitter and decisive struggle. The campaign in Lithuania proved of a desultory character, and although Charles had under his orders an excellent army of more than 40,000 men, he was unable to achieve any decisive success, or overcome the difficulties of a wild and woody region. It was then that Charles conceived the brilliant but really impracticable idea of carrying the war into the Ukraine, of forming an alliance with the Cossacks, and of attacking Peter from a new and unexpected quarter. Intent upon effecting his junction with Mazeppa and a promised army of 20,000 Cossacks, Charles, who had already fought two doubtful battles in which his losses were heavy, left his lieutenant Lewenhaupt with invaluable stores and a fresh force of 11,000 men, to be overwhelmed by the whole Russian army. Peter wrote upon the subject of Lewenhaupt's defeat as follows :—

“This victory may be called our first, for we have never had such a one over regular troops. In very truth it was the cause of all the subsequent good fortune of Russia, for it was the first proof of our soldiers, and it put hearts into our men, and was the mother of the battle of Pultawa.”

The defection of Mazeppa with a portion of the Cossacks of the Ukraine could not compensate Charles for the loss of so many good Swedish soldiers and the discouragement of those who remained. The promptness with which Peter acted deprived the treachery of the Cossack Hetman of almost all its importance. He carried his capital Baturin by storm, put every man in it to the sword, and destroyed the buildings and fortifications. The details of the fighting during the terrible winter of 1708-9 made it plain that Charles had placed himself in a trap, and given himself over into the hands of his enemy. In sheer despatch or obstinacy Charles, when he should have been retreating towards Poland, laid siege to Pultawa, and allowed many precious weeks to pass by in vain attempts to overcome the obstinate Russian defence, while Peter himself was employed in bringing up all the troops he could to relieve the place and oppose the Swedes. In complete despair Charles found himself compelled with 12,500 men to make an attack on the Russian army of four times that number encamped in a strong position. The result was the decisive victory of Pultawa. All the principal Swedish generals and several thousand soldiers were captured. It was followed five days later by the surrender of Lewenhaupt and 15,000 men, while Charles escaped by the devotion of his companions into

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Turkey. Thus terminated the most memorable of Russia's many campaigns with Sweden. The event has excited many different comments and opinions, but Peter's admirable directness of purpose was shown in his rendering of its significance, "The last stone has been laid of the foundation of St. Petersburg." Russia had reached the Baltic, and she would not easily again relax her hold upon it.

The victory at Pultawa made Russia a European Power. Great statesmen saw in the Russian army a force that might assist their views in the settlement of the questions then at issue in Western Europe. The Emperor offered the Czar's son Alexis the hand of his sister. The king of Prussia proposed an alliance for the partition of Poland ; and there were innumerable other overtures of a less direct character from other quarters. But Peter was not to be so easily drawn out. He showed himself cool, haughty, and that he felt himself master of the situation. But while he showed himself very cautious not to be drawn into engagements which could only benefit in the main other States, he also carefully surveyed his own position, and began to consider more carefully than ever what policy would be advantageous for Russia. On the subject of the great benefits that would accrue to Russia from having a port accessible throughout the year, Peter was never in doubt. "The riches of Europe would thus be able to find an entrance into Russia, and Archangel can no longer boast of being the only port." Peter's agents were active in intrigue in several of the great capitals, particularly that of Turkey, and even before Pultawa, the sympathies of Russia with her co-religionists of the Greek Church had been proclaimed. The members of that Church as anxious to possess the guardianship of the holy places as to recover their independence, began to look and appeal to the Czar as their most natural and powerful protector, and he seeing an opportunity of creating a diversion among the Ottomans, was not unwilling to pose in the character of Christian champion and to extend some support to those who, like the Montenegrins, had defended and made good their own independence. When, on the rupture of the peace by the Turks under the instigation of the French and Charles, who had been living at Bender since Pultawa, Peter saw that war was inevitable, he resolved to make some general appeal to the Greeks and other Christians who were living under "the barbarian yoke." On 8th of March 1711, "war against the enemies of Christ" was solemnly proclaimed in Moscow, and the guards carried on their banners a cross with the motto, *In hoc signo vincas*. Although Peter had prepared the way for war by successful treaties and arrangements with the Hospodars of Moldavia

and Wallachia, he was not very pleased that the war should have commenced as soon as it did. Still he made up his mind to the fact, impressed on his generals the necessity of reaching the Danube without delay, and issued a proclamation to "all who love God and are friends of the Christians," which, if words could kill, would then and there have annihilated the whole fabric of Turkish power. Some of the passages are so characteristic as to deserve quotation: "You know how the Turks have trampled into the mire our faith, have seized by treachery all the holy places, have ravaged and destroyed many churches and monasteries, have practised much deceit, and what wretchedness they have caused, and how many widows and orphans they have seized upon and dispersed as wolves do the sheep. Now I come to your aid. If your heart wishes, do not run away from my great empire, for it is just. Let not the Turks deceive you, and do not run away from my word. Shake off fear, and fight for the faith, for the Church for which we shall shed our last drop of blood."

At this point in his career Peter was destined to experience a rude reversal of the good fortune which had hitherto attended his movements. At first his plans worked well, and the Grand Vizier hesitated to cross the Danube. But the Russian army could not itself advance beyond the Pruth. There were jealousies and keen rivalry between the two Hospodars, and when Peter's favour was seen to be wholly won over by the ruler of Moldavia, his neighbour of Wallachia, or Roumania, declared for the Turks, and placed at the Vizier's disposal the vast supplies by means of which Peter had hoped to carry on a war on the Danube. The Russians were greatly outnumbered, and they were further weakened by the despatch of the cavalry on a separate expedition. At Stanilesti the Czar, his wife the Empress Catherine, and the greater part of the Russian army were shut up in their camp and surrounded by the Turks, and although they repulsed one assault of the Janissaries, it was evident to them that they were completely at the mercy of their enemy. The only thing to be done was to obtain and accept the very best terms which the Vizier would grant. Mr. Schuyler can find no evidence in support of, and therefore, dismisses the story that Catherine gave her jewels to appease the greed of the Pashas. But Peter had to surrender some of the most cherished points of his policy as well as conquests on which he had set the greatest value. The Grand Vizier made it a *sine quâ non* that Azof, Peter's first conquest, should be restored. This was indeed a bitter disappointment, and threatened to shipwreck all the plans which had been so far advanced towards completion. Peter's hopes

of having commerce and a marine on the Black Sea were thus rudely dispelled. The Sultan had triumphed in his resolve "sooner to open his harem to the Russians than the Black Sea to their ships." Peter, in his distress at the loss of Azof and the breaking up of the Don fleet, could only turn with greater vigour to his plans in the Baltic, to that, as he expressed it, "other side which is incomparably of greater gain to us."

On the other side he acted with singular decision and not less good fortune. He cleared Pomerania of the Swedes, and he secured the hearty alliance of Prussia by resigning all claim to it in its favour. He then prepared to drive the same enemy out of Finland, declaring that if he could only "get as far as Abo the Swedish neck will become easier to bend;" and his success equalled his expectation. The later campaigns on the Baltic shores, when the Swedes were continuously worsted and gradually expelled from all the possessions won by Gustavus and his successors, need not detain us. Nor is there any necessity to stop to describe how the Czar resided for a time, more in the cities of Germany and in Paris than in his own country, or why Russian soldiers marched for the first time as far westwards as Mecklenberg. Suffice it to say, that the Swedish war flickered on, and that the return of Charles from his Turkish confinement threatened to impart fresh vigour to the struggle. But although the Aland Congress came to nothing, the fortune of war had set in so decidedly against the Swedes, that even the death of Charles himself while laying siege to a small town in Norway was regarded as a relief rather than as a disaster. The Russian Commander Lacey burnt several towns on the Swedish coast, and as his descents were repeated annually, an enormous quantity of damage was inflicted. On one occasion the Cossacks got to within half a mile of Stockholm itself. A termination was at last put to the strife by the Treaty of Nystadt, by which Russia retained her conquests, and fulfilled her promises to her allies, Poland, Prussia and Denmark. Peter throughout took particular care in conforming to his engagements, and after the original deception practised on the young king of Sweden, he pursued a straightforward policy. He was especially desirous of conforming with the military code of honour, prevalent throughout Europe, in order to prove that he was not to be considered as in any way outside the pale of civilisation. On more than one occasion his policy appeared, in comparison with that of the other European powers, singularly direct and disinterested. Peter's policy in Europe had availed to give Russia a secure frontier and an ally in Prussia, a position among the Powers, and much of the coast of the Baltic, in which sea her navy was practically supreme.

It was after the disastrous return from the Pruth, when it was clear that for the time schemes in the Black Sea would have to be abandoned, that Peter turned much of his attention to the affairs of Asia wherein the sovereignty of Siberia gave him the position of a great potentate. The contact of their frontiers had necessitated relations of some kind between Russia and China. Their vagueness had caused troubles and absolute war. During the regency of Sophia, the Chinese had vanquished the Russian colonists and destroyed their forts, and one of Peter's first acts of recovered authority had been to ratify the Treaty of Nipchu, which promised to ensure peace by the curtailment of rival pretensions. As early as 1688, Branki, the son of the Governor of eastern Siberia, visited Peking, and although their journeys were at irregular intervals and of an informal character, Branki had many successors. During this very period there had been several suggestions on the part of Galdan, the Eleuth prince, whose long wars with Kanghi became in some sense famous, that the Russians would gain much by concluding an alliance with him. Mr. Schuyler does not allude to these early instigations to Russia to encroach, at the expense of China, by means of the many turbulent races who form the fringe of that great empire. They assumed more definite form when Galdan's successor and nephew Tse Wang Rabdan, established on a better basis, the power of the Jungarian monarchy. Although Peter is said by his biographer to have "gradually come to see that the key to all dealings in Asia was a good understanding with the Jungarians," it was not until 1722 that he sent Captain Unkofsky to make some inquiries into their strength and condition. He was the more induced to take this step by the failure of his second Embassy under Ismaloff to obtain any concessions at Peking. With regard to his direct policy towards China, Peter desired to be cautious and circumspect in his mode of proceeding. He feared the adverse influence of the Jesuit missionaries in the Chinese capital, and his observations on this point deserve quotation.

"That affair is all very well, but only, for God's sake, act carefully and not hastily, so as not to indispose the Chinese officials, as well as the Jesuits, who have made their nest there since a long time. Wherefore we should have priests there not so learned as sensible and subtle, lest through some overpride all this holy business will go to the utmost ruin."

But the Czar had in his mind some nearer objects than the more remote and intangible plan of securing the trade of China. We have just quoted what he said on the subject of the advantages to be derived from a good understanding with the Chief of Jungaria, and the possession of part of the Irtysh, providing his

lieutenants with some facilities for reaching the wild region in the midst of which Tse Wang Rabdan had erected his throne. Rumour had long dwelt upon the hidden wealth to be found in parts of Asia. Prince Gagarin, Governor of Siberia, confirmed the rumour and gave it a direct signification. Gold sand was to be found near the town of Erket, Erken, or Yerken, supposed to be Yarkand, and although no one could say exactly where the place was, or how it would be possible to get there, still Peter at once ordered an expedition to proceed there and occupy the places where the gold was found. This was in the year 1714. Colonel Buchholz was appointed to the command, and an expedition of 3,000 men was placed at his disposal. Mr. Schuyler thus describes the fate of this expedition:—

“Buchholz reported two years afterwards that he had built the fort, but that it was dangerous to go to Erket on account of the small number of soldiers he then had, for many of them had run away to Siberia where they found a free life. Subsequently more than ten thousand Calmucks besieged Buchholz in his fort. Many soldiers died of disease, and finally in May 1716, he accepted the terms offered by the Calmucks, razed his fort, and withdrew down the Irtysh to the mouth of the Om, where he constructed a new fort Omsk. General Likharef who was sent to Siberia in 1719 to investigate the maladministration of Prince Sagarin, was also instructed to ascertain the truth about the gold sand at Erket and, if true, to advance if he could without too much danger to Lake Zaizan to establish a fort there, to explore the country and the road from Zaizan to Erket, and especially to investigate the question, whether there were any rivers running from Lake Zaizan into the Darya on the Aral Sea, but not to run any risk.”

None of these expeditions to discover Erket could succeed “partly on account of the physical difficulties of the country—for the geography of the region about Yarkand was not known in that day—and partly because, not enough gold exists in the upper waters of the rivers of Central Asia, to pay for washing the sands.” But this rather wild search for gold in a part of Asia where Russia has been wisely content ever since to stand still, showed how keen Peter was in the search of national gain and advantage, and how little he recked of natural difficulties in the attainment of his object. It was no marvel, therefore, that at a time when the great trading nations of the West were separated from the marts of India by wide and dangerous seas, the Czar should think of the many advantages he ought to derive from the short and seemingly secure land-route that lay at his disposal to the dominions of the Mogul. Schemes of doubtful wisdom and

practicability for the discovery of the gold of Erket could no longer be considered as worthy of the attention of the Russian ruler; but any plan to divert the whole or any portion of the trade of India to Russia, became at once a matter of urgent policy. Peter had received envoys and even embassies from Khiva, and he knew that both that State and the neighbouring one of Bokhara held commercial relations with India. There seemed no great violation of probability in supposing that trade routes could be established through the countries of the Oxus and the Jaxartes to the plains of Hindustan.

Other stories of the gold to be found in Central Asia reached Peter besides that which centred round the semi-mythical Erket. A renegade Turcoman declared that gold was to be found in abundance along the banks of the Amon Darya, and he found a ready belief in his legends among the merchants of Astrachan, not over well pleased with their lot and disappointed with their opportunities. Peter, too, whether he believed the tale or not, resolved to take some vigorous measure towards realising the prospect held before him, and hoped that trade between the Caspian and the Amon would prove no worthless possession, if the more brilliant dreams of golden harvests had to be abandoned. The Turcoman Hadji Nefes was appointed in the character of guide to a large expedition which Peter fitted out and entrusted to the command of a Circassian, who had become a Christian, named Prince Beckovitch Tcherkasky. The history of the Beckovitch expedition is well known. We need not repeat the story of how it crossed the Caspian, built a fort at the old mouth of the Amon, crossed the steppe, and defeated the Khivan troops on the border of their territory. Then he concluded peace, and took up his residence in the midst of the people with whom he had only just been engaged in mortal encounter. Prince Beckovitch showed himself singularly confiding and unsuspecting. He consented to distribute his force in small detachments throughout the Khanate; and, of course, in a very short time they were attacked in detail and overpowered by superior numbers. The four thousand Russian soldiers and the Cossack contingent were sold into slavery, but the officers were executed, and Beckovitch's own head was sent as an acceptable present to Bokhara, where the Czar had just been trying to obtain a foothold by means of commercial agents. Thus was practically destroyed another Russian force employed for the special purpose of opening a trade route to India, for although the Khan gave some promise to restore the captive, he refused all atonement on learning that his own envoy had been imprisoned, and he stamped the Russian letter under his foot and gave it to his children to play with. The practical result was that

while Peter indicated the perception of two things, the necessity of a safe trade route between the Caspian and the Oxus, and also that Khiva and Bokhara were half-way houses as it were to India, he failed to attain any practical success, leaving to his descendants the late, and the present, Czar the achievement of these designs among others towards the realisation of which he himself gave freely his intelligence, and treasure, and some of the best blood of Russia.

While Peter felt so strongly and acted so vigorously about matters which were more or less remote, he was not blind to affairs at his own doors. The trade of Persia was at that time far from inconsiderable. Its silk had a European reputation and constituted the chief support of the declining prosperity of Genoa. But Russia had neither share nor part in it. The silk traders were principally Armenians, and the trade route lay through Tabriz, Erzeroum and Trebizonde. Peter at once conceived the idea of turning the great water-way of the Volga and the Caspian to the purpose of diverting some of the trade to Russia. He hoped to do this the more easily, as there were Russian merchants established in Shemakha and other Persian towns on the coast of the Caspian. At first Peter resorted to diplomacy, and he sent an agent named Volynsky to Ispahan, then the capital of Persia, "to persuade the Shah, even by bribing his advisers, to turn the Armenian trade in raw silk through Russia." Volynsky was also to study the country, especially in its commercial aspects, and to investigate the course of the rivers flowing into the Caspian, and to ascertain whether there were not one coming from the direction of India. As these instructions were drawn up in Peter's own handwriting, there was never any room to doubt that he felt very strongly on the subject that the main prize to be secured was the trade of India. Everything else was only as a means to an end. Volynsky arrived at Ispahan when the internal affairs of Persia were in the greatest confusion. A long war with the Afghans of Candahar had resulted in the repeated defeat of the Persian forces, and the son of Mir Vais, the founder of Afghan independence, already meditated his counter invasion, when Volynsky presented himself before the Shah. His mission was so far successful, however, that he obtained a treaty allowing Russian merchants to trade freely, and to buy raw silk wherever they wished. Volynsky also reported unfavourably of the condition of Persia, stating that under its actual prince it would be speedily ruined. At the same time he wrote force would do more than intrigue, and at the first favourable opportunity, he recommended direct interference in Persia. Such an opportunity was not long presenting itself for a Teshgian tribe attacked and plundered Shemakha, and the Russian residents

suffered in both their persons and their substance. On this matter Peter wrote as follows :—

“I have received your letter in which you wrote about the affair of Daud Bek, and that now is the very occasion for what you were ordered to prepare. To this opinion of yours, I answer that it is very evident we should not let this occasion slip. We have ordered a considerable part of our forces on the Volga to march to winter quarters, whence they will go to Astrachan in the spring. As to what you wrote about the Prince of Georgia and other Christians, if any of these should be desirable in this matter, give them hopes, but on account of the habitual fickleness of these people, begin nothing until the arrival of our troops, when we will act according to best council.”

At this conjuncture the Afghan invasion of Persia became an accomplished fact, and the Russian plans were simplified by the apparent inability of the Shah to defend himself. The motive given out for military operations in Persia was changed, and instead of going to assail the Shah, the Russian troops were announced to be approaching to assist him against rebels and enemies. In the summer of 1722 Peter had collected at Astrachan a very large army for the Persian campaign. It was said to number in all more than 100,000 men. The Tartar and Calmuck contingents alone formed half of the expedition, and there were 20,000 Cossacks. Whatever idea may now be associated with their names these auxiliaries were always considered inferior troops, except for the purposes of irregular warfare. The first object to be attained was the capture of the town and harbour of Derbend on the western shore of the Caspian. The cavalry and irregulars proceeded by land. The infantry with Peter in personal command were conveyed by water. There were no troops at Derbend, and the Governor at once opened the gates and threw himself on the Czar's mercy. The only opposition was made by some of the Circassian chiefs who fought with desperation in their native hills, and although defeated, inflicted severe losses on their assailants. At Derbend, the possession of which, truly speaking, did not benefit Russia so very much, Peter gave expression to several reflections which showed how strongly his heart was set on securing the trade of India for his own people. One of his officers had observed that Russia had a much nearer way to India than the long sea route by the Cape, and explained a very fanciful scheme how, by utilising the water system of Siberia goods could be easily, and with little land carriage, sent from Russia to the Pacific, and then by ships to India. Peter's reply was pregnant and practical, and it also showed that he possessed unusually accurate geographical information for the time.

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“‘It is a long distance and of no use yet awhile.’ Then pointing to the mountains along the shore of the Caspian, he said ‘Have you ever been in the Gulf of Astrabad? You must know then, that those mountains extend to Astrabad, and that from there to Balkh and Badakshan with pack camels is only a twelve days’ journey, and on that road to India no one can interfere with us.’”

The ultimate result of this Persian campaign could not be held to be encouraging, for after finding that the local difficulties were very serious, he withdrew the greater portion of his expedition. The main objects of his policy on the Caspian remained unrealised. He had hoped to found a great place of trade at the mouth of the Kura. He had intended visiting his ally Vakhtan Prince of Georgia at Tiflis and ensuring the stability of Christianity in his country. These plans had to be abandoned, but his lieutenant Matinshkin seized Baku which had at first replied to the Czar’s summons with open defiance. That success was followed up by a most important negotiation, and the representative of the unfortunate Shah Tamasp who at the time could not number more than 400 followers was compelled to sign a treaty at St. Petersburg in 1723, ceding to Russia the three northern provinces of Persia, Ghilan, Mazanderan and Astrabad. The Persian ruler, whose star was again rising in the ascendant through the genius of Nadir Kuli, indignantly refused to ratify terms that dismembered his empire. It is not probable that under any circumstances Peter could have enforced the fulfilment of these terms. But the intervention of Turkey which, under the instigation of England, resolved to reassert her rights in Georgia, compelled the Czar under threat of war to withdraw the ambitious scheme he had gone so far as to promulgate in a formal manner. Although nothing more was said of appropriating Persian provinces, Peter clung tenaciously to the places which he had secured on the Caspian to which sea, he wrote, “we cannot allow any other power to come.” An arrangement was at last concluded between Russia and Turkey by which the Persian provinces into which the Afghan conquerors had not penetrated were to be divided between the two States, while Peter, ever vigilant to attract the sympathy of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, offered the Armenians many facilities and advantages if they would come and settle under Russia on the shores of the Caspian. As this was calculated to excite some displeasure at Constantinople, the Russian Ambassador was instructed to make the following representation which is the more interesting as it formed the last instructions given by Peter on Eastern policy:

“If the Turks say anything about this, reply that we have not

invited the Armenians, but that they on account of the unity of belief had begged us to take them under our protection. For the sake of Christianity it is impossible for us to refuse this to the Armenians who are Christians. As the Vizier himself has often said, it is impossible to refuse protection to those of the same faith who ask it."

It may not be out of place to record the ultimate fate of these Russian conquests. The Persians defied both Russia and Turkey after Peter's death, and resolved to defend the integrity of their dominions. At first the operations of war languished, but as the Afghans were driven out of the country, and the authority of Tamasp or rather of Nadir Shah became consolidated, they were carried on with more vigour against Russia. At last, in 1732, the Empress Anne signed a treaty at Resht, restoring to Persia all the conquered provinces, and even Derbend, north of the Caucasus, was restored. General Manstein described the character of the Russian occupation of ten years in the following pregnant sentences :—

"The Court who would have long before been highly pleased with any good pretence for getting rid with honour of those provinces which Peter I. had conquered from Persia, and of which the keeping cost more than they were worth (a prodigious number of people having perished in them) an expedient was at length found. A negotiation was entered upon for this purpose with the Court of Ispahan, and the provinces were ceded to it in consideration of several advantages granted to commerce. Russia had been obliged to keep near thirty thousand men in garrison in those provinces, and not a year passed without its being necessary to recruit the deficiency of above one-half, as the Russians, not being able to endure the climate, died like flies there. It was reckoned that from the year 1722, in which Peter had entered that country to the time that the Russians evacuated it, there had perished a hundred and thirty thousand men in it."

Peter's death, accelerated by the heroic manner in which he exposed himself to save the lives of a shipwrecked crew, took place on the 8th of February 1725, the anniversary, strangely enough, of the death of his father and brother. While he gave Russia a political importance to which she could never before lay claim, and which she has never lost, it is strange to think how many of his plans came to nothing, how frequently he absolutely failed, and how little of his comprehensive scheme of Asiatic policy ever bore fruit. The defeat and effectual humbling of Sweden, followed by the acquisition of the Baltic provinces, constituted a great and brilliant success. It gave Russia, not merely an outlet to the world, but the means of breathing.

But still so far as practical results went, that was Peter's one achievement. In China his envoys had been slighted and almost insulted. They were told that commerce was in their eyes a very small consideration, and quite beneath the notice of the Chinese sovereign. At the same time the Russian settlers had been compelled to retire from the advanced positions they had taken up on the Amour, and to continue their bleak existence under the shadow of defeat. Nor had the expeditions in search of the mythical Erket brought back either gold or any substantial equivalent. Several thousand Russian soldiers perished in the vain endeavour to extend the Czar's authority up the Irtysh; and all the desires to establish a firm alliance with the Jungarian monarchy did not avail to save that State and the dynasty of Tse Wang Rabdan from being overwhelmed by the Chinese. Not in Bokhara where the ruler detained and imprisoned the few Russian merchants and travellers who reached his capital, not in Khiva where the vain prayers of an enslaved army went up daily to Heaven, could it be said that the policy of Peter had produced practical results, or been accompanied by events of which his people could be proud. He had also been constrained with much pain, and after some hesitation to surrender Azof, the place identified with his first feat of arms. The last military triumph had not proved much more fortunate than the first. The places snatched from Persia at a time of embarrassment could not be retained against the genius of Nadir Shah, and seven years after Peter's death there remained nothing to show how much he had expected to benefit by the possession of the Astrabad province and by holding the commencement of that route of twelve days' journey for camels to Balkh and Badakshan.

But if these many points of Peter's policy failed in his hands, and if the practical reward was denied to the author, there is also no doubt that the policy eventually adopted in one and all of these matters was Peter's, and the resolution or ability of his successors has in most cases only availed to bring them to a successful issue. The land-borne trade of China is almost exclusively in the hands of Russia and it will expand whenever the internal communications of Siberia are improved by the construction of either canals or a railway. The old line of the Cossack settlements round Albazin has been recovered, while the possession of Maritime Manchuria has given Russia a position of almost paramount importance in the north-east quarter of Asia. The gold of Erket has not yet been discovered, but still Russia has acquired in the possession of Turkestan an equivalent of some value. Neither Khiva nor Bokhara is in a frame of mind or physical condition to offer opposition or show resentment. The trade,

such as it is, of the countries of the Oxus and the Jihon is the possession of the Muscovite ; but the possession has not carried with it as Peter thought the monopoly of trade with the dominions of the Great Mogul. Russia has not secured, indeed, the advantageous route which Peter described on the Caspian in somewhat glowing colours as leading from Astrabad to the northern side of the Hindu Kush, but she has obtained in the Turcoman country an alternative and parallel route from the Caspian to the Murgab and Heri Rud. She has succeeded in obtaining a greater and greater hold on the shores of the Black Sea, which would have been converted into a Russian lake, but for the vigorous intervention of the other great powers. She has long identified herself with the cause of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and to such good purpose, that she has shattered the military power of Turkey, and despoiled her of all her fortresses both in Asia and in Europe. It is not because Peter succeeded that he is to be regarded as the author of the State-policy of Russia, but because he marked out with almost unerring judgment what that policy should be. He gave it its form, even when his own efforts seemed to point to the conclusion that Russia did not, and might never, possess the strength or resources to carry it out. Another fact also is clear. Russia has not yet obtained the prize for which she strove, *viz.*, the trade of India ; but, whatever may be thought of her chances of success, it would be rash to say that after so many labours patiently borne and triumphantly vanquished, Russian statesmen have resigned the hope of realising Peter's dream.

The reader of Peter's life will not fail to be impressed by it if he only realises how completely he altered the whole current of Russia's history. Not merely did he introduce civilisation, and check the undue encroachments of a most bigoted and unlettered priesthood, but he supplied the people with the ambition of attaining specific objects, and with many of the means of doing so, without which a nation must languish and deteriorate. Every matter received his personal attention, and very seldom did it happen that he had not some practical suggestion to offer. His suggestions were very often those of an expert and not of a theorist, for it had been wittily if maliciously said of him that he was "the master of fifteen trades." He was a great domestic reformer as well as a master of State-craft, but without anyone to assist and supplement his efforts it was impossible for him to do as much as he wished. The few foreigners of ability whose services he could command were hampered in every way by their Russian colleagues and subordinates. While even the able and faithful Menshikof was not free from the taint of corruption then as now the prevailing

bane of the Russian services. Once Peter had wished to pass a law punishing with death all who had appropriated as much public money even as would pay for a rope, when an official said to him, "What! does your Majesty wish to remain alone in the Empire? We all steal, some more, some less, but more cleverly." The edict was never drafted. One of the noblest of his speeches that has been preserved is the following in which he dwells upon the duty of a good subject. The remarks were addressed to perhaps the ablest of his diplomatists Nepluief on his appointment as Resident at Constantinople, and who before this had been only employed in building boats. "Do not bow down, brothers; I am placed over you by God, and my duty is to see that I do not give to an unworthy man or take away from a worthy one. Provided you do well you will do good, not to me, but rather to yourself and your country, and if you are bad, then I am a judge, for God demands from me with regard to all of you that I do not give places to the wicked or stupid. Serve them with fidelity and probity. First God and after Him even I will not abandon you."

Although it could not be sustained that Peter is not appreciated at his proper work outside his own country, still it is no doubt true that only a fellow-countryman can attain the full height of admiration. We shall therefore close this article with the quotation which Mr. Schuyler gives us from Kostomarof, only once more pointing out that, while the alleged will of Peter must be regarded as a fabrication, the subsequent policy of Russia has been based on the lines laid down by Peter, that many of his objects have been absolutely attained, and that the crowning success is to be the monopoly of the commerce, if not the actual conquest of India. There is no reason to suppose that the St. Petersburg Foreign Office has any intention of dropping the last from its programme. Kostomarof wrote—

"He loved Russia, loved the Russian people, loved it not in the sense of the mass of Russians contemporary with, and subject to, himself, but in the sense of that ideal to which he wished to bring the people. For that reason, this love constitutes that great quality in him which causes us, even against our will, to love him personally, leaving out of view his bloody tribunals and all his demoralising despotism, which has exercised a baneful influence even on posterity. On account of Peter's love of the ideal of the Russian people, a Russian will love Peter as long as he does not himself lose this national ideal, and for this love will pardon in him all that lies with such heavy weight on his memory.

ART. III.—CONTACTS OF CHINA WITH FOREIGN NATIONS, FROM THE EARLIEST TILL THE PRESENT TIMES.

THE country which we call China, according to the name given to it by the navigators who sailed to the south-east of Asia, is by the inhabitants themselves named *Tshung-kwo*, that is to say, the *middle kingdom*, because it is according to their

Preliminary remarks.

opinion situated in the centre of the world, whence it irradiates all the other countries inhabited by barbarians, with the peculiar hues of its own civilization. It is only a popular and generally prevalent error that the Chinese call their country the *celestial empire*, although at one time they adopted the expression *Tien-hia*, that is to say, *under the heavens*, to designate energetically their total independence of any terrestrial power whatever.

China has for its boundaries on the east and on the north, respectively, the Sea and the Great Wall, but its western and southern frontiers are more elastic and arbitrary. In the first named direction the Emperor Kuen-lung added to the province of Kansu a tract of country across Central Asia from Kia-yu-kwan the western gate of the Great Wall, as far as Ili, and in order to secure the possession of the great commercial routes in the west, and to the south of this zone, he added the whole region of the great slopes of the Kin-sha-kiang, extending to the frontiers beyond Bathang on the road to Tibet. In the second direction China attained a greater extension than its present limits, during the Han dynasty, when also Annam, the present Tonkin, belonged to it; this, however, was lost A. D. 263, and the frontiers now marked on the maps approximatively designate the regions which the Chinese may defend with their troops, but the more these advance to the south and to the south-west, the greater is the number of the populations which maintain, in reality, a state of independence on the mountains, and impede the peaceable development of Chinese cultivation in the valleys. The boundaries of the empire were, during the lapse of many ages, extended gradually, and the assimilation of the inhabitants proceeded even more slowly. In the time of the Yau, the political region embraced only a series of valleys and alluvial plains in Northern China, which indicated the path taken by the civilizing race that immigrated from the north-west, and then diffused itself over the country. How trifling is this in comparison to the present extent of China which occupies one thirty-third of

terra firma on the earth and whose population, one of the most advanced of the Caucasian races, numbers about one-third of mankind ! To produce such a result the most favourable conditions were necessary, to provide so enormous a population, not only with food and raiment, but favoured also a considerable intellectual development. Europe, indeed, possesses an advantage in the vast extent of its coasts, and in the varieties of its soil, which conduces to an ever-progressing development of civilization by international contact, but in other respects it must yield to China, which possesses the greatest rivers of all the continental regions in the temperate zones. Even the tropical ones which possess larger rivers, have no fluvial region that penetrates with its navigable branches into mountainous regions as does the Yang-tse. China has the most fertile alluvial regions, the most regular succession of seasons, the most splendid flora, and it would seem also the greatest wealth of coal. The uniform lines of the coasts with their boisterous winds are not very favourable to trade along them, but, on the other hand, this limitation of commerce to the interior has promoted the unification and centralization of the Chinese empire.

When the mythic uncertainty concerning China had disappeared and the idea spread that it once possessed a regular political organization, a high state of literature and art, with a richly developed industry at a time when Europe was yet plunged in coarse barbarism and deep superstition, it is no wonder that the first impressions of amazement led European observers into various exaggerations, and that they attributed advantages to that country which it cannot reasonably claim. Even after a more close acquaintance with the Middle Kingdom the first impressions concerning it continued to subsist in a vague way, nevertheless numerous merits ascribed to it must disappear upon close scrutiny and scientific research, but especially the opening out of Chinese literature, which is steadily on the increase, point more and more to a greater resemblance between eastern and western civilization ; especially to a stronger leaning by the Chinese upon foreign culture than had hitherto been supposed.

This relates especially to inventions, of which we shall mention two only. In spite of W. F. Mayer's striking arguments,* the erroneous idea is still entertained that the Chinese had invented gunpowder and fire-arms before it was known to them than the Europeans ; but though they knew pyrotechnics and explosive mixtures very early, the use of gunpowder and of fire-arms

* Journal of the North China Branch, R. As. S., VI, 1871, p. 73—104.

was undoubtedly learned from Europeans. The case is the same with the mariner's compass which the Chinese are said to have known and used thousands of years before the Christian era. This much, however, alone is certain. They knew the loadstone and its polarity very early, but their claim to the invention of the compass has certainly not been proved. It is certain that the compass was brought to China by the Japanese who in their turn obtained it either from Europe or India, it is also certain that before the fifteenth and sixteenth century only, compasses with the needle swimming on water were known, but it can be shown that these were not in use before the twelfth century. Taking another example in a different direction of effort we may mention the gigantic work of the "Great Wall." The report of a massive architectural work beginning on the shore of the eastern sea, extending over dales and mountains through twenty degrees of Longitude extending to more than 4,000 kilometres in length, built in the third century before Christ, an eighth wonder of the world, bears witness to a very early development of Chinese civilization. Although a good deal of this brilliant illusion must vanish when critically examined, the colossal dimensions of the work remain indisputable, but the belief in its high antiquity must disappear, because what is at present meant by the Great Wall, is mostly the work of the fifteenth and of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, as the "Great Wall" had certainly no existence before the sixth century.*

We shall now proceed to give the contacts of the Chinese with foreign nations, dividing them into six periods:—

First Period.

From the most ancient times till the building of the Great Wall in 212 B. C.

began, or was completed with the building of the Great Wall, whilst, on the other hand, it may be said that their complete isolation ceased with the completion of that colossal work. Baron von Richthofen† deduces from the elements of civilization, but more especially from the astronomical notions which the Indians, the Egyptians and the Chinese have in common, that the latter originally dwelt in the basin of the river Tarim and were the neighbours of the Aryans as well as of the Scythians around the table-land of Pamir. In that primordial region the first germs of intellectual life, of agriculture, and of industry were developed. From it the Chinese entered, by tracks already known to them, China, and gradually diffused themselves over the country. Whilst

* Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. XXXV. 1881, p. 75 seq.

† *China*, Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien, 1877 and 1882.

their neighbours of the Pamir plateau migrated from the Oxus and Yaxartes region to India, to Persia, to the Caucasus, to the shores of the Mediterranean and made rapid advances in civilization, the Chinese who had entered China remaining separated from all of them. The greatest chain of mountains in the world shut them out from the south, that is to say, from an entrance to India, the existence of which became known to them by a circuitous route. Thus they lived on, during thousands of years in perfect solitude, that is to say, without coming in contact with any other civilized nation. In such an isolation their culture was evolved exclusively from their own internal nature, and becoming intensely petrified, has never afterwards undergone any essential modification. The striking contrasts presented by the Chinese character, the social refinement and the moral formalism coupled with inhuman cruelty and profound dissimulation, are all products of that isolation, in consequence of which the qualities of the most civilized man and those of a nomad of antiquity are united in one individual, neither harmonized nor tempered by that education, which nations as well as individuals can acquire only by living with each other. The Chinese were, during their extremely long process of intellectual development, always surrounded by inferior nations whom they could not consider as their equals and brothers. When, afterwards, contact with other civilized nations ensued, the organization was too firmly solidified to allow of the reception of any change or improvement derived from foreigners. The Chinese were, and are even now, intent only on understanding and appropriating to themselves matters already comprised within their prescribed limits of knowledge, or at least in some way connected with the rules of antiquity; such as astronomical sciences, for instance, and some practical discoveries.

On the other hand, whatever implied a deep sympathy with foreign intuitions, was, and is, also at present either excluded, or assimilated to already existing old models, or accepted externally only. Thus the Chinese took from Buddhism its name and forms, but not its innate essence; Islam was propagated by the invasion of its adherents, not by the conversion of the Chinese; Christianity might have been accepted like Buddhism, that is to say, modified by fundamental Chinese ideas. That such was actually the case with the Nestorian Christianity introduced in China, appears plainly enough from the now well-known and still existing *Sin-gan-fu* inscription engraved on a stone slab A. D. 781. The great aversion of the Chinese to everything foreign as barbarous, especially at the time the inscription was drawn up may, in connection with the homologizing tendencies of the

missionaries—some of whom wear even in our times, in the interior of the country, the tail and the costume of the Chinese—perhaps account for the extreme care with which strange names and ideas have been so much avoided in the document, that probably not even the most bigoted Chinese could find anything extraordinary in, and still less be shocked by, the inscription. This assimilation to Chinese ideas was carried to such lengths, that on account of the praises bestowed in the document on various persons, and on the emperors, whose portraits were also set up with lamps and incense constantly burning before them, the church which contained the inscription must generally have been considered, rather as one of the ancestral temples so common among the Chinese, than a place of worship as much opposed to the cult of elements and spirits as the Christian religion is known to be.*

Returning, however, to the first period now under discussion, we may mention, that already during the reign of the Emperor Yu, the first of the Hea dynasty (2207-1767 B. C.) which succeeded that of Yau, the Chinese had lost their original locations in Yo-shui and Hei-shui, having migrated further to the east as far as Shan-se. It may be supposed that the nations conterminous with the Chinese, had endeavoured to maintain some commerce with the great western empires, by carrying to them silk and metals from China; but during the Hea dynasty and that of the Shang (1766-1122 B. C.) which followed it, the Chinese themselves certainly did not carry on that trade.

Tsin, or rather Che-hoang-ti, the founder of the Tsin dynasty (249-206 B. C.), built the Great Wall† to hinder the invasions of the Hiungnu (Huns). The consequences of this immense work were the centralization and subjugation of nearly all the independent tribes of barbarians in the interior, and the exterior extension of the empire towards the south and the south-west.

After the Chinese had strengthened their power at home under

Second Period.

From 212 B. C. till the beginning of the Tang dynasty A. D. 619.

the Emperor Hia-Wu-Ti (who reigned from 140 till 86 B. C.), they first sent to the Yue-tshi the celebrated Embassy of Tshang-kien, which brought back to China the first information about the western countries as well as about India, and drew attention to the importance of trade with those regions; then they opened, under the young hero Ho-kin-ping, a route to the west, and securing it by the establishment of military stations began to send the first Chinese caravans across the Pamir plateau

* Journal of the Bombay Br. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, 1877, p. 160.

† Begun in 240 B. C. according to Gutztaff's "Sketch of Chinese History," Vol. I, p. 223.

and the Tien-shan mountains. It was then that discord in the interior of China ensued, and the hostilities of the Hiungnu (Huns) interrupted commerce by making the roads to the west-insecure, but the great strategist Pan-tshau again attacked them during the reign of the Emperor Ming-ti (A. D. 58) crossed the Pamir tableland and extended the limits of the empire to the Caspian. Meanwhile the Romans made, after their conquests in Syria, &c., their power felt also in Armenia, which became afterwards under Trajan, a Roman province, so that the Caspian alone divided the two colossal empires.

The Emperor Ming-ti sent a deputation of eighteen mandarins to Hindostan (Tien-chuh), for it was rumoured that a great teacher had arisen in that country. They returned with Ho-shang, a Buddhist priest, who brought with him several Pali books, and, from that period, we may date the general spread of Buddhism over Eastern Asia.* During the reign of Hwan-ti, the first foreigners from the south-west from Ta-tsin, Arabia, and Tien-chuh, arrived by sea in China, bringing tribute and subsequently trading at Canton. This was the commencement of foreign intercourse. During the Hang dynasty also, the art of printing from blocks was invented, but did not attract the attention of Government till A. D. 935, or seven centuries after, during which period it appears to have been very little cultivated.

But the Hiungnu were succeeded by the Sien-pi in the east, and by the Oigurs in the west, who invaded the countries all round the Caspian, and from them, the Pamir tablelands. Then came the so-called San-kuo (three-country) period from A. D. 221 till 265, when the Chinese Empire was split into three parts; but was again united, and during 353, the so-called small dynasties, seven in number, succeeded each other. During all this time all contact between China with the West was again interrupted, and the barbarians prevailed in Central Asia, where, during the first half of the sixth century, the great empire of the Tu-kiu was formed. As already noted above, the Emperor Ming-ti had publicly acknowledged Buddhism as a religion of China A.D. 65, though it had been introduced into the country so early as 217 B.C.

During the glorious expedition of Pan-tshau the Chinese became aware of the existence of the Roman Empire, which they called Ta-tsin, but some travellers must have ere this reached the frontiers of Roman dominion. They probably furnished the information concerning the Roman Empire which occurs in the *Si-yu-ki*, or account of western countries, a portion whereof is always added to the Chinese annals of the Han dynasty. Very few western authors of this period

* Begun in 240 B. C. according to Gutztaff's "Sketch of Chinese History," Vol. 1, p. 251.

appear to have known anything about the Chinese ; Strabo calls them *Serici*, and the geographer Ptolemy describes the caravan-route as far as the capital Tshang-ngan the present Si-ngan-fu, designating not China, but all the countries situated between it and the west, by the name of *Serica*. It is certain, however, that silk was imported into India, but not by that route ; Buddhism also gave occasion for pilgrimages and mutual embassies *viâ* the basin of the Oxus.

The contacts by sea, between the east and the west, were not numerous. At the end of the first century of the Christian era, Hippalus, a Greek pilot of Egypt, who discovered the trade-winds or monsoons, made use of them to circumnavigate the peninsula of Malacca, but the country of eastern Asia which was reached, was certainly not that of the *Serici*, but to the south of them, and known by the name of Thin, Tsin, Tshin or Sin. This was Tonkin, which the Chinese called Yinan (Annam), and by Ptolemy rendered Sinai. This name pronounced by different nations Sin, Tshin, &c., were by the Malay pilots extended to designate the southern provinces of China, and so afterwards, by the western nations, to the whole Empire. The embassy of M. Aurelius Antoninus reached Ynnan by sea, and proceeded by land to the court of the Emperor Hwan-ti A.D. 166 ; later on two other embassies were sent, but nothing is known how they terminated.

During the time of the eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317-419) Chinese *junks* were navigated as far as Ceylon, but in the middle of the fifth century they sailed to Hira on the Euphrates, whilst during the seventh and the eighth, the commercial voyages from Persia and Arabia to China became so developed, that the Chinese no longer needed to sail so far to the west. About that time the name *Serica* fell into abeyance, because the Chinese no longer frequented western marts by land, and the nations who carried on the silk-trade were known by their own names. The only Greek who had, since the second century, known anything about eastern countries from authentic sources, was Cosmas, a merchant, who afterwards became a monk and wrote his book A. D. 560. He was surnamed Indico-pleustes, or Indian traveller, although he had never himself reached that country, but obtained his information about Ceylon from his kinsman Sopater. He states * that from the *further* waters, as well as from *Sina*, and other emporia, silk, aloes, cloves and tzandana † were brought to that island.

During the glorious Tang dynasty China became the most

* Journal of the Bombay Br. R. As. S., Vol. XV. Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce, before the Christian era, p. 147.

† Probably Agila-wood, usually considered to be Sandal.

powerful and the most civilised country of the world, and simultaneously with it, the Arabian Empire was developing itself, whilst still further to the west, Europe was beginning to organize itself more slowly. Thus three civilizations were developing themselves representing three great religions, namely, Buddhism, Islāmism and Christianity.

Third Period.

From the Tang dynasty (A.D. 619-907) till the beginning of the Mongol Empire (1206) when Chenghiz Khan proclaimed himself Emperor.

At that time the Tu-kiu were dominant in Central Asia, and conveyed to the West the silk which they purchased at the great mart of Tshang-ye, the present Kan-tshou-fu near the pass of Yu-menn, but Tai-tsung (627-50) the real founder and second emperor of the power of the Tang dynasty, attacked the Tu-kiu and extended his dominions to the basin of the Tarim river. Meanwhile the Arabs had conquered Persia, and the princes of the Turanian lowlands paid allegiance to the Chinese to secure their protection. Moreover, by the aid of the kings of Taofan and Nepaul, the Chinese penetrated also into India, where many kings became tributary to them. This was the time of the greatest extension of the Chinese Empire. Soon, however, Islām began to spread. In order to defend themselves against the Taofan populations to the north-east of Tibet who had assumed a threatening attitude, the Chinese called in 763 the Turkish tribe of the Hwei-he to their assistance and admitted them into the province of Kan-su; afterwards, also, other tribes propagated Islām in northern China. By internal discord, and by the attacks of the Taofan who had been restless during the preceding reigns, the Chinese had in 791 again lost Central Asia. The Tang dynasty was succeeded by the so-called period of the Woo-tae (907-959) or five dynasties, then came the very long one of the Sung (960-1206) and the Mongol or Yuen dynasty began, although the resistance of the Chinese to the victorious invaders did not entirely cease till A.D. 1279.

The new additions to the Empire in the west during the first sovereigns of the Tang dynasty, considerably augmented the geographical knowledge of the Chinese, but always within the limits of the subjugated countries only. Several journeys to foreign parts were undertaken during this period, and among them the travels of Hiuen-tsang in 629 who visited India, the Tien-shan mountains, &c. The narratives were first translated into French by the celebrated sinologue Stanislas Julien and are well known. At present Mr. Samuel Beal is producing a new translation of Hiuen-tsang's *Si-yu-ki*.

As to foreigners who came from the west to China during this period, it may be mentioned that the first Christian bishop in China

was Olopen, his name having been changed to this form to accommodate the pronunciation to the language of the country. It is not known whether he arrived in the country which he evangelized as a simple priest or as a bishop, but he is believed to have been the latter after the year 636, and his name occurs in the celebrated Sin gan-fu inscription already alluded to above. The second bishop of China and successor of Olopen was Gio, *i. e.*, Joannes. He was installed in the year 699 as the head of the church, which suffered persecution, but the church was afterwards revived by him in 713 in connection with another Chinese prelate, Kie-ho, and with the approbation of the Emperor Yuen-sun-chi-tao. In the year 745 the third bishop, Kie-ho arrived in China from Ta-sin (Syria or Assyria probably) with two other priests, Lo-han and Pu-lun, who did great works. The precise time at which David, the fourth bishop of China, was sent to that country by the Syrian Catholicus Timothy I, cannot be ascertained; but Y-su whose uncorrupted name was probably Josuah, arrived in 780 by way of India. Hing-sui was the sixth Metropolitan of China, and presided over the see in 781, when the marble inscription of Sin-gan-fu was erected, he is eulogised by name at the end of this inscription. Thomas, the seventh bishop of China, was sent to that country by way of India, long after 889. He had been sent by the Greek patriarch of Bagdad in the company of another bishop, who took up his abode in the island of Socotra, whilst he himself appears to have set sail alone from Ceylon to China. Here the series of Chinese bishops is interrupted, the eighth not being mentioned till the thirteenth century by William Rubruquis who does not even give his name, but says that he was an absentee who ought to have resided at Seguin, *i. e.*, Sin-gan-fu, which was then as now a stronghold of Muhammadanism. In fact Christianity no longer existed publicly in China since 841 when the Emperor Wu-tsung had prohibited it.

No trace whatever of the existence of Christianity in China, and therefore of the foreigners who introduced it, can be discovered earlier than the year 636 when the Nestorians preached it there, as appears from the contents of the Chinese inscription of Sin-gan-fu, and Joannes de Monte Corvino expressly says in his letter, dated Peking 1305 "Ad has siquidem terras nec aliquis Apostolus, nec apostolorum discipulus pervenit." The case was different in Khorasán and in Ma-vera-al-nahr, *i. e.*, Transoxiana, where it is certain from Syriac documents that not only Christian communities but also Christian bishops, existed. Those of Merv and Tus are mentioned both by Mares and A'mru, Barsabas presiding in 334 and Samuel in 430 over the episcopal sees. The patriarch Yaballaha conferred in 420 the rights of a

metropolitan on the bishop of Merv, and besides this see there were many other bishoprics and Christian communities. Heria or Hara, the present Herat, and the second capital of the province of Khorasán, was according to some authors, together with Samarkand, the chief city of Transoxiana, raised to a bishopric in 411 or 503 either by the patriarch Ahaeus or Silas. The Syriac history of the Nestorians contains records concerning the metropolitans of Merv and Herat in Khorasán, down to the year 1000. Thus, for instance, David was the Metropolitan of Merv in 536, Theodosius in 540, Elias in 650, Joseph in 778, Joannes in 860, Joseph in 900, and Ebedjesus in 1000, Jonas was the Metropolitan of Herat in 820, and Abraham in 1000.

Between India and China, Buddhist embassies as well as pilgrimages were exchanged, but nothing is known of any importance concerning them. The Persians continued, even after they had become Muhammadans, to enjoy the monopoly of the silk-trade, but the article was brought to them mostly by the Chinese themselves, and even after these had lost their western possessions the trade by land did not cease, because the Muhammadans could easily open routes among their co-religionists of Central Asia. It decayed nevertheless, because maritime commerce always flourished more. As to the Arabs, their high civilization began at the end of the eighth century. They did good service to Geography which they established upon a mathematical and astronomical basis, guided by the rules laid down in the *Almagest*, their Arabic translation of the cosmography of Ptolemy. They determined many latitudes and longitudes, produced geographical works, and specially described various commercial routes by sea as well as by land. The commerce of the Arabs extended from the Straits of Gibraltar to China, but was mostly maritime, and the land trade passed only across the Isthmus of Suez, or Syria and Mesopotamia, from the Mediterranean to Bosra in the Persian Gulf; but caravans also travelled from Sogdiana through the desert to China. The most important descriptions are those of Ibn Khordabeh (870), of Abu Said (about 920), of Masudi (950), of Mokaddesy (about 980), of Al Biruni (in the beginning of the 11th century), and of Edrisi (1140). The general descriptions of the southern portions of Europe, the northern of Africa, and the south-western of Asia, which the Arabs knew, are accurate enough, but confused and untrustworthy whenever the authors indulged in speculations of their own not based on facts. Whilst the descriptions of land-routes are imperfect, those by sea are clear. The Arabs were masters of all the coasts from Suez to the mouths of the Indus. They could not, however, compete with the Chinese, the most brilliant period

of whose navigation was during the reigns of the first emperors of the Tang dynasty, and extended as far as Aden. Soon, however, the Arabs learnt the use of the mariner's compass and perfected themselves in the art of navigation, so that they ventured further and further, sailing in the eighth century as far as Khan-ku (Canton), Khanfu (Hang-tshu-fu) and to the mouth of the Yang-tse. All this is described in the voyages of Suleyman (851), and of Abu Said (916), translated and published by Reinandot already in 1718. The account given of Chinese arts, industries, usages, &c., is minute enough, but contains very little geography. The prosperity referred to in the first portion of this narrative had already decayed when Abu Said visited the country. As the power of the Tang dynasty declined, the coasts of Fo-kien and of Tche-kiang were infested by pirates, and a ferocious rebellion in 880 had destroyed the silk-trade and the Arab factories in Southern China.

In 907 when the Tang dynasty terminated, the Khitan, a nation

Fourth Period.

From the beginning of the Mongol Empire (1206) till the arrival of the Portuguese in China (1517).

near the river Lian in Southern Manchuria, led by a young chief, subjugated the whole country along the frontiers of Tartary as far as the Lake Lob. Afterwards they subjugated even Northern China, and this being confounded with the power dominant as far as the interminable steppes, was together with it called Kitai, Katai and Cataya. About the year 1123 a chief of the Yu-tchi who were subject to the Khitan, rebelled, and founded instead of this empire that of the Kin; but one of the descendants of the Lian, who were thus called after the river from which the sovereigns of the Khitan took their name, progressed further to the west and founded another empire called the empire of the Kara-Khitan. This comprised the whole basin of the river Tarim, the Turanian lowlands, and extended to the frontiers of Persia. Thus three empires existed in 1162, namely, China, Kin and Kara-Khitan, but during that year also an individual who conquered them all, when he came to man's estate, was born on the banks of the Onon, namely, the terrible hero Temujin, son of a Mongol Chief. After having made several conquests he proclaimed himself, in a Kurultai or popular assembly of Mongols and Turks, Chenchiz Khan or Most High Lord; then he subjugated with the most devastating cruelty on record a vast number of countries, and founded the Mongol Empire, which extended from the Japanese to the Black Sea embracing also a great portion of Siberia and one-half of European Russia. From the Caspian and the Yaxartes, even as far as the river Indus, every vestige of art, science and civilization was destroyed.

Chengbiz Khan died on the 18th August 1227 in the twenty-second year of his reign and the sixty-sixth of his age. He had employed his four sons in the government of his dominions. Juji he entrusted with all the affairs concerning the chase, which, as it was carried on with immense preparations on certain occasions, required nearly as much discernment as the manœuvring of troops; Chazutai presided over the judicial, Ogotai over the civil, and Tulni over the military, administration. But Ogotai he considered the fittest to succeed him, although he was the youngest, and he obtained the supremacy with the title of Grand Khán, taking up his residence at Karakorum. He extended his conquests in China as far as the Yang-tse river. His brother Batu to whom the western portion of the empire was assigned with Sarai on the Volga for its capital, devastated Hungary, Poland and Silesia. Hulagu sacked Bagdad in 1258 and put an end to the Khalifate. He advanced as far as Syria and the frontiers of Egypt. Kubilai (1260-80) conquered the rest of China, putting an end to the Sung dynasty and beginning that of the Yuen (which word means *origin* or, as it were, a new departure). He transferred the capital of the Empire from Karakorum to Khanbalig (Peking) and began a great work of reorganization, fostering agriculture, commerce, the arts, founding or renovating canals, roads, towns, &c. In fact the nomad who had come into the possession of a civilised country became civilized himself, and the Grand Kkán of the Mongols was transformed into the Emperor of China. In these labours he was naturally aided mostly by the Chinese, who thus derived great advantages from the Mongol government, and were also employed in colonizing. In course of time, however, the Mongols fell victims to luxury—and were in 1368 expelled by the Chinese whereon commenced the Ming dynasty which lasted till 1644, its power however never extended beyond China. This dynasty was most unfriendly to foreigners, never cared what took place beyond the Great Wall, and during its sway absolute isolation prevailed between the eastern and western portions of the continent. Outside of China the Mongols were not concentrated, because their dynasty had introduced great numbers of them into that country. In 1402 Taymur Lang (Tamerlane) arose and founded his great empire extending from its centre, Samarkand, to the west and to south, but having no connection with China.

The unification of nearly the whole of Asia beyond India, during the existence of the Mongol Empire, was more favorable to communications between the civilised countries of the east and of the west than at any former period. All the routes were free and frequented by caravans, by travellers and by armies; but as Chinese scholars felt no political interest in knowing or elucidating

the affairs of an empire which was governed by, and for strangers, and was therefore not national, no remarkable Chinese geographical work exists known in Europe on the dealings of the populations of Central Asia and of Turan, except that of Ma-twan-lin. But during the sway of the Ming dynasty all knowledge concerning the state of Asia, China alone excepted, was lost. Scholars could no longer understand the existing old traditions and accounts, although the inhabitants of the province of Shamjee still engaged in foreign trade to a small extent.

In spite of the devastations of the Mongols, civilization was not utterly destroyed in Western Asia, and in course of time the conquerors assumed the customs of the conquered. There commerce with the eastern countries again revived, especially through the Persians. Learned Moslems began to take interest in the affairs of the Mongols, and they composed works concerning them, based partly on their own experience, and partly upon the information they collected from travellers. The three most celebrated representatives of this period were, Rashid-uddin (1247-1318), Abulfaraj better known as Abulfeda (1273-1332) and, Ibn Batuta (1304-1377), who describes the various large Chinese ships, such as *junks*, *zaws*, and *kakams* which he had seen in the port of Calicut. The *Jāmi-uttovārikh* of the first named author is a historical ethnographical and geographical work of great importance chiefly with reference to the administrative organization of China, therein called Khatay. Abulfeda was most particular in establishing the latitudes and longitudes of the places described by him, and his works are well known, and so are the travels of Ibn Batuta, who went from Tangiers, his birthplace, to China, and also passed through a portion of India. They are most interesting, but as he had no scientific training, they are of very little use from a geographical point of view.

The devastations of the Mongols excited great horror in Europe. Afterwards priests were sent to them to convert them to Christianity. The Franciscan Mission of John de Plano Carpino started from Europe in 1246, and again returned in 1247, having spent most of the time in travelling, and only one month at the Court of Kuyuk. The Dominican mission of Friar Anselm returned to the Papal Court after an absence of three and half years, inclusive of its sojourn of nearly a year in the camp of Baiju which it had reached in 1247 with a letter from the Pope, who exhorted the Tartars no more to repeat their ravages in Christian countries, and to repent of what they had done. Lewis IX., king of France, known as St. Louis, despatched ambassadors who travelled to Mongolia by way of Transoxiana and arrived

at Karakorum where Kuyuk had already died. They handed their letters and presents to the Empress-Regent and were kindly received at her court, but the result of their mission corresponded in no way to the expectations of Louis IX. to whom they returned in 1251 whilst he was engaged in fortifying Cæsarea in Palestine. The Franciscan monk John de Monte Corvino established himself about the year 1293 at the imperial residence of Peking, where he built two churches and baptized, within the space of a few years, 6,000 persons. At the demand of this missionary, Pope Clement V, sent in the year 1307 seven Franciscans to China, nominating at the same time John de Monte Corvino, Archbishop at Pekin. In 1312 the Pope sent him as suffragans three other Franciscans, and John de Monte Corvino appointed a certain Bishop Gerard to take charge of the diocese of Zaitun. It appears from a letter of Bishop Andrew to the Superior of the Convent of Perusio, dated Zaitun the 20th January 1326, that the missionaries sent by the Pope were fed and clothed at the expense of the Mongol Emperor; also the Franciscan friar Odoric, who spent three years, between 1322 and 1328 in Northern China, boasts of the liberality of the Mongol Court from which clothing was sent to his monastery which might have sufficed for a thousand monks.

Such facility of communication for religious and political purposes gave rise to hopes, that commercial relations between Europe and Eastern Asia would be established. In this respect the Italian town showed much alacrity, and Venice, most of all. This led to the travels of Marco Polo, the most important during the Middle Ages, and have, as far as their extension is concerned, scarcely been surpassed even in modern times. He spent, as is well known, more than seventeen years (1275-92) at the Court and in the service of Kublai-Khân, travelling on various duties about the whole empire, and also to the adjacent countries. In his celebrated book *Il Milione* he described in the most lively, and most conscientious manner, Persia, Badakhshân, the basin of the river Tarim, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Burma, Laos, Siam, Cochín-China, Japan, the Indian Archipelago, India, and various islands, such as Nikobar, Andaman and Ceylon. He calls China, Carîya; the capital Cambalu (Pekin); the old capital Quinsay (Hang-tshu-fu) in the Manzi (Southern China) and the chief port Zaitun (Tshuen-tshu-fu). The knowledge of such a book could in those times spread but very slowly. It had, however, the effect of attracting the attention of Europe to a country, excelling in wealth and civilization the possessions of the Saracens and of the Tartars. Afterwards, however, when new travels were undertaken, and names found in various countries

entirely different from those given by Marco Polo, the book fell into discredit and was no longer considered to be a trustworthy guide. Modern criticism vindicated the reputation and veracity of the famous Italian traveller, and his work was translated into various languages. In this respect Pauthier, Colonel Yule, and others, have rendered good service by their translations which they carefully annotated. On the commercial relations which were during this period being inaugurated, we possess the narrative of Balduccio Pegolotti, (1340) a commercial traveller of the great Florentine family Baldi, who described his journey from Tana the Venetian emporium of trade on the Black Sea, to the capital of China.

The historical events may be summarised as follows :—After a long contest (1616-1644) the Mantchus conquered the dynasty of Ming, and installed that of Tai-tsing which is still reigning. The Mantchus, however, like the Mongols before them, soon conformed themselves to Chinese usages. The Tai-tsings, chiefly the glorious Kien-lung (1736 1796) re-conquered a great portion of Central Asia beyond China, embracing the whole basin of the Tarim river, and established the limits of the Chinese Empire nearly as they exist at present. They were not enemies of foreigners, like the Mings, as appears from the concessions granted in 1650 to the ships of all nations to sail to China, and from the favours which the Jesuit missionaries enjoyed chiefly at the court of the Emperor Kang-hi (1662-1723).

In 1517 four Portuguese, and as many Malay vessels piloted by Fernando Perez de Andrade reached the island at the mouth of the Pearl river, and Andrade reached Canton. Afterwards the Portuguese made various efforts to establish themselves in Canton and Ningpo which had become the chief ports of China instead of Zaitun, and they at last obtained a footing at Macao (1537). They traded more or less successfully, but confined themselves to Macao, never extending their influence further to any considerable degree, and acquiring but little geographical information; but the Spaniards, although they had in 1564 become masters of the Philippine islands, effected even less, and carried on a slender trade with Canton and Macao only.

The Hollanders also made attempts from Batavia to enter into commercial relations with China and to penetrate into the country, although the "Company of the East Indies" only succeeded at a far later period in opening a factory in Canton. The Embassy to Peking in 1655 described by John Neuhof, and its journey from Canton to the capital especially, is important for geography, as well as that in 1794-95 during which De Guignes served as interpreter.

The English made their appearance in Canton for the first time in 1637 and continued from that time to trade with great difficulty, until they succeeded at the close of the past century in initiating the regular importation of opium. France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden played commercially as well as politically a very unimportant part in China, but they boast of having sent to it the most active and intelligent missionaries. Till the end of the year 1780, Catholic missionaries alone endeavoured to emancipate the Chinese from the darkness of traditions and legends, and to display to them the clear light of authentic history, but the labours of Protestant missionaries began, properly speaking, during the commencement of the present century only.

When the Portuguese visited Canton in 1517, they could not find a single Christian. The preaching of Christianity by the Minorite Friars had lasted till 1369, when all foreigners were expelled, and from that period till 1552, when St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus arrived, Christianity was not preached. He attempted to found a mission, but finding his efforts useless, he desisted and departed. The real founder of Roman Catholic Missions in China was the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who assumed in 1585 the guise of a Buddhist priest, and established himself in the interior, in the town of Shao-king-fu, not far from Canton. By his mathematical and physical knowledge he attracted the scholars and the people respectively; by his amiable conduct he gained the affection of both. Finding, however, that the learned among the Chinese were scandalised at his refusing to venerate Confucius and worship birds he determined to yield, to consider them not as religious but merely as national sentiments, and to incorporate them into Christianity likewise. In this manner he and his companions were able to make numerous converts, who became so influential, that they spread over various parts of China, and enjoyed much credit even at the imperial court of Peking. Ricci died in 1610.

The Dominican and Franciscan missionaries who arrived in 1630 in China could not agree with the Jesuits, and began the celebrated controversy of the "Chinese Rites," denying that the veneration of Confucius and the worship of birds are reconcileable with Christianity, and also denying that the word "God" could be rendered into Chinese by the expression *Shang-ti* (Most High Lord), or by *Tien* (heaven). This famous controversy was protracted during many years, the Popes siding sometimes with the Jesuits and sometimes with their opponents. Thus the "Chinese Rites" were first condemned by Innocent X. (1645); Alexander VII. was favourable to the Jesuits, but in 1710 Clement XI. published a Bull which condemns them definitively. The

Jesuits resisted the commands of the Papal Bull, continued to enjoy the favour of the court, and succeeded in 1699 in obtaining from the Emperor Kang-hi a declaration that the worship of birds was a mere civil usage. The discord, however, between the Jesuits and the other missionaries produced a most sinister effect upon the cool, practical intellects of Chinese scholars, who arrived at the conclusion that a religion, like Christianity, which gave rise to such grave dissensions, could not be true. Yung-tahng the successor of Kang-hi prohibited the propagation of Christianity in 1723, but in 1736 his successor Kieu-lung again tolerated missions. Now the Jesuits saw their prediction verified by fact. The learned Chinese having become unfriendly, missions could produce no effect among the population.

It would be unfair not to allude *en passant* to the principal services rendered to Geography by the Jesuits. In the beginning of the 17th century, it was not yet certain whether Marco Polo's *Cataya* with *Cambalu* for its capital, meant the China whose capital is Peking; the first two names still continuing to arrive in Europe by land, but the second by sea. Padre Ricci insisted upon the identity of the names. This was still denied by some, who continued to place *Cataya* always more to the north as the knowledge about China increased. To solve this question the Roman Catholic missionaries of India sent the Portuguese Jesuit Benedict Goes, who had for a long time lived at the court of Akbar, to China in 1602, not however by way of Kashmir as he had first intended, but *via* Peshawur, through Badakhshan Kashgar, Yarkand. He reached the frontiers of China after a journey of three years, and on arriving at So-tcheon, an envoy from the missionaries of China met him; but he had heard already during his journey that Padre Matteo Ricci was living in *Cataya*, and thus the geographical confusion concerning that name ceased to exist. The true geographer, however, of the missionaries was Padre Martino Martini, who published in 1655 his *Atlas of China*, founded on the maps of the Chinese, so that from that period Europe obtained a definite representation of the country which was considered mysterious and wonderful. The two European sciences most appreciated in China, were mathematics and astronomy. With the intention of gaining some influence in China, the *grand monarque* Louis XIV. sent in 1687 a commission of Jesuits, such as Bouvet, Gerbillon, Fontaney, Le Comte and Visdelov with the title of Royal Mathematicians to that country. They scattered themselves in China for the purpose of taking observations, and returning in 1717 to Peking, produced, under the direction of Padre

Jartoux, the *General Map of China*. It contained naturally many defects, and the horographical portion was altogether neglected, but it will always remain a work of marvellous industry, and Chinese maps are still based upon it. After all, however, not one of those Jesuits was a true geographer, because they had no idea whatever of the influence of the formations of the soil and of their distribution upon the organic world and upon man.

When the labours of the missionaries became known in Europe, they gave rise to most important works on astronomy, history, philosophy, geography, &c. Confining ourselves only to their geographical labours, we may observe, that upon them the maps of D'Anville, which are still in use and are being improved by new discoveries, were based; from them Padre Du Halde also compiled his great *Description of the Empire of China and of Chinese Tartary*. These two works were published in 1735. The maps also of D'Anville are most defective in their altimetry and horography. The chains of mountains are drawn according to the theoretical ideas of those times, namely, large between the great rivers, and small chains between the little ones. Padre Du Halde systematically published all the information collected by his fellow-workers, but he had no presentment of the modern conception of geography.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the Russians, who had extended their power to some countries to the north of China, came in collision with the Chinese when they had reached the central steppes, but the boundaries between the two empires were settled at last in 1689 by the treaty of Nertshinsk. After the Russians had thus become the neighbours of China, they sent to it embassies, and Lange, who made four journeys to Peking, established the first commercial route. Among the missionaries from Russia, Timkowski and Father Hyacinth distinguished themselves by their researches in China, and among Russian men of science, Fuss and Bunge.

Merchants who had down to the end of the last century contributed little or nothing to the geographical knowledge of the country, did signal service to it in more recent times. English commerce took the lead of every other, and began with the embassy of Lord Macartney in 1792, so brilliantly described by Staunton and Barrow. A second embassy under Lord Amherst failed in 1816, because the ambassador refused to submit to a humiliating ceremonial. A treaty was concluded in 1842 at Nanking after the Opium War, entailing the surrender of Hong Kong to the English

and the opening to them of the ports of Shanghai, Ning-po, Foo-Chew, &c. In 1860, after the second war waged by England in concert with France, the treaty of Peking was concluded by which the two conquering powers, and with them other European nations stipulated for the right of visiting all portions of the empire, on condition of observing certain rules. After this treaty embassies were sent by various European nations for the purpose of concluding commercial arrangements, and of all of them, official as well as private, narratives were published, but they are of not much interest generally. The only exceptions being the account of the Prussian expedition, described by Berg (1864-73) and Lord Elgin's embassy of 1857, by Oliphant.

The pioneer of Protestant missionaries, Morrison (1807) was followed by many others, and in 1860 English padres obtained permission to penetrate also into the interior of China. Being more numerous than the Jesuits, they could, besides engaging in religious avocations, produce also a considerable amount of secular literature. In this manner Wylie distinguished himself in historical, and Edkins in linguistic researches; Lobscheid and Williams became lexicographers; Eitel wrote on Buddhism and Chalmers on Chinese astronomy; lastly, the Chinese classics were edited with translations by Legge, but none of them engaged in geographical publications or researches.

With the year 1842 the more recent period began, during
 { Sixth period. which Europeans commenced actively
 { The latest times. to explore China, to gather materials for
 collections of natural history, and to produce new as well as
 to elaborate ancient information about China in periodicals and
 independent works, the mere enumeration of which would fill
 volumes. Of travels, the most remarkable are those of the
 Lazarist priests, Huc and Gabet, who made long journeys specially
 in Tibet. Bagley and Bakiston visited the interior of
 China, and the French expedition along the Me-kong (1860)
 was most important with reference to the geographical relations
 between Indo-China and China. It travelled through
 the province of Yun-nan to the river Yang-tse, was under the
 direction of Doudart de la Grée, and the narrative of it was
 published by Garnier. The Russian Colonel Prsewalski (Prj-
 ewalski according to English orthography) travelled in Mongolia
 and Central Asia, the altimetry and horography of which he
 investigated, determining the positions of localities by as-
 tronomical observations. Fortune was an ardent collector of plants
 and made three journeys (1843-45, 1848-51, 1853-56) after

which he wrote the most popular of all books on China. The American Pumpelly (1863-65) is noted for his geological studies, and for his geological map of China which is imperfect, but contains original opinions on horography; and the French Lazarist, Armand David (1862-69) made precious zoological collections. From 1868 to 1872, Baron von Richthofen made seven journeys in the interior of China for the purpose of geographical and geological researches, from a scientific and political point of view, his intention being first to lay in a firm foundation for the geographical knowledge of China, and after that for the investigation of its coal-fields. Up to this time only two volumes of the work, illustrated by engravings and maps have been published, and the title has already been mentioned in a foot-note to this article. After him many other travellers visited China, but chiefly the ports and coasts only, without penetrating into the interior. The expedition of scientists, however, under the direction of Count Béla Széchenyi, visited also the province of Kan-su, which Baron von Richthofen had not seen. Dr. O. F. von Moellendorf visited from Peking, a good deal of the north and north-west of China, collecting much topographical information. Being a consular officer of the German empire in China, he may be called a permanent inhabitant of the country, and the exhaustive paper on the "Great Wall in China" published by him in the Journal of the German Oriental Society in 1881, shows how minutely he had studied the subject from original Chinese historical sources likewise, which must have greatly aided his personal examination of that colossal work. At present articles on geography appear in many periodicals, but more especially in those of the Societies in various European countries devoted to the subject, and the writer of this article is for the best part of it indebted to the *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana*.

In the elaboration of materials concerning the geography of Central Asia, Klaproth occupied a foremost place, and Abel Rémusat in the literature, philology, history, &c., especially of China; but Humboldt and Ritter excel all others in the systematic treatment of geographical information. In his great work Carl von Ritter, which may be called the synthesis of the scientific geography of China, had utilized all the materials which were at hand, but these had not increased much since the time of D'Auville; because after the latter had in his maps, and Du Halde in his descriptions, embodied all the preceding labours, down to those of the French Jesuits in the beginning of the eighteenth century, very little real geographical

information had been collected. Accordingly Ritter based his great work upon the maps of D'Anville, upon the labours of the Jesuits, and upon the rich treasures in the domain of history and of geography made from time to time accessible by French and by German authors. Ritter contributed most to determine the scope and method of modern geography, and was precisely for this reason aware of the deficiency of the materials at his service, and only his acuteness and intuition enabled him to throw some rays of light into the labyrinth of darkness which enveloped the geography of China.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. IV.—“THE REVOLT OF ISLAM.”

IT is now sixty years since the poet Shelly gave the title of “The Revolt of Islam” to a long-winded and obscure poem, read by few and understood by fewer at the time, and now well nigh forgotten. It was written about the year eighteen hundred and twenty, the year which saw the insurrection in the Morea begin, “the first year of Freedom’s second dawn” as Byron called it, when the hearts of the peoples of Europe were deeply stirred by sympathy with the rising hopes of Greek patriots, when ancient classic memories and modern liberal ideas combined to awaken, among the ardent spirits of the Western nations, a keen desire to aid in the deliverance of an oppressed race, long crushed beneath the weight of Eastern despotism. The cry of the churches and peoples of the East which had once awakened the crusading zeal of Catholic popes and monarchs, of Frank and Norman knights and barons, again rang through Europe ; but in our days there has been found only one nation chivalrous enough, or fanatical enough to respond to the call. But the attention of the civilized world, long enthralled by the death struggles of Napoleonic war, was at last free to turn to those Eastern lands which had been for centuries as a sealed book to Western curiosity and research. The genius of Byron cast a halo of romance over the regions which owned the sway of the Ottoman crescent, and successive travellers explored and described the debateable lands which lie on the frontiers of Christendom and Islam. It was then that Shelley told his romantic tale of the loves of the Greek boy and girl Laon and Cythna, growing up in happiness and beauty in the poor hamlet among the olive and mulberry trees on a Morean hill-side : and of how their joys were ended by a raid of the ruffianly Turkish soldiery, by whom Laon was cut down and left for dead, while Cythna was carried away captive. Sold into the seraglio, she becomes the slave of the Sultan’s pleasure and the mother of his child. The birth of the infant excites the jealousy of the Sultanas, and by a palace intrigue Cythna and the baby are cast into a cavern amidst “the blue Symplegades,” from which there is no means of egress, to perish of hunger. Their lives are wonderfully preserved by an eagle who brings them food, as the ravens miraculously did to the prophet of old. An earthquake delivers them from their subterranean prison, and Cythna arrives in Constantinople where she finds Laon, who had spent his time in learning or inventing doctrines similar to those now held by Mr. Bradlaugh and the

Russian Nihilists. Cythna's misfortunes having already convinced her of the inherent truth of such doctrines, she and Laon start a propaganda on the lines of the Salvation Army, holding forth to the multitudes in the streets, and compelling them to come in. Such is the fire and pathos of Cythna's eloquence, that the slippered and long-skirted Turks become ready converts to the new religion of universal brotherhood and universal peace. "The Revolt of Islam" takes place bloodlessly and jubilantly: the Turk and the Greek lie down together amicably, and the slums of Stamboul are pervaded by the pastoral innocence of the Garden of Eden. The Sultan alone objects to the sudden initiation of the Millennium, and finds no compensation for his unaccustomed equality in contemplating the greatest happiness of the greatest number. He has the sympathies of the mailed monarchs of Europe, who are horrified to find the principles which the Holy Alliance was busily extirpating in the West, asserting themselves in the East. They gather their armies together, and beleaguer the newly found apostles of the Gospel of Humanity in Constantinople. Their barbarous arms assert by brute force the superiority of civilization and Christianity; and regenerated Islam is trampled down again by the triumphant priestcraft and despotism of Catholic Europe. We forget what was the ultimate fate of Laon and Cythna, if indeed we ever read so far; but we remember that the poet, in wild rhapsodies, foretells the final triumph of their cause, and the approach of the happy day when the last King shall receive his dying shrift at the hands of the last Priest. The principle of evil which is enshrined in monarchical power and revealed religion, shall be ultimately eradicated by republican virtue and natural morality.

Shelley's forecast was so wide of probability, that it is difficult to imagine that he could have intended it otherwise than as a jest. That the Musalman nations should be the first to enter on a new path of light and progress, and to shame the self-satisfied philistinism of existing social and religious systems, would have seemed too transparently absurd to any one really conversant with the polity and doctrines of Islam. As far as his selection of a title went, the event may have justified him, for the present generation will see a "Revolt of Islam;" in fact, it has already begun. But it has taken the very opposite direction to the dream of Shelley; the only direction that was really possible to it: It is a protest against the Gospel of Humanity; a revolt against the principles of liberty and universal fraternity. It is a desperate attempt, made at the eleventh hour, to prevent the leaven of modern thought and science from penetrating the inert mass of Islam. It is a vain

endeavour, in the words of the eminent oriental traveller Giffard Palgrave, to put the hands of the clock of Time back to where they stood at the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

The opposing forces, not of Islam and of Christendom as of yore, but of Islam and of modern civilization, are even now engaged in a life and death struggle: the beneficent discoveries of modern science, the latest developments of free thought and political economy, have proved more dangerous foes to Islam than the steel of the crusaders, than the zeal of the knights of Rhodes and Malta. Every where to-day the battle is going on, not only along the banks of Egyptian canals and in the thickets of the Thessalian borders, in Mediterranean seaports and cities, but in every land where the races, which own the faith of Islam, are brought into close contact with a people possessing a creed and a culture superior to their own, and the struggle will continue, with what result it is not difficult to foresee.

Geographically speaking, Islam may be roughly divided into two halves, connected by the Isthmus of Suez, and separated by the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. In the Eastern half are the empire of Turkey and the kingdom of Persia, Afghanistan and Beluchistan, the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, and the congeries of petty states and tribes in the Arabian peninsula. Of these last, the most important, that of Muscat, is under British protection as is Beluchistan, while the Khanates of Central Asia are tributary to the Czar. The Malay Musalman states of the Eastern Archipelago are all more or less under the direct or indirect influence of England, Spain and Holland, and it is only Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan which still retain their independence, or we may say, the semblance of it, for Persia is really dominated by Russia, and every one of the great European Powers has a voice in the councils of the Sultan. In both these States the consuls of foreign powers exercise independent civil and criminal jurisdiction. In the West, Islam maintains its power more securely, not because it is stronger, but because it is more remote from intrusion. Where it is accessible, as along the Mediterranean seaboard, it has passed under foreign influence, but the negro kingdoms of the interior of Africa will long be protected by their position against the inroads of civilization. In this more westerly half of Islam, Zanzibar owns the protectorate of Great Britain. Algiers and Tunis have been seized upon by France, and Egypt has already twice seen a European occupation. It is from the mosques and colleges of Cairo that Africa has been flooded with Moslem philosophy and theology, and it would be an appropriate revenge for the whirligig of time to bring about, were that classic land to become the fountain head whence the deserts

of Equatorial Africa might be fertilised by the streams of true knowledge and sound morality. It was Egypt who first gave the rudiments of civilization to Europe, and it is to be hoped that she may yet play the same beneficent part for the benefit of the benighted regions which are around her to the South and West. Egypt, once in the possession of a civilized power, the position of Islam would be strategically cut in two: and the piercing of the centre might very probably be the signal for a rout along the whole line.

Within the past hundred years the loss of temporal dominion to the professors of Islamism has been enormous; the south of Russia, the west of China, the empire of India have been lost to the Crescent. No vestige of Islamism, save a few ruined tombs of once honoured saints, remains in Hungary, in Roumania, or in Greece. In our own day Khokand has been absorbed by Russia, Yarkand by China, Tunis by France. The Turkish Empire has been shorn of its fairest provinces, and the work of absorption and annexation still goes on. The men of Islam are beginning to ask themselves "Where is this all to end?" and threats low and deep are muttered against the encroaching Giaur. From the mountains of Kurdistan, from the plains of Thessaly, from the crowded seaports of the Mediterranean littoral, come the murmurs of the faithful, who see their lands, their trade, their power, passing into the hands of their enemies.

Hence we have long been hearing of Muhammadan revivals, of Pan-Islamism, and the like: All expressions of the futile struggles of the spirit of Islam against its approaching and inevitable suppression. Such feelings might become highly dangerous to the peace of the world and to the prosperity of the Musalman communities themselves, could they be worked upon by clever and unscrupulous agitators like Arabi Pasha and the Mahdi. But the most formidable elements of disturbance would probably prove innocuous in the nerveless hands of men like the Khedive Tewfik and the Sultan Abdul Hamid; who, though they may have the will to originate a revolt of Islam against European ascendancy, palpably lack the courage and energy necessary to carry out such a design.

The aspirations of Turks and Egyptians for representative institutions and the blessings of self-government, probably deceive nobody except the Radicals of England and the Socialists of the Continent, who are only too eager to believe anything that might justify their pet theories without troubling themselves about the facts. And the wire-pullers who manage the springs of political action in the semi-civilized East, are sufficiently educated to be aware of the unanimous and overwhelming

opposition which would be excited in the civilized world by a bold avowal of a pure Moslem propaganda, such as is now being proclaimed in the dark regions of the Soudan by the less well-informed and unsophisticated Mahdi. But while they speak with the tongue of the Nineteenth century to their sympathisers in the West, they use the language of the Seventh, to stir up the ignorant masses of the East. The rabble of Alexandria believe that popular government in Egypt meant the expulsion and massacre of the Christians, the abolition of the foreign tribunals, and the restoration of the sacred law to its old supremacy in the land.

The ignorant masses of Islam long withstood the necessary, the inevitable, reforms which their rulers found themselves forced to borrow from the systems of their Western neighbours. But though their furious and violent opposition was broken down by the iron hands of Sultan Mahmūd and Muhammed Ali Pasha, it was only exchanged for a passive resistance as obstinate, though inert. The outward form of things was changed in Egypt and throughout the Turkish Empire, but the spirit of Islam remained unbroken and unchanged.

For ten centuries ignorance was bliss to the Moslem people. Entirely isolated from all external influences, dead to the changes which the growth of science and the liberty of thought were producing in the Christian world, the people of Islam lived in a world of their own. In fact, they believed that Islam and the world were synonymous terms. They read history, but it was the history only of Muhammedan nations. They studied geography, but it was only the geography of the countries from Cairo to Kashgar. They believed, in their isolation, that all learning and science was contained in the Arabic language; that all the wealth and power of the world was the monopoly of the Monarchs of Islam. The infidels who dwelt in the far borderlands of the "Roos" and the "Farang," were a numerically weak and politically insignificant race. Twenty five years ago there was hardly an Indian Musalman to be found who did not believe that the Sultan of Ronm was the most powerful monarch on the face of the globe. Only a few years ago, during the late Russo-Turkish war, an Afghan merchant in Bombay was conversing with an English gentleman. Their talk turned on the proposed raising of the Sanjak-i-Sharif, the Sacred Standard of the Prophet, by the Sultan; and the Afghan observed: "Well, if it came to a general war of religion, the Musalmans must win by their force of numbers: for there are the Turks, Persians, Arabs, Afghans, Egyptians and Turkomans and others; and on the side of the Christians, only the Russians and the English."

From this blissful sleep of ignorance there has been a frightful awakening. The diffusion of knowledge, partly through the newspaper press, partly by the increased facilities for communication afforded by steam and telegraph, and above all, the constant pressure of civilized nations encroaching upon his borders, have all combined to suddenly arouse the Moslem from the fool's paradise in which he so long had dwelt contented. He dreamed that Islam was mighty and wealthy and glorious, and he awakes to find it weak and poor and despised. He believed that it held in its grasp all but universal dominion, and he sees it, instead, trodden to the mire by the march of the mighty nations. He sees everywhere the law given by God, eternal, immutable, thrust from the judgment seat, scoffed at and derided as no longer fit for use in a world ruled over by infidels, replaced by statutes and canons of man's devising. His feelings may be compared to those of the Jews, when they recognised, in the statue of Cæsar set up in the midst of Holy Jerusalem, the abomination of desolation foretold by their prophets.

It is a trite saying that history repeats itself, and we may easily trace in the story of the overthrow of Judaism by the civilization of Rome, the fate that is in store for Islam at the hands of the civilization of Europe. When a system of law and polity, based upon a divine revelation, is brought into contact with a newer one founded on reason and expediency, the two must inevitably clash and the weaker goes to the wall. Islamism is only Judaism writ large. Muhammad put himself forward as a prophet and lawgiver instead of Moses, but he perpetuated the code of Leviticus. The theocracy was his model of government, the observance of the ceremonial law, the standard of virtue. It is doubtful whether Muhammad ever read the Pentateuch: his inspiration, judging from the form of his biblical stories, seems rather to have been derived from the traditions of the Talmud; and to the simpler faith of Sinai and Horeb, he added the opposing forces of good and evil—the happy heaven for the good and the lake of fire for the wicked—which the Jews of the captivity had brought back with them from among the Persian Manichæans. But Muhammad extended the benefits of the law and the ritual to all nations and kindreds. Under the Jewish dispensation, they had been the exclusive privilege of one small and chosen nation.

Muhammad called to the Gentiles to come into the fold, and those who responded to his call became the chosen ones, the Muslims, the servants of God, while all outside the pale were his enemies, to be smitten, and if possible, exterminated as the Israelites exterminated the Canaanites. God's world, in the eyes

of the Muslim as in the theogony of the Jews and the creed of the Puritans, is sharply divided into two parts: the Dar-ul-Islam or Land of Peace, inhabited by God's own people, and the Dar-ul-Harb or Land of War peopled by His enemies and by rebels against His authority.

It was this feeling which made the Jewish nation unable to support the presence and supremacy of the Roman civilization among them, any more than a modern community could stand the presence of crime and disorder unchecked in their midst. It was manifestly not in accordance with the greatness and goodness of the Almighty, that he should suffer His holy law to be flouted, and his chosen people to be held in subjection by his enemies, save as a temporary punishment for their sins. And the hopeless sense of the overwhelming and occult power of the new system that was encircling them continually in its tightening folds, made the Jew all the more desperate in his attempts at resisting it. Hence the continual chafing and fretting under the Greek and Roman domination, the passionate longings for the promised advent of the Messiah—"Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?" and the final hopeless, despairing, unsparing struggling, in which the political existence of the Jewish nation was extinguished for ever.

A parallel to the conflict between Judaism and the civilization of the Romans may fairly be traced in the present increasing struggle between our modern advancing civilization and Islamism: the state of Islam as far as regards its mental power and spiritual life, engendered by the decay of a similar system, strongly resembles the state of the Jewish nation and religion at the time of the coming of our Lord.

The prototype of the Scribes and the Pharisees may be seen to-day in the corridors of El-Azhar or the colleges of Bokhara. The fossilization of belief, the worship of the letter and the neglect of the spirit, the restless expectation, founded not on hope but on despair, of the advent of a Messiah, are all as conspicuous in Islam to-day as in Judæa under the Roman Procurators. In the eyes of the modern Musalman as of the ancient Jew, matters have come to pass, that they must mend, and he is eagerly expecting the miraculous revelation by which again the earth shall become the Lord's and the fulness thereof:—

"Then be of courage, oh men! though here in the
darkness is burning

"Dimly the light of our faith, by your fears and
your ignorance dimmed,

"Once it was lit by the Lord, and He knoweth no shadow
of turning;

"He shall pour oil in his time, and the Lamp of
the Faith shall be trimmed."

The spread of Wahabeism in modern times, the abortive crescentade of the fanatics of Sittana, the great Musalman revival of twenty years ago, which spread like wild fire through Tartary and the eastern provinces of China, only to be as suddenly extinguished; the present appearance of the promised Mahdi in the Soudan, are all expressions of the same feeling: it even finds vent in the reciprocal sympathy of Shiya and Sunni in the presence of a common danger. During the late Russo-Turkish war, the Persian Shiya community in Bombay hoped for the success of the Sunni Osmanlis; though they would certainly have rejoiced in their discomfiture five-and-twenty years ago.

Still Islam is too divided to give any grounds for the apprehension of a general and combined effort to throw off the influences which are gradually and steadily effacing its temporal power. The attempt at the formation of a general Islamitish League, and the resuscitation of the Caliphate which was made some twenty years ago, proved an utter failure in the flaccid and feeble hands of Turkish statesmen. Such an enterprise would require an oriental Bismarck; and the highest type of politician which the East can produce, is to be found in the crafty and self-seeking Muhammad Ali. The power of the sword is still more conspicuously wanting. No really great soldier has arisen in the East since the Turkoman Nadir Shah, unless we except Hyder Ali, and all the successes gained by Turkish or Egyptian arms during the present century, have been due to the leadership or the counsel of European renegades. But it is not improbable that within the next few decades we may see more Madhis arising, and like Theudas and Barkavkab drawing the expectant and ignorant multitudes to them: and the final suppression of the temporal power of Islam will, probably, not be accomplished without a severe struggle, nor the Crescent banner be furled for ever without a contest as sanguinary and hopeless as the defence of the temple by the Jewish zealots against the legions of Titus and Vespasian.

Red ran the blood
Where that banner was blowing,
Wild were the cries
Where its bright field was glowing:
Struck though that banner be,
Torn though it lies;
Redder the blood shall be,
Wilder the cries!

F. H. TYRRELL.

ART. V.—ATHENS AND ROME: SYRACUSE AND CARTHAGE.

WHAT a wealth of recollections is suggested by the mention of the names of these four great cities! To many who know all about their history, they appear to have only a visionary existence, yet they have also a very real side, and in a tour of four months it is possible to visit them all, as I have done. The two latter have left but slight foot-prints on the sands of time, but it will be admitted that all generations of men to the end of time will be under obligations to those remarkable people, who made Athens and Rome illustrious. The old type of classical instructor, whether at school or college, and the Sunday-school teacher, had as much idea of the ancient cities of the world, regarding which they prosed so wisely, as of the Cloud City of Aristophanes, and the Utopia of Moore. But now-a-days an adventurous college tutor, or a young curate, comes back fresh from the locality, and throws light into dark places by luminous descriptions, or dissolving views. Railways have annihilated distance, and an excursion, which used to be the topic of a traveller's life, becomes merely the incident of some autumn holiday: thus has it happened to me, and will happen to many others. I seek to increase the number.

From London to Brindisi the route is well known. It so happened, that a steamer was starting for India, and I went on board for the sake of refreshing my memory, and giving vent to a feeling of thankfulness, that at least that portion of life's heavy task was done, and I pitied more particularly a merchant, advanced in life, whom the necessities of existence drove out again in his old age. In the dawn of life India is a palace of delight: in middle life it is the arena of noble and exciting work, but it is not a peaceful refuge for declining faculties and weakened powers. I was glad that I was at liberty to go on board the Italian steamer that cut a silvery line across the quiet sea in a voyage of two days round the Peloponessus, and enabled me at the close of the second day to see the lights of Athens glistening over the lower ground of the harbour of the Pairéus. It is still a harbour of importance, though the neighbouring Phaleron has sunk to the rank of a bathing place. The boatman, who conveyed me ashore answered to the name of Socrates: a railway connects the port with the city of Athens. A comfortable hotel received me, but I must confess that during the thirty years, which had passed since my last visit, no city

had less advanced. It is a city, and the capital of a country, which has no future, and must be contented with its glorious past. The great Empires of Austria and Russia in their downward progress to the Mediterranean, which is a necessity of their existence, place an insuperable limit to the territorial expansion of Greece—

“Yet to the remnants of thy splendour past
 “Shall pilgrims pensive, but unwearied, throng :
 “Long shall the voyage with the Ionian blast
 “Hail the bright clime of battle and of song .
 “Long shall thine annals, and immortal tongue
 “Fill with thy fame the youth of many a shore :
 “Boast of the Aged, lesson of the Young :
 “Which sages venerate, and bards adore,
 “As Pallas, and the Muse, unveil their awful lore.”

It is in vain that the modern Greek, who is in reality only an Albanian, has attempted to revivify the old language, and owing to the circumstance that the Greek language did not, like the Latin, die in the act of giving birth to a number of neo-Greek languages, we are startled at hearing persons, things and places called by time-honoured words: thus a street is an *odos*: the money in our purse is a *drachma*, a carriage is an *anwara*, and a railway station a *stathmos*. It is thus only from the ruins of the ancient buildings that an idea can be conceived of the former greatness. Athens had gradually sunk into a small town, and thus the remains of antiquity had not been worked up into modern dwellings, and a laudable effect has been made to conserve all that has escaped the ravages of time. Among these the Parthenon, by its position and extent, stands conspicuous both in Greece and the world.

The visitor ascends the Sacred Hill, and enters by a side door about two-thirds up the flight of stone stairs, and can look down at the old closed entrance, and up to the Propylæum, and through the great entrance into the precincts, and catch a glimpse of the great temple itself. Perhaps no such magnificent pile of buildings ever existed elsewhere in so small a space: the material is exquisite: the style of architecture simple, yet grand, and so generally esteemed as a fit model to modern buildings in every country in Europe and America, that the forms appear quite familiar, and strike the spectator less by their novelty than by their perfectness. The most conspicuous ruins are those of the Parthenon: to the south-east is Hymettus, to the north-east Pentelicus, to the north-west Parnes and Kithæron, with the pass of Phylæ leading into Bæstia, and the pass of Daphne leading to Eleusis, along the Sacred Way. Thither the tribes came up in solemn procession

on the day of the Panathénáic festival. Monuments are now being disinterred on either side, of the departed citizens, many of them of the most touching character, calling upon the passer-by to stop, and read, and take heed to his ways. Behind Pentelicus, is the road to Marathon and Thessaly. From the top the whole of Attica can be surveyed, and the marvel is how in so small a space such wondrous efforts of genius were accomplished. From the walls* of the Parthenon we look down on the Akadémos, and the village of Colonos, the dry beds of the Ilissus and Cephissus : the hill of Lycobettus, the Museum, the hill of Ares and of the Pnyx. Each object and ruin of interest in ancient Athens, intermixed with the building of the modern city, can be distinguished : the Temple of Theseus, the grand Columns of the Olympian, the Lantern of Demosthenes, the Theatre of Dionysius, and the prison of Socrates. It seems to any one who is familiar with the history of Athens, that he has seen all these things before, as they have lived to him in the pages of the immortal writers, which have given this city such a proud pre-eminence.

But looking seawards the interest is intensified. Below us lie the three harbours, and the tract traversed by the long walls, and beyond the blue Ægean, and the islands of Salamis and Ægina, and in a further distance the romantic hills of Argolis and Corinth, Propylæum or entrance, the small temple of Wingless Victory, which has been carefully restored, the Parthenon itself which has passed through the stages of being a Heathen temple, a Christian church, and a Mahometan fortress, and the Erechtheon with its well known portico of the Canephoræ. The whole open space within the precincts had once been covered with shrines and memorials to deserving citizens. Pausanias, who visited Athens in the second century after Christ, describes them, and the remains of many exist to the present day. The old roadway can be traced, but so steep is the gradient, that wheeled vehicles must have been pulled up the slopes on each side of the great flight of stairs, up which the shouting populace ascended on the occasion of the annual Panathénáic festival.

But of the statues of the goddess Minérva, not a fragment remains. They were three in number : I. The colossal statue, which stood seventy feet high on its pedestal in front of the temple, towering above the walls, so that the gold helmet and spear of the deity were seen far at sea shining in the sun. This was constructed of the spoils of Marathon ; II. The Chryso-Elephantine statue in the temple, forty feet high and the work of Phidias III. The wooden statue of olive, which, like so

many statues of the Virgin Mary, was reported to have fallen from heaven. This was the most sacred, and to this the Peplos was carried on the day of the annual festival, but the like fate has met them all—destruction, but not oblivion.

After all, it is the view from the ramparts which is worth going all the way to Athens to see. The hills—the everlasting hills—stand like sentries round the long elevation.

It was on the site of the beautiful little temple of Wingless Victory that old *Ægeus* stood to watch the return of his son *Theseus* from *Crete*, and deceived by the black sails he threw himself down into the abyss, but immediately under our feet is the Theatre of *Bacchus*, the raised seats, and scenic arrangements of which are entirely disclosed :—on the lower bench sat the priests, and the names of their offices are still sculptured in the stone. Within these walls were acted the great dramas of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, and the plays of *Aristophanes*. I climbed up to the highest seats, and it seemed impossible that any one seated there could have heard a word of the drama, considering the distance, and the open air. Perhaps the theatres of the Greeks were like the abbeys of the middle ages where people were not intended to follow what was said or chaunted, but to be elevated and intoxicated by the scene and the surroundings. It might well be so. The fatal tale of the house of *Pelops*, and the lay of *Troy* divine, culminating in the great tragedy of the family of *Agamemnon* were no old world histories to the Athenian people as they are to us at this day. The genius of the blind *Ionian* possessed itself of the ten years war, and sent it forth, just as the intellect of the *Hellenic* race was dawning, clothed in such marvellous diction, and depicted in all the majesty of sonorous hexameters, that future ages can never cease to admire. Thus from the charm of the verse and the genius of the Poet came it, that the story became invested with such strange interest ; and centuries afterwards listening thousands hung upon the honied words of *Euripides*, refashioning the old *Homeric* ballads, for, seated beneath their own *Parthenic* temple, they looked out on the scenes of dearer victories, and, as the breezes of the *Ægean* fanned their flushed cheeks and swept back their long hair, if in the excitement of the moment they shouted, it was because the sympathy with the triumphs of their kindred in former days was blended with exultation arising from the contemplation of their own.

The view of the *Acropolis*, when the sun is setting, is beautiful from any quarter. I ascended the hill, on which stands the old Roman monument of *Philopappus*, which has sat there for years in stone, drinking in the wondrous prospect. Just below is the

prison of Socrates, and in front is the Pnyx, all the architectural details of which can now be traced. A little further on is the actual hill upon which St. Paul stood, and just before him is the Temple in all its glory, and beneath his feet the busy market-places, and he remembered, that God did not live in temples made with hands, a phrase which he himself had first heard from the lips of Stephen, who alluded to the Temple of Jerusalem, a building far inferior in site and magnificence to the Parthenon.

A most delightful excursion is that to Pentelicus. A carriage drive is available as far as the monastery at the foot of the mountain, where donkeys are supplied, which convey the traveller by a long, tedious but gradual ascent to the summit. The road lies by the marble quarries, still worked to supply the material for sculpture. After all it is the quality and cheapness of the material, that has so much to do with the success of the statuary. From the edge of the summit a wonderful panorama is opened out : beneath is the Euripus like a silver thread and Eubœa. On this side of the water, just below us, is Marathon : beyond are the hills of Thessaly, and to the west are the hills of Bœotia : through the valleys winds the road, which will soon be superseded by a railway from Athens to Volo. To the east is the open sea, and the distant islands of the Cyclades, notably Andros. South lies the whole of Attica, and Athens can only dimly be discerned. As to brigands, of which so much is written, I met none, though I was alone with a lady and a Greek Professor. I chaffed a goatherd, whom I met, through my interpreter, and asked him whether he was a brigand. Thirty years ago I rode alone over to Marathon through the pass, and met no one. There was an alarm for a short time on account of the death of two Englishmen, but it has passed away, and the cause is not likely to recur.

Another excursion is along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Passing Akademos and Colonos by a gentle rise, the road winds through the pass of Daphne, and descends into a land-locked bay, and it is the island of Salamis that converts this bay into a lake. Kithæron and Megara are pointed out. The actual temple of Deméter has not yet been excavated, for progress moves slowly in Athens, and yet it does move, but a whole village will have to be cleared away.

In the city of Athens, museums and schools are springing up, as rich citizens, who make their fortunes in other countries, dedicate a portion to their country. No treasures of art, that are found, can leave the kingdom, and as time goes on, the museums will be rich. Already splendid statues have been brought

in from the islands, but what interested me most was the Thera stone, and the famous Inscription of Pisistratus, quoted by Thucydides, but found only in the last few years.

The little statuettes which are dug up in such numbers at Tanagra in the sepulchres, are marvels of beauty. The Greeks are a nice, aimable people, but I fear that there is no future to their nationality. Their modern life is weighed down by the grandeur of their past history, even if (which is doubtful) they were the descendants of the great Greeks of the past, and not merely later immigrants of a lower stamp into the sacred soil. Education has been attended to both for boys and girls. I remember thirty years ago, hoping much from the abundance of schools, but it has scarcely taught the people religious toleration, and on my second visit I find no room for hope. There are no manufactures, and but scanty commerce. The prolific press aspires to the pure Greek style of the past, and shuns the dialect of the people. There are pretentious palaces of marble-lined roads, rather than streets, which suffocate with dust, and nauseate with stench. During the last thirty years there has been extraordinary improvement in the cities of Europe, of third and fourth rank. In Athens there is none. Ilissus and Cephissus are both dried up, and there is an absence of good water. It is only the glory of the past, and the noble ruins, that attract the stranger to Athens, Attica and Greece, and their number is small.

The same line of steamers conveys the traveller round the Morea back to Brindisi, unless he prefers to vary the route by crossing the Isthmus of Corinth, and taking a steamer direct to Corfu. It is doubtful whether he would save much time, and he would certainly add to the discomfort and complication of the journey. I met Colonel Tirr, who is sanguine as to the success of the Canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, but it is doubtful whether the speculation will be profitable. From Brindisi the railway runs without interruption to Rome, traversing the same line of country, and passing through some of the places mentioned by Horace in his famous "*Iter Brunduscin*" in the company of Macenas, notably Beneventum.

The Eternal City differs much in its circumstances from Athens. It has never ceased to be the seat of Empire either temporal or spiritual. The materials of the old buildings have been worked up into modern homes. Temples have been converted into churches, depressions have been filled up, elevations have been levelled down. In the long successive centuries of civilisation, the rulers for the time being did what they liked with the remnants of antiquity, and nothing but the course of the Tiber, and the faint outline of the Seven Hills remains unchanged of old Rome.

The walls of Aurelian still inclose the city, which however had at the beginning of the century shrunk into a smaller space, and left a large tract to be occupied by gardens within the walls, and even now there is nothing of the character of a suburb to Rome. It will be long still ere the space within the walls is filled up, and those venerable remains of the later Empire, if occasionally repaired, with their towns and gateways, will be permitted to last on for another century.

There are, indeed, within that area, three distinct Romes—the old Rome of the Empire; the Mediæval Rome of the Papal Rule: the Modern Rome of the Nineteenth Century. Each intrudes upon the other, and buildings belonging to one epoch have been relentlessly utilised by the succeeding one, and there is interest of different kinds attached to all three, but it is to Rome of the Imperial Epoch, and chiefly to the late excavations, that my remarks apply. Countless volumes have been written on every branch of the subject. Much has been said about fever, yet still Rome stands pre-eminent among the cities of the world, as the one, which can be visited over and over again, and which never tires, however long the residence. I visited it forty-two years ago on my road to India, and have been there repeatedly since, and trust that my last visit is not paid yet. The remarks that I now make allude to the later excavations, which are being made in the ruins of the old Rome of the Empire, which appear to be an inexhaustible quarry of statues and marble columns, many of them the spoils of still more ancient cities, which fell under the unsparring grasp of the Romans.

Rome has still its wonderful climate, and unrivalled sunsets, of which in the Northern climates of Europe no conception can be formed: its galleries overflowing with the wealth of Italian art: its courteous and gentle inhabitants.

Day by day some new excursion, some choice employment: well may the visitor exclaim—

Che tanto amo in lei ?

L'aria, il cielo, il terren, i tempi, ed i sassi.

Standing on the lofty tower of the capitol he has the whole of the city at his feet. Looking southward he can survey Antient Rome: looking northward Mediæval or Papal Rome meets his eye: far to the east lies, upon the Esquiline hill, the Modern Rome or capital of Italy, clustering round the railway terminus and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. Our interest at present is restricted to five particular portions of the area of Rome, which have been the scene of successful excavations:—

I.—The Palatine Hill.

II.—The Forum.

III.—The Baths of Titus and the Coliseum.

IV.—The Baths of Caracalla.

V.—The banks of the river Tiber within the city.

It will be more convenient to follow them in their historical order. There are few, or in fact, no cities in the world, which have maintained a continuous life and interest of more than two thousand years, and can justly claim the name of Eternal. A new life, as the capital of Free Italy, has now been secured to it, but its position as a modern capital has been purchased at a considerable sacrifice of its old and peculiar charm. Old Rome exists no more.

The Palatine Hill is one of the seven famous hills, the names of which we record for the sake of perspicuity. It has the Capitoline Hill on the north, the Aventine on the west, the Cælian on the south. These four are actual hills, surrounded by valleys: the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal are promontories of the elevated plateau lying to the east, and not isolated hills. The river Tiber flows under the Aventine, Palatine, and Capitoline hills, in old time receiving the drainage of the valleys, which were afterwards collected in the Cloaca Maxima, in active use to this day: thus the great drain of the kings has outlived republics, empires, religions, and theocracies. It carries off surface water, as well as city drainage, and I came suddenly on a party of women washing their household linen in the canal that brings down the surface drainage of the Forum, and looks very discoloured and uninviting.

Byron's well known description of the Palatine Hill will not apply now. In the beginning of the last century extensive excavations were made by the Duke of Parma, and a rich harvest of sculpture was the reward. The hill was occupied by a church, a convent, two villa-gardens, and some vineyards. In 1861 Napoleon III. purchased of the king of Naples the great villa-garden of the Farnese family, which occupied the crown of the hill, and under the superintendence of Cavalier Ro-a conducted systematic excavations. The King of Italy purchased the interests of Napoleon, but continued the same superintendence, and the works have progressed slowly owing to the want of funds. Unluckily the Villa Spada, which occupies part of the crest of the hill, lately passed into the hands of a convent of nuns, and all admission within their walls is impossible. Over the rest of the hill there is access to the public, who are admitted upon payment at the gate opening upon the Forum, and supplied with an intelligent guide; but even then the ordinary traveller, unacquainted with the language of the guide, and not familiar with the history of Rome, must feel dreadfully at sea, and carry away only a

confused idea of the wonderful ruins which speak for all time to the intelligent and instructed visitor.

Where history commences, and tradition ceases, must depend upon the opinion formed of the credibility or credulity of Livy the historian. It may be accepted as a fact, that the Romans of the time of Augustus believed that Romulus and Remus were found in a cave on the north-west angle of the hill, called the Lupercal, which Augustus in his famous Ancyrean inscription takes credit to himself for having restored, and where the famous bronze wolf of the capitol is presumed to have been discovered. But Virgil in his VIIth *Æneid* conveys us back to a much more distant traditionary period, and he must be credited with embodying and interpreting the traditions of his period. He describes *Ænæas*, as running up the Tiber from Oskia to the foot of the Palatine hill, where he was kindly received by Evander an arcadian colonist, who had then only lately settled in that neighbourhood, but who testified to a visit paid in his time by Hercules on his return from Spain. He attacked and slew the robber Cacus, who had his dwelling in a cave in this hill. Evander notices further, that the hill was occupied previous to his arrival by savage races devoid of culture. Whatever historical value may be attached to these traditions, they were retained in the history of the Roman people: the Ara Maxima testified of Hercules: the cave of Cacus is still shown: the path up the hill side from the Velabrum must have been that which Virgil described as having had been trod by Evander and *Ænæas*. On the hill was the cottage of Faustulus, the temple of Vesta and Mars, the receptacle of the Palladium and Ancilia. Here also Romulus built the walls of his Roma Quadrata, and the temple of Jupiter Stator. The gates and roads can still be fairly traced in spite of the levelling up and levelling down, the building and destroying of centuries of years and generations of men. The homes of some of the chief citizens, Cicero, Hortensius, Catiline and Clodius were situated on this hill, and, when the period of Imperial Rome commenced, Emperor after Emperor from Augustus to Heliogabalus covered it with palaces, so-called from the name of the hill, and other splendid monuments, the ruins of which we now propose to pass under review. Great confusion will arise in the mind unless we remember, that for several centuries this hill was the seat of imperial splendour and caprice. When Constantine abandoned Rome, the palaces gradually fell into ruins. They were plundered by the invaders of Rome, and their materials utilized for the erection of mediæval palaces and strongholds of the Roman nobles.

Betwixt Romulus and Augustus there is the reputed interval of about seven hundred years; between Augustus and Heliogabalus,

the last recognized builder of portions of the great series of palaces, there exists the known interval of two hundred years. As there is good reason to assign the walls of the Roma Quadrata to Romulus, we have in this narrow area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles circumference, the work of nine hundred years, and twenty-seven generations of men. Much as I could wish to pass the remains of each age under review historically, I find that it is impossible. The visitor must enter into the sacred inclosure by the regular entrance, and make the regular round, passing sometimes by a single step over a wide chasm of centuries.

Augustus was born upon this hill, and on this hill he died. Tiberius was also born upon this hill in the house of his father Tiberius Claudius Nero, which exists to this day. Augustus erected the Temple of Apollo in memory of the battle of Actium on the crest of the hill, now occupied by the convent of nuns, and somewhere on and under the ridge was his own residence looking westward over the Circus Maximus to the Aventine. What an interest attaches to this house, in which the liberties of Rome were insidiously destroyed under the veil of empty legalities and personal rule! Within these walls young Marcellus must have died, the hope of Rome, and Virgil must have recited to the sorrowing mother his famous lines, which will never die.

The Emperor Tiberius was born in the purple, and Cæsarism had advanced a step in magnificence as well as in crime. His palace was on the summit of the old Roma Quadrata, with a front to the Capitoline hill: Caligula followed with grand additions, covering the whole northern corner, overhanging the Forum, with a bridge stretching over it, and connecting the Capitoline hill with the Palatine. Then followed the great fire of Rome, and upon the ashes and ruins rose the Golden House of Nero, spreading beyond the limits of the Palatine across the valley, that lies between that hill and the Esquiline, occupying all the space now covered by the Flavian amphitheatre, and extending up the sides of the Esquiline over the ground occupied by the baths of Titus and Trajan. With the tyrant, who was murdered somewhere in the palace, fell the Golden House, and the residence of the Cæsars was again restricted to the Palatine. Baths, amphitheatres and triumphal arches, which pleased the people, occupied the abandoned area, but Domitian erected his great public apartments on the rest of the Palatine, upon a platform built upon vast subterranean passages. In fact, he filled up the indentation, or intermontum which had originally divided the two summits of the Palatine—on the northern one had been the city of Romulus, and on the more southern the temple of Apollo. These are known as the Flavian as distinguished from the Julian palaces.

If Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines added to these buildings, we have no distinct record of their particular works, for bricks found with their marks may indicate only repairs, and not new structures.

Still it is interesting to think that amid these ruins some portion of the lives of this grand succession of monarchs must have been passed, some portions of the noble sentiments, which mankind will not willingly allow to be forgotten, must have been written.

Septimius Severus built a magnificent pile of buildings on the west side of the hill called the Septizonium, beyond the palace of Augustus towards the south, pulled down by Sextus V to supply materials for St. Peter's. On that side of the hill are extensive remains of the Stadium, and one lofty ruin is described as the "Pulvinar," whence the Emperor, seated within the precincts of his own palace, could survey the games in the great circus below. At this point also can be seen the remains of the great Claudian Aqueduct, which brought water from the Sabine hill by a succession of arches crossing the Cœlian hill, reflecting great credit on the engineering skill of that period. The sudden desolation which overwhelmed Rome, is in great part due to the destruction of the aqueducts by the invaders. By the restoration of the Aqua Marcia and other aqueducts, which bring down water from the Anio of Tivoli, Rome at this moment stands at the head of all modern towns for the abundance and beauty of its fountains.

The pleasure of the visitor must depend upon his classic enthusiasm and his power of clothing these dead bones with life. No cicerone can have time to explain to the uninstructed cockney who has accompanied Mr. Cook's party, the sequence of the great events of Rome even if he knew it, which is to be doubted. There are certain conventional details, with which all guides delight to take a rise out of their party. They terrify the ladies by pointing out a tank, in which offending slaves were thrown to feed the fish, or they mysteriously draw off the gentlemen of the party to show them some indecent cartoon in a Roman guard-room. The pleasure of the visitor is limited by his own knowledge of the events which have been crowded together on this hill, and the echoes of mighty voices which speak out from these ruins. The careful archæologist is prevented from errors in assigning particular dates to particular buildings by a knowledge of the material used, the manner of laying the stone or bricks adapted by the different generations of builders. However, great variety of opinions exist, and with regard to some buildings no two authorities are agreed.

When he enters the inclosure, the visitor rises up to a certain level, and passing the Museum built for the reception of objects of interest, proceeds down the Road of Victory amidst the lofty ruins of the Palace of Caligula. On each side are the guard-houses of the soldiers : at this corner was the *Porta Romanula* or *Porta Victoria* which led to the Forum or the Capitol : turning sharp round to the west the visitor follows the side of the hill, commanding a sweet view of Rome ; above him are the ruins of the palace of Tiberius, below the undoubted remains of the (tufa) walls of Romulus. At the north west corner he comes on the *Porta Caci*, from which a path led down to the *Valabrum* and the *Tiber*. Beneath him are the *Lupereal*, the *Cave of Cacus*, and around him ruins of temples, which are at hazard assigned to *Mars* or *Vesta*. On the west side of the hill are more remains of the walls of Romulus, and far below the eye can trace, the outline of the great *Circus*, beyond which rises the *Aventine* : passing onward he will come upon ruins, said to be those of a temple of *Jupiter Victor*, and find himself in the interesting house of Tiberius, the Father of the Emperor, laid out in the usual plan of a Roman private dwelling so familiar to visitors to *Pompeii*. On the walls the paintings are still fresh : this modest house of a rich Roman citizen of the last days of the republic, was probably overlaid by imperial buildings, and has thus escaped to our time. We seem here to touch ground at about the date of the Christian era :—in these rooms young Tiberius grew up, and we may reasonably believe that Augustus, Mærenas, Virgil and Horace must have sat and dined in that triclinium.

The guide leads on through a gap in the ruins to a level considerably below the crest, though still above the valley. Turning to the right he leads to the ruins of a house known as *Domus Gelotiana*, and here in the guard-room is shown the spot where the famous cartoon of the crucified ass was found, which has been removed with care to the Kircherian museum. It was to be expected that the soldiers had scratched their names on the walls—one is followed by the letters *Mi. V. D. N.*, which is interpreted to mean *Miles Vetreanus Domini nostri* ; but what must be the feelings, with which the above described cartoon must be looked at with the inscription “*Alexamenos worshipping his God ?*” This reveals to us a picture of the insults and sneers to which a Christian soldier was exposed to in these heathen barracks. Turning back to the level, the pathway lies under the ruins of the house of Augustus, on the height of the *Villa Spada*, where also stood the temple of *Apollo*. On the east slope of the hills is the *Stadium*, unmistakably marked out, and the lofty ruins of *Septimius Severus* ; thence the road has to be retraced, and

mounting again to the crest, the visitor finds himself in ruins called the Academy and Library of Augustus. Passing onwards towards the east, the great Flavian public apartments can be traced by their ground plan and excavated bases of walls and columns: underneath are the remains of a house of the later Republican period and long subterranean passages, and in these the Emperors Caligula and Pertinax were assassinated, and many other deeds of violence committed by the Emperors and the Prætorians. On the right is the Mediæval Convent of Bonaventura, which may probably soon be cleared away, for scant consideration is now shown to monasteries; and, little further, on the brow of the hill overhanging the Arches of Titus and Constantine, is the Church of St. Sebastian and the Barberini Vineyard, with the traditional spot of the martyrdom of that saint by the arrow of the imperial archers. Bending back to the north, the visitor finds himself on the side of the third gate of the Palatine, the Porta Mugonia, and near the temple of Jupiter Stator in which Cicero delivered his first oration against Catiline: here also was the reputed house of Numa, Ancus Martius, and Tarquin, and the circuit is completed, for the Road of Victory is again beneath the feet, and the entrance gate leading into the Forum has been gained. A certainty is affixed to the identity of the Road of Victory by its appearing on the fragment of the Marble Plan of Antient Rome, discovered some time back, and it was preserved in the capitol. The identity of other places is attested by quotations from different Latin authors who have incidentally noticed them. I know of no other spot which contains, within so narrow a compass, remains of such world-wide historical interest. I remember running round the walls of Jerusalem, in three quarters of an hour, immediately upon my arrival, but within these walls there was little or nothing which could be traced back with certainty beyond the time of Constantine, and a few displaced stones are the only record of the Herodian temple.

Let us descend now from the Palatine hill into the Roman Forum. Other open spaces were cleared away by Augustus, Nerva and Trajan, and dignified by that great name, but one place only was the arena of Roman liberty, the valley, which is crowned on two sides by the Capitoline and Palatine hills, and which had fallen to such a state of degradation, that at the beginning of this century it was known as the Campo Vaccino or cattle market. With the exception of the stones of the Via Sacra, not one vestige of Republican time meets the eye in the Forum: it was confessedly an open place, and possible there was not much taste for architecture in Republican Rome; and, lastly, Augustus carried out his plan of obliterating all landmarks of the

period of liberty by stately temples and inclosures ostensibly for public convenience. In the course of time the level of this valley had been considerably raised by the accumulation of ruins, and forty years ago, all that could be seen, were a few columns, and an arch of triumph half buried. The space cleared away in their immediate vicinity, in some cases by the liberality of strangers, made the appearance of the remainder more grotesque. The whole Forum has now been laid bare, and levelled to the pavement of the great buildings which once surrounded it. Not one single object which now meets the eye, could have met the eye of the poet Horace, as he sauntered down the sacred ways. Even the temples which had been identified by name, had been restored by later Emperors. As might be expected, each generation added to, altered and repaired their public buildings: no two authorities seem to be agreed with regard to some of the ruins. All are under the charge of the State, and the visitor enters at one particular point, and is accompanied by a trained guide. The best general survey however can be made from the great archway of the Tabularium, or Record Room on the Capitoline hill, which is itself a work of the Republican period. At the foot of the hill, ruins mark the spot of the Temple of Concord founded by Camillus, 367 B. C., when the office of Consul was thrown open to the people, and where Cicero delivered his second oration against Catiline. These Corinthian columns belong to a temple erected by Titus to Vespasian, but the word "Restituere" on the frieze, records the repair of Septimius Severus in the next century. Eight Ionic columns belong to the Temple of Saturn, one of the oldest temples in Rome, and used as the Treasury, but it was rebuilt at a late period of the Empire. The remains of the Rostrum, and the Milliarium are interesting: the solitary column erected by an Exarch to the Emperor Phoca in the seventh century of the Christian era, was probably stolen from some older temple, and is conspicuous and indeed picturesque, and well-known by models and pictures far beyond its historical interest. The magnificent Arch of Triumph of Septimius Severus, dates back to 203 A. D., and the erasure of the name of Geta tells a tale of the hatred of his brother Caracalla. The ground plan of the Basilica Julia, commenced by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus, gives a complete idea of what this magnificent hall of commerce and exchange, place of public assembly, and tribunal of justice must have been. These columns, a corner-fragment, belonged to the Temple of Castor and Pollox restored by Domitian, but representing the antient building, which dated back to 484 B. C. and the battle of Lake Regillus. On the other side is the pediment and column of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, whose name appears

in large letters. Of the temple of deified Julius, the site of which is known, nothing remains, *ipsæ periére ruinæ*. Here stood the rostrum, which was decorated with the spoils of Actium : the site of the pedestals of many honorary columns, raised to men of distinction, can be traced, and two interesting marble balustrades, with fine sculptures of the sacrifices of the swine, sheep and bull, and the figure of Trajan burning the schedule of debts which he had remitted. The very limits of the forum are not fixed with any degree of certainty ; the Via Sacra, and Vicus Tuscus passes through it. Churches and convents have encroached upon its area on all sides. The roads, which for ordinary traffic, traversed it as a high level viaduct, have been cleared away : on the whole, the forum is a disappointing site even after the completion of the excavations. Still we must recollect that to this small space, and the Agora at Athens, we are indebted for the great germ of European civic liberty, which distinguishes the states of Europe from those of Asia and Africa. Here was fought out the great battle of liberty and freedom of assembly and speech, and deeds done and orations spoken, which the world will never allow to die out of the mouths and memories of civilized mankind. In this forum Virginius slew his daughter, Cicero denounced Catiline, and Brutus justified to the Roman people the death of Julius Cæsar. Here his body was burnt, here were held the discussions and votings of a free people, the consuls and tribunes were elected : if on one side rose the Tarpeian rock to remind us of the fate of traitors, on another side, as if to show the dangerous proximity of good and evil institutions, rose the Palatine hill, the cradle of Cæsarism which has waged persistent warfare in every country with the liberty of the Roman forum. Many ingenious identifications of ruins in the forum have been made by apt quotations from Latin prose and poetic writers, and reference to coins and inscriptions, such as the famous Ancyreau Tablet, and the copies, made by a visitor to Rome in the ninth century, of a manuscript which has survived the wreck of ages in the Library of Einsiedler in Switzerland, as also in the fragment of a Marble Plan of the Ancient City already alluded to. The same fertility of ingenious hypotheses, the same wonderful acumen and marshalling of evidence from quotations, inscriptions, comparison of style of architecture, and material of building, the same happiness of guesses, which amounts almost to divination, appear in all that is written about the Palatine hill and the forum, and are worthy of quite as much admiration as is conceded to the pioneers of Assyrian and Egyptian excavation. We leave the subject with the feeling, that the darkness of the middle ages must have been very dark indeed, when, in spite of the continuous occupation

of the city and the magnificent Latin literature, uncertainty and obscurity should have fallen upon these the most renowned places in the world, Jerusalem only excepted.

Passing onwards along the *Via Sacra*, we rise up on the *Velia*, a shoulder, as it were, of the *Palatine*, and pass under the beautiful Arch of *Titus*, which stands on the highest point. On the right lies the Arch of *Constantine*, which is despicable, as made up of the plundered materials of a destroyed Arch of *Trajan*: on the left is the *Flavian Amphitheatre*, known as the *Coliseum*. The excavations in the arena were commenced by the French in 1811, and concluded under the Italian Government. Many different theories have been started to explain the existence of the extensive subterranean buildings, which are attributed by some to the original constructors, and by others to the mediæval occupants, who turned it into a fortress. No incidents of history whatever attach themselves to these ruins. The ground was previously occupied by a lake of ornamental water within the precincts of the *Golden House* of *Nero*, as it lies in a depression betwixt the *Cœlian* and *Esquiline* hills. On the *Cœlian* hill, right opposite to the *Coliseum*, are the as yet unexplored buildings, supposed to have been the place where the wild beasts were kept, where once stood the temple of *Claudius*, in the space occupied in the garden of the *Monastery* of the *Passionists* with the picturesque row of cypresses alluded to by *Byron* in his famous soliloquy of *Manfred*. On the opposite side on the *Esquiline* are the Baths of *Titus*, the remains of which are now exposed to view intermingled with those of the *Golden House* of *Nero* which they superseded, and a still lower and more interesting stratum, the *House* of *Mæcenas*. The courts of the *House* of *Nero* were filled up with rubbish to serve as substruction to the Baths of *Titus*, but the excavator has been impartial to the *Julian* and *Flavian* structures, and the corridor with roof covered with decorative paintings, from which *Raphael* is said to have borrowed his conceptions of the frescoes of the *Loggie* of the *Vatican*, can be examined as far as torch-light permits in these very dark places. No inscriptions have been found, and the darkness extends to the history and the individuality of these ruins: they were clearly baths, and as baths are assigned to *Trajan* on the same hill, and an attempt to identify certain ruins has been made, and the reason for the existence of two sets of baths in such close proximity is explained by the facts that the Baths of *Trajan* are mentioned as intended for women only. On the same hill are the ruins of the *Sette Sale*, also attributed to the *House* of *Nero*, but famous as the spot where the magnificent statue of *Laocœon* was found. It need

scarcely be said that the identity of the so-called Villa of Mæcenās is disputed, and another spot on the Esquiline is honoured with that appellation, a spot, which must be interesting as somewhat near the grave of the poet Horace, in exchange for which we would gladly give the tombs of several score of mediæval Popes, but the waters of Lethe have flowed over every trace of the resting places of Mæcenās and Horace. Fortunately for the former, his poet had erected a monument to his patron more enduring than statues of brass or mausoleum of marble. These excavations are also in charge of State officers.

The Baths of Titus were the first, and those of Diocletian on the Viminal near the railway station, were the latest, of the great popularity hunting erections of the Roman Emperors : but the baths of Caracalla were decidedly the most colossal and magnificent. Those of Titus have disappeared from above ground ; those of Diocletian have been turned into churches, or to baser uses : but the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla stand out in all their majestic grandeur. The dynasty of Caracalla assumed the grand patronymic of Antonine, and these ruins are called Thermæ Antoninæ, but they were erected more than a century after the epoch of the great Antonine dynasty, under a line of sovereigns who came from Africa. The excavations of these ruins have been conducted by the State, but were commenced long ago, and many priceless treasures of art rewarded those who were first in the field, such as the great Farnese Bull in the museum at Naples, the Hercules of Glykon, and many vast vases of porphyry, and mosaic pavements. The plan of these vast buildings is quite clear, and they are interesting as types of the civilization of the period : a plentiful supply of water was secured by a branch of the aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia, and the wealthy Roman and the turbulent and base populace, were cajoled by such luxuries to forget their liberties, and tolerate the abominable rule of such monsters as the Prætorians placed for a short time in power. In the Flavian Amphitheatre, and the Antonine Thermæ, we see how easily a people in the period of their decadence will barter, what their ancestors deemed most precious and died for, for games and places of social gatherings. Modern Cæsars have tried the same experiment with their galleries and opera houses. These ruins being situated on the south-east of the Aventine, and outside the inhabited portion of Rome, though within the walls of Aurelian, are seen to greater perfection than any other, but they give birth to no feeling of historical interest, but rather to deep contempt for the Emperor who erected them, and the people for whom they were erected.

The excavations to which we have hitherto alluded, owe their origin to a veneration of the great past, and a taste for archæology of which no nation, which respects itself, is wholly devoid. I now notice an excavation on a large scale, which has other and more practical objects. Allusion has been made to the works presented on both banks of the river Tiber within the walls of Rome by order of the Italian Parliament. The Tiber is a stream of considerable magnitude and volume, fed by the snows of the Apennines, and traversing a long basin from a north-east direction, but, within two miles of the north side of Rome, it receives an affluent from a south-eastern direction known in ancient days as the Anio, and in modern time as the Teverone. This stream collects the drainage of the Sabine hills, and leaps down the far-famed precipice of Tiber or Tivoli; and on certain occasions, by its vast stores of water, causes the Tiber to overflow the streets of the city of Rome. Every schoolboy knows the second ode of Horace, and a traveller on his first arrival at Rome is delighted to see a little temple of Vesta, perched on the banks of the river above the great monument of the king, the Cloaca; but he spouts his Horace in vain, for the date of this temple cannot safely be assigned to a date earlier than Vespasian, on one of whose coins it appears, and Horace's temple is identified further up the valley of the Palatine and Capitoline hills, known now as the church of St. Theodoro. A great many fond delusions have to be swept away as we get older and wiser, and this is one which we give up with a sigh.

The Tiber has long been credited with the honour of being, as it were, the treasury of Rome; and great ideas have been formed of temporarily turning off the stream, and cleaning the bed and bringing to light treasures of statues, medals and ornaments of gold and silver, lost by accident, or consigned to the stream at the time of the numerous sieges and tumults of the great city. Unquestionably the course of the stream is impeded by the ruins of bridges and houses, and is narrowed unreasonably by the encroachment of dwellings or of terraces. When Rome became the capital of Italy, it was clear that something must be done: Garibaldi took the matter up: the engineers, and sanitary officers were in one camp, and the lovers of the fine arts and archæology in the other. The real cure would have been, as an English engineer assured me at Rome, to have turned off the river Anio, and conducted it by a new cut through the Campagna and across the Via Appia, south of Rome, into the sea; but to this enterprise, which in Holland would have counted as a small matter only, the Romans were not equal. Eventually they have decided to reduce the Tiber within the walls of Rome, to the state of the Arno

within the walls of Florence and Pisa, and the Seine within the walls of Paris. The bed was to be deepened and widened, and embankments constructed on both sides, and a broad road, over which the floods in their fullness could spread. Unluckily in the centre of the city is the famous island, famous for its temple of Esculapius, and its embankments in the form of a ship, and there are old fashioned many-arched picturesque bridges, and the terraced gardens of the Farnese, with the famous frescoes of Raphael, the cutting away of a great portion of which, including the celebrated garden palace, has caused the sulky wrath of its Spanish proprietor. Then the cleaning away of houses overhanging the stream costs money, and though the work is advancing, years may elapse before it is completed, and it may be questioned whether the remedy will be sufficient, so long as the torrents of the Anio are not intercepted. At any rate, all chance of Father Tiber being called upon to surrender the treasures which for so many centuries it has held in deposit, has passed away. Among these treasures, it is believed to be the great candlestick of the Jewish Temple, which appears on the *basso-relievo* on the Arch of Titus, as born in triumph, and which, therefore, reached Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem, though it has since disappeared. Some are sanguine that the tables of stone, on which Moses wrote the Law, will turn up some day to the spade :—A more reasonable hope may be entertained that the candlestick has escaped the melting pot.

I have thus passed under review the chief public excavations of Rome. The railway when it ploughed its way into the precincts of the old walls revealed many objects of interest. The Agger of Servius Tullius, which connected the seven hills together, and formed the walls of Rome as a Republic, is no longer a myth or a doubt ; even the Porta Capina of Juvenal's Third Satire is identified beyond dispute. Many other works of less importance and archæological interest, have been carried through. Rome, in the day of its power and greatness, had no sympathy with the sufferings of conquered nations ; Egypt, Syria and Greece were robbed without compunction. The great Latin authors anticipated a duration to Roman greatness not justified by the history of other nations which they had compiled, or their own philosophy. Her time came also, and the state into which her palaces and temples had subsided, was aptly described by the poet Pope, in his letter to Addison at the commencement of the last century :—

See the wild waste of all devouring years !
 How Rome her own sad sepulchre appears.
 With nodding arches, broken temples spread,
 The very tombs now vanished like their dead !

Some felt the silent stroke of mouldering age :
Some hostile fury, some religious rage :
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire
With Papal piety, and Gothic fire.

To Syracuse in the Island of Sicily the course lies southwards by railway to Naples, under the heights of Vesuvius, past the disinterred cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, through Apulia, and along the coast of the extreme southern toe of Italy to Reggio. A ferry connects the terminus of the Italian railway with Messina, whence the Sicilian line conducts the traveller along the eastern coast under the heights of beautiful Taormina, under the majestic mountain of Etna, past Catania, built on a bed of lava, and on to Syracuse, the bone of contention betwixt her powerful neighbours of Rome and Carthage, and once the object of the ambition, and the scene of the great disaster of the Athenian people. An admirable situation, and other local advantages, gave Syracuse a fair chance of arriving at imperial greatness : she was able to vanquish her once Greek cognates, although they had vanquished the Persian king : she held her own against Hannibal, but fell before Marcellus, never to rise again. Hard fate was against her. Still she has something to boast of in having held her own against the Athenian and Carthaginian, though doomed to fall under the sway of Rome. The original colony settled in the island of Ortygia round the Fountain of Arethusa, and gradually spread to the mainland, embracing a circuit of fourteen miles. The modern town has fallen back again to the island, which, however, by the labour of the engineer has become a peninsula, dividing the bay into two harbours, the larger of which would hold all the fleets of Europe, yet the day of Syracuse has passed away, and it is no longer the seat of provincial government, or the emporium of commerce.

The limits of this celebrated city are so clearly defined, that from a rising ground all its local features can be observed, and the whole is now a waste, or restored to agriculture. Thucydides in his account of the famous siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, which ended in the annihilation of the besiegers, has given an enduring life to Syracuse. The traveller is conducted to the theatre, the amphitheatre, the Ear of Dionysius, which is a remarkable cavern, fashioned like the interior of the human ear, and finally to the catacombs, which after an inspection of much that is wonderful in Asia and Europe, I deliberately pronounce to be one of the most extraordinary sights that I have ever seen. There were probably depressions in the level from natural causes, but these have been enlarged by the necessity of obtaining stone for purposes of building, and thus vast chambers have been formed surrounded with perpendicular cliffs open to the

sky, and only accessible by tortuous passages. In these prisons were confined the Athenian captives, some of whom obtained alleviation of their sufferings in return for their recitation of passages from the plays of Euripides, a tribute to the great tragedian, which will more than compensate for the biting sarcasms of Aristophanes. The space is now occupied by beautiful gardens : somewhat within the circuit of the walls of this city during its siege by Marcellus, Archimedes met his death at the hand of a Roman soldier, who could not rouse the great mathematician from the problem which he was working out. Though less remarkable either for its history or its monuments than Athens or Rome, the contemplation of its ruins is more satisfying to the student of history, as realising more completely the expectations formed from the perusal of the narrative of the contemporary writer. If fallen, still not destroyed like Carthage and effaced from the list of cities, and not desecrated like Athens, nor built over and transformed like Rome.

There still is found a halo of romance in Sicily, which has gradually faded away in other countries : there is still the wild beauty, which enchanted the ancient world ; the flowers blooming over the volcano, the vine flourishing, and even towns built over the streams of blackened lava. Etna is still a great reality, not to be surmounted in a holiday trip like Vesuvius, but only to be scaled by the labour of two or three days. Even in spite of railways and telegraphs and comfortable hotels, the story of Empedocles, the legends of Polyphenus, and the Cyclops of Acis and Galatia, of Ceres and Proserpine, come back to the well-stored memory. We think of Ulysses and his companions escaping the great dangers, Æneas and his father, and back come the sweet Dorian melodies of Thescritus with their unrivalled charm. If the traveller pursues his journey by land, he comes upon the magnificent temple-cluster at Agrigentum, or the columns of Selinus and Segesta, or the theatre of Taormina. If he proceeds by sea, and follows the western coast of the island, and stands over to the Ægades, he more than realises the events of the first and second Punic war, and understands the stern necessity of the Roman policy. From its position and peculiar conformation, Sicily under happier fortunes might herself have been queen of the Mediterranean, but if it had passed into the dominion of Carthage, Sicily would have become a standing menace to the existence of Rome, and, according to the politics of those days, there was no room in the world for two independent Powers, each ruling within their own sphere of dominion or influence : there was nothing except the status of a subject or a master. It was in Sicily that a young intelligent lad explained to me the idea of the rising generation of

patriots, of the limits and lawful component parts of Italy. First and foremost was reckoned the existing kingdom of Italy as known to politicians : but to this was to be added Corsica at the expense of France, Malta at the expense of England, Trieste and Dalmatia to the loss of Austria, the Canton of Ticino by the dismemberment of Switzerland, and the Tyrolese provinces south of the Alps now held by Austria.

From Marsala at the south-west angle of Sicily to Tunis in Africa, the passage by steamer occupies one short night, and as the ship approaches the Goletta, the tomb of St. Louis, king of France on the right, marks the site of ill-fated Carthage. It is only when the vicinity of Africa to the coast of Sicily is fully appreciated, that it can be understood why Rome in ancient days was so jealous of Carthage, why in modern days Italy looked with such extreme dissatisfaction at the annexation of Tunisia by France. The Goletta is the harbour of Tunis, the greatest city of North Africa, which lies to the south of the small lake, round which now runs a railway. On the site of old Carthage, destroyed by the Romans, city after city sprang into existence, and their joint ruins have supplied materials of construction to the later city of Tunis. In the course of excavations, many objects are dug up of the Roman period, but of the old Phœnician colony not one genuine fragment has survived. The Roman destroyers did their relentless work thoroughly, an effaced not only the material evidences of their civilisation, but extinguished their literature and language so effectually, that no trace can be found. Standing on the high ground and looking over the expanse of waste ground and down to the seashore, the student tries in vain to reconcile the accounts of the historian with the aspect of natural features now presented. The harbours have ceased to be harbours, and there is room for an unlimited amount of theory : the great cisterns, which have been revealed by the excavations, are most probably of a later period than the great ruins of Rome. This fact attracted the attention of visitors of the middle ages, and Tasso expresses the feeling in magnificent language :—

Giace alta Cartágo : appena i segni
Dell' alte sue ruine il lido serba :
Muiono le città : muiono i regni :
Copre i fasti, e le pompe, arena ed erba :
E l' uom d'esser mortal par che si sdegua,
O ! Nostra mente cupida e superba !

A century ago it would not have been easy to visit these four great cities. Of Carthage and Syracuse little was known : a visit to Greece was considered an effort worthy of record, and a visit to Rome, the privilege of persons of large means and much leisure. Perhaps there are not many who have even now visited all four

but to do so entails no difficulty, and not much time or expense, and brings with it a pleasant variety of travelling by land and sea, and an inexhaustible fund of interest and instructive memories. It is something worth going much further to see Athene's temple on the Acropolis crowned with an aureole of purple light, to stand at the entrance of the prison of Socrates, and on the Hill of Mars with St. Paul: to see a Roman sunset, or muse like Gibbon amidst the ruins of the capitol; to look down into the catacombs of Syracuse, and imagine them filled with Athenian prisoners, some of whom in their captivity were chaunting, not in vain, a chorus of Euripedes: and lastly to have sat, where Marius, a fugitive sat before, amidst the ruins of Carthage nearly two thousand years ago

June 7th, 1884.

ROBERT CUST.

ART. VI.—DE IMPERIIS.

THE late Mr. Mill in his *Logic* very strongly expressed his belief that History could never be made the foundation of an inductive science. The phenomena were too complex, he wrote, to be ever unravelled by the most skilful user of the logical canont. Only by deductions from the general laws of human nature could there, in his opinion, ever be obtained a system of doctrines, which might serve as a guide to the student of, or the worker in, politics. This view represents one extreme : Comte and Herbert Spencer may be said to represent the other. It may be remarked here, however, that whatever value from a purely scientific standpoint the works of these two may have, the laws they propound are too general to be of much use to the statesman, to him that has to act and not to think in the great human drama. Buckle perhaps alone can be pointed to, as a scientific scholar, the results of whose labour—if studied—would be of much direct practical use to those whose business it is to make history.

But though from the standpoint of pure science, historical research is in its infancy, yet in all ages of the world those who have taken the pains to enquire into the records of the past, have found therefrom much to instruct them, and have learnt many lessons if they have not been able to discover exact laws. Circumstances may vary infinitely, but still at the present day the story of Alcibiades with his chimerical Sicilian scheme, his carrying away the entire Athenian force to a distant land without means of support from Athens itself, and the consequent ruin of that great State, cannot but warn him that reads aright, of the limits to an Empire's power. I do not think, then, it will be uninteresting to the reader to compare roughly in a few pages the British Empire at present existent with some of the great empires of the past, to point out in what particulars it seems to me to resemble, and in what to differ from them, and to note whether any of the disintegrating forces which worked ruin in them are present now. I do not assume the rôle of the prophet ; for in a time when what the Hebrew complained of in days of yore,—the horrible thing that the prophets prophecy falsely, is a matter of every-day occurrence, a less pretentious part is not amiss. Nor is the subject of this article amiss to the pages of an *Indian Review*. For India is in a special sense, *the British Empire*. Canada, Australia and New Zealand are countries wholly or almost wholly colonised by Englishmen, governed by their own laws, living in a state of semi-independence. How long this semi-independence will continue, whether the desire for a free market will not

eventually drive Canada into the United States' fold, or the strain of a great war cause Australia and New Zealand to float adrift from the old country, it is difficult at present to say ; so also one cannot prophesy the future of our Cape settlements, save that the white there seems destined to be the future master of the situation. But—and this is the point I wish chiefly to urge—the colonies just mentioned are really held to England by the ties of filial affection and of common sentiment, whereas India is held by the thicker, though not necessarily stronger, chain of empire. In the former lands, our countrymen are simply English citizens abroad, denizens of a greater Britain, whereas Hindustan is inhabited by a people, alien in race, having neither the rights nor the obligations of British citizens, owing their connection to England to the same causes that caused Gaul or Hispania to be bound to Rome and subject to the absolute rule of the Imperial State. With the loss of Hindustan, Great Britain would cease to be an empire. It would be, as long as the colonies held to it, simply a congeries of States, associated by the bonds of language and blood.

Three empires in especial seem to me to be fit objects of comparison with the present British Empire,—Persia, Athens and Rome. Points of dissimilarity are obvious, but, on the other hand, so are points of comparison. Besides these, I cannot put my finger on any empire, which with any degree of propriety might be chosen as a subject for my text. Of the great so-called empires which flourished before the days of Cyrus,—Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, not sufficient is known. What is known, too, tends to show that these never were empires in the modern sense of the term. Any one who has paid the slightest attention to the information which we gain from the monuments concerning the first two, will notice how the kings of Assyria and Egypt are continually described as conquering and re-conquering the same people. Every great king of Egypt during its most flourishing period is said to have conquered the Rotenu, the Kheta, and other tribes of the land between the Gulf of Akabar and the Euphrates. The kings of Nineveh seem to have been in a chronic state of conquering, and re-conquering, and conquering again the Armenians, the Babylonians and the Susians. Indeed, the whole course of history seems to show that these conquests of Nineveh and Thebes were simply razzias in a gigantic scale, most like, if a parallel must needs be found, to the conquests of Tamerlane and Chengiz Khan in the middle ages. The only policy which ever seems to have recommended itself to them as a means to hold permanent sway in a country, was to deport the people wholesale and put fellow-countrymen of their own in their place. The Babylonian Empire was the work of one great man. With Nebuchadnezzar was it borne, and with

his death it perished. The Mene-Mene was on its walls almost as soon as they were laid. And if these ancient empires do not serve for a fit comparison for the reasons already given, no more do the more modern empires of Spain, Russia or France. The two latter are still growing, and though the empire of Charles the V. is now in a thousand bits, yet some of the bits still hold together, and the day for gathering together the manifold lessons it gives as a whole, still lies in the future. But Persia, Athens and Rome are empires which are finally dead. What yet lives of them is only the lesson they may teach and the results which they brought about. To them, then, let me call my reader's attention.

Of the first of them, Persia, we know much less than what we know of the other two. If it had not come into contact with Hellas and Judæa, we should have known very little indeed. But what we do know, is quite sufficient for the purpose in hand. The salient points of the political system on which the Persian empire rested, are very clear. To one studying them, the dissimilarities between the Persian and the British empires are very evident. The English maintain their empire chiefly by their power at sea. On the other hand the Persians were not a sea-faring people. The lower bed of the combined Euphrates and Tigris was blocked by them in order to prevent pirates finding their way to the very palace of the great king. Of the fleet which assembled on the day when

A king sat on the rocky brow
That o'erlooks sea-girt Salamis,
And ships in thousands all below,
And men in nations all were his :

the ships and the sailors were alike non-Persian. A corollary of this is the fact that whereas the Persian empire was concentrated, every part touching some other part, the British Empire is connected together solely by the mighty ocean. But if the points of difference are clear, so are the points of likeness. The Persians, like the present English, were of a different religion to the conquered races under their sway. Strong in their belief in Auramazda, they looked down with lofty indifference on the lower religions, as they seemed to them, of the conquered races. The special interest they seem to have taken for a time in the Jews arose from the fact that they considered them to be the followers of a religion similar to their own. How like are they in this to the Englishman in India at the present day. Engrossed in business, what—save in a few isolated cases—does an average Anglo-Indian know of the creeds of the teeming millions which surround him? Now and again, as the Persian of old's attention

was turned to the Jews, so is his attention directed to a creed like that of the Brahmos, which may show signs of coalescence with Christianity. Otherwise, I say again, his attitude is one of utter indifference. He is utterly foreign to them, they to him. One great consequence of this, and also of the difference of race, is what we often hear called "the gulf between the races." One often hears the question of filling up this gulf discussed, but much progress has not been made nor will probably be made. Mr. Keswick spoke perfectly truly when he said that a leopard cannot change its spots. An Englishman cannot become an Indian, nor an Indian an Englishman, any more than a Persian could become an Egyptian or an Ionian. Such a gulf, however, I might say in passing, need not prevent mutual esteem or respect. Many of the most trusty advisers of the great king were Ionians, and there is no reason why the Viceroy of India should not be like the Achæmenides in this respect.

Again, the political systems of the English and the Persians are in their main features alike. We do not know, indeed, enough of the *minutiæ* of the Persian system to enter into a very elaborate comparison, nor do I mean to put forward that the Persian method of administration was as highly organised as the present Indian system is. The difficulties in the way of communications—it took ninety-three days to reach Susa from Ephesus—prevented the centralisation of power at head quarters, the depriving of the executive local officials of all power, which is not in accordance with the letter of their instructions, which is such a marked feature in the Indian system. But still the general principles of the systems remain the same. In the thoroughly Persianised countries, as in British India, the chief power was vested in a Persian satrap, who had as his subordinates a crowd of Persian officials. A check on their power was provided, not as it is now in India by publicity and the press, but in a form suited to the times by means of an independent official who reported direct to the Susan Court. And lying beneath all and supporting all, there was in every province an army composed of Medes and Persians, just as in India we have sixty thousand British soldiers as a necessary accompaniment to our rule. The native troops which acted as auxiliaries to those Persian army may be fitly compared to *our* native forces. In one respect the Persian system would, according to the cant* of the present age, be termed

* The parts of the Persian Empire which were largely governed by the natives of those parts can hardly be compared to our Native States. For in dealing with the latter, we are supposed, at least, to be chiefly guided by treaties, whereas the Persian made no pretence to rule by any thing but by his own autocratic power.

more liberal than ours. In certain parts of the Empire, the government was almost entirely carried on by the natives of those parts. The result was not, however, encouraging, at least from a Persian point of view. The countries in which this scheme was adopted were in almost constant revolt. Ionia and Egypt were the lands in which the experiment seems to have been carried to its utmost point, and the consequence was that Ionia threw off Persian yoke, and Egypt only submitted, after being conquered again and again. On the other hand, home charges were a terrible reality in the Persian Empire. Not as here, were they for services actually rendered or for goods actually expended on the provinces which paid them, but they were a real deprivation of so much of the satrapy's wealth to pay for the splendour of the great king's court in his far-off residence.

Besides the differences in religion and race, characteristics alike of the Persian and his subjects and of the English and the people of Hindustan, and the likeness between the two empires' political administration, another point of similarity should be noted. With certain notable exceptions, the Persian rule in Western Asia was over people who had been accustomed for centuries to be ruled by foreign races. The Assyrian and the Egyptian for centuries had in turn overrun a great part of the lands which afterwards constituted the Persian Empire. During the hundred years before Cyrus, the Babylonian, the Mede, the Scyth and Cimmerian, had in addition to the two powers above mentioned, joined in the work of conquest and plunder. So has it been in India. Since Mahmud Ghorî at Thaneswar, vanquished at once Rajput chivalry and Indian, numerous foreign conquerors have trod Aryavarta's sacred soil. Tatar, Afghan, Persian, Englishman, each has come, has seen, and has conquered. The mass of the people,† caring only for their own petty local affairs, have shown but small signs of caring under what master they may be. Under every master the greater part of the inhabitants have never been at more than a measurable distance from the direst poverty. And though the Hindu has certainly shown, as an eminent German historian says, "an inclination towards the highest intellectual ability," the inclination has been in the intellectual plane only, and has not shown itself in the direction of a striving at a separate national political existence.

* It is but fair to note that under the Persian Government, as Canon Rawlinson remarks, the people of the conquered countries seem to have been better off than they were previously. So in the greater part of India we may surely claim that the masses are better off than they were, at least during the century previous to our rule.

Is the moral of all this far to seek? When Alexander invaded Asia, the administrative system, which had been built up by Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes was still in force. Four years and three great battles, and the whole Persian Empire was entirely destroyed. The conquered people of Western Asia, having no religious or race sympathy with the Persians, and caring little under what master they served, passed without almost a struggle from the Persian to the Macedonian yoke. So may it possibly be in the future with us. The day of Empire-makers, of Clive, Hastings and Wellesley is gone; the time of administrative routine has come. When the hour of struggle comes, if ever we have to contest with Russia, or with any other power for this great empire, the forms of administration will avail us little. However fair the outside core may be, unless we have men of the same race as of yore, soldiers like those who unconquered pushed up bloody Albuera's hill, generals of the stamp of Clive and Wellington, administrators of the class of Hastings and Elphinstone, all else will be of little use. And this Indian empire of ours, if it goes at all, will go as a whole and altogether. Flatter ourselves as we will, India would pass without a murmur to any foreign power strong enough to wrest it from our hands. We might retain towns on the coast and might revert to our old position as traders, but after an Arbela, our empire would irretrievably go, leaving behind it as wrecks not the traditional beer bottle, but rather miles of red tape and libraries of reports.

Turning to Athens, the second empire that I have chosen, it would seem, at starting, as if a comparison could hardly be made. The rule of the Athenians was almost solely over people of the same race as their own, whereas, as I have already remarked, the striking feature in the British rule in India, is, that it is, over an utterly alien people. But there are certain cogent reasons why the parallel should be drawn. Athens held her empire on the same condition that England holds hers; the former was, as the latter is, the queen of the seas. The Athenians, like the English, were originally a land-loving people. Great events, the Persian invasion in the one case, and the discovery of the New World with the subsequent struggles against Spain, Holland and France on the other, brought about that the two should change the directions of their energies, and become the rulers of the waves. To the Athenian Sophocles of old, there was one glory to his state, salubrious, fertile and beautiful as it was, which surpassed all, and that was "the deftly-plied oar of the sea flying along by force" wondrously bounding. And so an Englishman puts forward as his noblest boast that "Britannia rules the waves." As long as Athens was mistress of this element, incursions into Attica

hurt her but little. But after the failure and destruction of the Sicilian expedition, and still more after the terrible surprise of Aigospotamoi, with the loss of her navy all went. The historian tells us that when the news of the latter reached the city, the cry of mourning went up all night long to heaven, for not one could close his eyes to sleep. And so it might, for well the Athenian knew, the last day of his greatness had come. Thus too, might it be with us. As long as the British flag rides unconquered on the ocean, England, if not the English Empire, is safe. But if ever England loses this command, the words of the poet "Troy was" will come true again.

But a far more practical subject for contrast arises, when we remember that Athens was a democratic State, ruling absolutely over a number of dependent States, just as England herself is. I may here say in parenthesis, that the question of the compatability of democracy with world-rule might also be taken up by me when writing about the Roman Empire, but that I prefer discussing it here, as Roman democracy was becoming only the shadow of a name when the Roman Empire became fully organised. On the other hand, in Athens as in England at present, democracy was at its fullest swing, when its imperial power was greatest. In both cases the methods employed by the ruling people have been much the same. Persons were chosen for the control of foreign affairs by the demos, and these had in ordinary matters absolute power, just as at the present day our Secretaries of State have. The Athenian Empire was broken up largely by this democratic feeling. Its subjects, Hellenes indeed, were always imbued with theories of popular rule, and were for the chief part under such rule before they became members of the Athenian State. But still there is little doubt that the example and influence of Athens largely strengthened the democratic idea. And the consequence was that when Brasidas made his famous expedition to Thrace, his most potent argument with the Athenian dependent cities and States was, that they should be autonomous. He tickled their ears with dreams of liberty. We all know what the result was, how Sparta's little finger became thicker than Athens' loin. But though the event proved the foolishness of the Athenian subjects, it is pretty certain that a tale of the same sort would have again the same response. We may see a parallel to this in the praise that a portion of the Vernacular press bestows on the Russian administration,—an administration that maintains itself on the suppression of education, and the use of spies and the knout. Verily, indeed,

"Man never is but always to be blest!"

The question then comes to be asked whether the democratic principles now obtaining in England are compatible with its ruling India. The general principles on which the conquering country's government rest must perforce in time permeate the conquered country. And in addition here in India we are doing our best to push the democratic idea. The extension of schools and railways are disintegrants of the old ideas, more rapid than any number of elective municipalities and Ilbert bills. And while on this point, I may say that the first-fruits of the influence of English democracy is very evident in the Reut Bill and the discussion which has accompanied it. For the main object of a democracy, save in a case like that of Athens, where the demos was very small and had abundant room for expansion in foreign enterprise, is the more equal distribution of property. I say this, neither for praise nor blame. I myself think the object a laudable one; that the present method of distribution with its extremes of rich and poor, its millionaire and its beggar, is not the one that God Almighty has intended to be permanent. But what I say is simply fact. What have been the Irish Land Act, the Employers' Liability Act, the Hare and Rabbits' Act, but the lessening of the amount of estate one may hold in any special property? True, no estate has ever been held to be absolute, taxes and the poor rates sufficiently prove that. But as time goes on, if the present democratic wave in England rolls on, the limitations will, especially in the case of land, become more and more. Will this feeling become the ruling one in India too? In particular, will the democratic idea lead to a real demand for autonomy, which may endanger England's hold on the country? I have said before, that I do not intend to play the prophet, and so shall not attempt to answer the questions. Such autonomous rule, however, would certainly lessen our hold on the country, for a country, ruling itself,* might easily commit itself to a course leading to war, without the nominally ruling power having any power to check it.

I now come to the third, the greatest and the most lasting, of the great Imperial powers of old, the Roman Empire. To no Empire has ours been oftener or more justly compared. The "*civis Romanus sum*" of the citizen of the imperial city, finds its response in every Britain's heart. We all know how popular the elder Pitt and Lord Palmerston were, the two statesmen who, beyond

* The present position of Australia with reference to the recidivist question is a good illustration of this. We might easily be driven into war with France without any possibility of our checking it, if France and Australia should come into collision in the matter.

all British statesmen, founded their policy on this proud boast. The two empires have grown up under circumstances wondrously alike. The gradual conquest of Wales and of Ireland and the absorption of Scotland, resemble the process by which Italy gradually became one under Roman rule. Only after the consolidation of the British Isles and of Italy under one head, did the two powers begin to build up a foreign empire. The Romans too, had their Irish question in the land of Samnium. As Ireland had always been a thorn in the side of England, so did Samnium for centuries gall the Roman side. Never, says the historian, not in the days of Brennus, was the city in such imminent danger, as when in the Marian civil war, the Samnites reached the Collinegate. The forest, said their General, needed to be rooted up, which was the lair and refuge of the wolves that preyed on Italian liberty. It was indeed only the supreme good fortune of Sulla, that saved Rome on that eventful day. The Roman solved the Samnian question, but he solved it in a way, which can never be imitated by a civilised power. The fertile land with its homesteads and hamlets, was turned into a desert. The land which once was possessed by a hardy peasantry, became the home of the wolf, untenanted, save by a stray shepherd, by man. *Fecere solitudinem; pacem appellavere.*

Rome again became a naval power just as Britain did many centuries later. The Roman navy was created during the wars against Carthage, just as it was the war with Spain, that founded the British navy. And then in its management or non-management of the conquered provinces, the Romans of old acted much like our ancestors did during the last century. The Nabob of a hundred years ago had his counterpart in the Roman patrician, who, broken in fortunes, was sent as a Governor, or went of his own accord as a revenue farmer to a Roman province. There was, indeed, less restraint on the Roman of old, and his crimes were of a more brutal, if not of a more colossal nature. No slander invented or charge hurled at the head of Warren Hastings can be compared with the enormities which were proved against Verres. And then in time came the gradual settling of the provinces, the introduction by degrees of land and order, just as we have seen happen in India. Bit by bit the conquered countries abandoned their own laws, just as bit by bit the Mahammedans and Hindus have given up theirs, and became subject to the Pretorian law, as India is now becoming subject to the codes from time to time put forward by our Indian legislature.

With the extension of the Empire, the cry became louder in Italy for political rights. The extension of the franchise was as favourite a rallying point for the popular party at Rome as it now is for the same party in Great Britain. The social

war resulted from the refusal of the Conservative aristocratic party to extend to the *Citra-Padaue* Italians the rights of Roman citizenship. Julius Cæsar started on his political career by demanding the franchise for the *trans-Padaue* Italians. But here the parallel in the course of the two democratic parties ceases. The Romans, indeed, did get that alleviation of their material wants, which I have spoken of above as an essential aim of every democratic faction. They secured for themselves the bread and games which play such a part in the history of the earlier Empire. But it was not out of the pockets of the aristocrats, that these came, but out of the resources of the conquered provinces.

Some, indeed, may think that I should extend the parallel further. The citizenship was more and more widely granted, till at last Caracalla, for fiscal reasons, made every subject of the Empire a Roman citizen. But long before this all the inhabitants of the Empire, whether Roman citizens or not, had really lost whatever freedom they once might have had. When the plebians wrested political equality from the patricians, the Roman citizens were free, and even when the Italians became possessed after the social war of Roman rights, the status of Roman citizenship marked a certain political importance. But by degrees all the real political power centred in a few powerful men, and the citizenship conferred in its holder solely some personal immunities. Popular rule finally became imperial rule. Such a state of things, many think, is rapidly coming into existence now. Mr. George tells us that no man who is in the employ of another, who has to depend on the other for his livelihood, deserves the name of free-man. Others will say that the tyranny of the Caucus is making popular rule simply a synonym for the rule of a few powerful wire-pullers. To these I can only answer, that for my part I do not read the times so, that the most powerful ministries themselves are driven by genuine popular movements, that it was a real un-caucussed popular demonstration that made Lord Beaconsfield come to terms with Mr. Plimsoll, and that has urged Mr. Gladstone on in his reform policy.

There is one question that a consideration of the history of the extension of the Roman citizenship suggests, which is of much political importance. How far was the extension of Roman citizenship a benefit either to the conquerors or to the conquered? It certainly benefitted the latter in some respects by largely preventing them from being dealt with in the way in which Roman or local officials too often treated the provincials. The life of the Apostle Paul bears witness more than once to this fact. But politically it does not seem to have influenced them at all, whereas morally and socially it seems, in too many

instances, to have deteriorated them. The Gauls and Britains aped the manners of a Rome, which had lost almost all its virtue, and the consequence was that when the day of separation came, they were totally unfit to maintain themselves against the barbarians that swooped down on all parts of the empire. Whatever they learnt, they unlearned their pristine bravery. The conquerors again were debased by contact with the subject-races, especially with those of the East. Compare what we know of the Latin host, that overcame Hannibal, with the average Roman of Horace's day. But even then the evil had just begun. Read through that terrible third satire of Juvenal, written some two generations after the days of Horace, and find what a city Rome had then become. The Orontes had, as the satirist bitterly complains, poured itself into the Tiber. Unveilers of Isis, and the unholy brood of the followers of the hundred various Eastern mysteries, were everywhere.

Do not these things teach us a lesson? Political rights, in the fullest sense of the term, the Indian has not, nor never can have; that is, the British Empire would cease to be British, if the natives of this country were given a vote as his British confrere has been given for the Imperial Parliament, for such a thing would certainly finally end in making England a province of India. The personal rights of a British citizen, the natives in almost all points have. If an Englishman commits a crime or breaks a contract, his punishment is exactly the same as is meted out to a native. What differences there are in personal rights are certainly not altogether in favour of an Englishman. But the real evil to which England is exposed from its holding India, is the contaminating influences to which it lies open. We know that last century English political life was degraded by the Nabobs with their ill-acquired wealth laid out in the purchase of rotten boroughs and unprincipled pressmen. Now when there are so many English in India, and Indians largely resort to England, the dread is rather that English people may contract what is most corrupt in Indian life and thought. For it is the evil they are likely to contract rather than the good. The Syrian and Egyptian sojourner in Rome may have had many good qualities, but his influence on the Roman was altogether evil. So in days past in India, many an Englishman acquired from the natives by whom he was surrounded habits of dishonesty with reference to Government money; he did not, as far as I am aware, gain any of that love for children, which is so striking a virtue of the native races.

After conquest comes organisation and administration. So was it with Rome, so has it been with England. Roman adminis-

tration has two phases, the earlier and the later; the former being chiefly associated with the names of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, the latter with Constantine. But the same process seems to have been all the while going on, the gradual restriction of the local laws of each province and the unification of the law of the entire empire. By Constantine's time the process was complete. We have not yet reached that stage of complete unification of laws, but are rapidly hastening towards it. The gradual contraction of Mahammedan and Hindu law, the glosses put on this law in accordance with English legal principles by our lawyers and judges, and the codification of our criminal and part of our civil law are all steps in this direction, and the antennæ of our administration are so rapidly working their way into the vitals of this immense country, that we might almost say of our Empire something similar to what Finlay says of the Byzantine, *i. e.*, that our administration has taken deeper root than anything else connected with our empire.

The two chief divisions of any administration, on which it must stand absolved or be condemned at the bar of history, are taxation and justice. I am not so foolhardy as to rush into the controversy, at present so furiously raging, concerning the lightness or severity of the present taxation. In this connection, I would merely point out that every body seems agreed that it is almost impossible, save as regards custom dues, abolished two years ago chiefly for the benefit of England, to devise any new mode of taxation, and that it is deemed highly inexpedient to resort to any enhancement of the present revenue burdens. This latter opinion is largely founded on feelings of philanthropy, feelings which do not seem much to have influenced either the Pagan or Christian Cæsars. They, too, exhausted every means of collecting a revenue, and their mode of collecting it, and seeing it all reached the Imperial treasury in many ways, resembled ours. The Treasury at Constantinople as the Finance Department here now, was all important during the Lower Empire. The justice administered by the Lower Empire was, as we all know, venal; but in one respect, on the civil side at least, it much resembles ours. Delays and lawyers' fees often amounted to a positive denial of justice. Let me quote a passage from Gibbon. Talking of the lawyers of Byzantium, he says:—"Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment; from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted."

Now, as far as the lawyers are described, the above, if applied to those of the present day, would be undoubtedly a gross libel. But although we are blessed with an enlightened and learned bar and with a hard-working and conscientious bench of judges, is not the result of an appeal to law now, often much the same as it was fifteen hundred years ago? It was just the other day that I read of a suit, the value matter of which was only 2,000 Rs., having cost the parties six times that amount. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Trades' Association have both lately pointed out that the delays in getting justice almost amounts to its prohibition. And yet the Government makes an enormous amount out of the granting of justice!

My subject is now exhausted. When I started I said I would not prophesy, but there is one prophecy which I must needs make, and that is, that this Empire of ours will not last for ever. As Persia, Athens and Rome have reigned and have ceased to reign, so it will be with us. Whether soon or late, the inevitable hour must come. It is only spiritual ideas that live for ever. Daniel the Prophet had a true dream when he saw the little stone becoming a mountain that filled the whole earth. The influence of Jerusalem and Mecca still stretches over the whole world. Euclid and Homer have outlasted Pericles and Alexander. Our empire will finally have to be judged by the good that has come from it, the aid and impetus that it has given to the onward flow of civilisation, and the fructifying ideas to which it has given birth. Anthony does not speak correctly when he says that the good is oftentimes buried with one's bones. Every thing both evil and good that man does, lives in its results. It is therefore more important that England should rule well what it does rule, than that it should rule much. If the judgment of history on England's rule in India be favourable, it will be founded not on the magnificence of the conquest, but on England's having ameliorated the material wants of the Indian people, having broken down the chains of caste, and having raised the people to a higher ethical plane than that which they had previously occupied.

K.

ART. VII.—THE PATNA MASSACRE.

THE event known as the Patna Massacre, took place in October 1763. It consisted of the putting to death, in cold blood, of about one hundred and fifty Englishmen ; a larger number than were killed in the Black Hole. It was also a far more deliberate piece of wickedness. The tragedy of the Black Hole was the result of want of thought, but the Patna massacre was designed, and was the result of some premeditation. The executioner was a European and a professing Christian, but the man who ordered the slaughter and who must be considered as the chief criminal, was Mir Kasim Ali the Subahdar of Bengal.

The event excited profound sensation in Calcutta. When the news arrived the Government ordered that there should be a general deep mourning for fourteen days. Minute guns were to be fired from the old and new forts and from the ships on the river, on the evening of Tuesday the 1st November, and the morning of the following day was to be set apart and observed as a public fast and humiliation; the chaplains being requested to prepare a sermon and forms of prayer suitable for the occasion. By the same proclamation a reward of a lakh of Rupees was offered for the seizure and delivering up of Mir Kassim, and one of Rs. 40,000 for the apprehension of "the Chief named Summereen."

The sensation passed away, and at the present moment the massacre is nearly forgotten. It did not occur in a capital city, and the manner of the deaths was not so strange and horrible as in the case of those in the Black Hole. Nor did the occurrence give rise to controversies with foreign powers as did the massacre of Amboyna. Then, again, there is no narrative of it by an English eye-witness, for though Dr. Fullarton who was the solitary survivor was in Patna at the time, he did not actually see the massacre. Major Adams got an account of it from one Asak who was khan-samah to one of the victims, and he proposed to send him down to Calcutta for examination. But I do not know if this was done, or if the man's statement was recorded. If it was, the paper would probably be found on searching the archives in this country or at home.

A lofty monument was erected to the memory of the slain, but apparently no inscription was placed on it. In 1880 Sir Ashley Eden's government endeavoured to supply the defect by inserting a tablet, but the real facts were so little known and so little care

was taken in drawing up the inscription, that it contains several errors. It runs as follows :—

In memory of Captain John Kinch, First Lieutenants Richard Perry and George Hockler, Lieutenants Fireworkers, John Brown, Ardean Deckers, John Read and Benjamin Adamson, of the Honourable East India Company's Artillery; Captains Peter Carstairs, Charles Ernest Joecher, Ambrose Perry, Henry Summers, James Tabby, William Turner and George Wilson; Lieutenants John Downie, Richard Holland, Maurice Roach, George Alston, and Sir William Hope; Ensigns John Greentree, Robert Roberts, Duncan Macleod, William Crawford, William Hinckles, Isaac Humphries John Robert Roach, John Perry, and Walter Macbay, of the Honourable East India Company's Infantry; Doctors Campbell and Anderson, Messrs. Hay, Ellis, Lushington, Lyons, Jones, Chambers, Smith and Kelley, who with a hundred other captives of inferior rank were, in the night of the 5th November 1763, brutally massacred near this spot by the troops of Mir Kasim Ali, Nawab-Subahdar of Bengal, under command of Walter Reinhardt, *alias* Sumru, a French renegade.—*E dedecore hostium nata est gloria eorum.*

Now, in the first place, Captain Carstairs commanded the whole of the Patna forces, and therefore his name should have appeared before those of the Artillery officers. And, in the second place, he was not massacred at Patna, for he died a more honourable death some four months previous to it. He was wounded at the battle of Manjhi on 1st July 1763, and died two days afterwards at Hajipore where, as Captain Williams records, a monument was erected to his memory.*

There are mistakes about other names also, as will be seen when we come to Dr. Anderson's diary, for instance, Captain Turner died at Monghyr and was not massacred at Patna. Captain Perry, and Lieutenants Downie and Roach were killed on the 25th June, when we were driven out of Patna.

The date given is also wrong. The massacre did not take place on 5th November. That at Haji Ahmed's house in which Mr. Ellis and most of the gentlemen were killed, took place on 5th October, and the subsequent one in the Chahalsatun in which seven gentlemen suffered, occurred on the 11th October.

I came across the following diary in 1876 while I was reading the Hastings' Manuscripts in the British Museum.

* Mr. Collin, the Sub-divisional Officer of Hajipore, informs me that there is a very large tomb of a pyramidal shape there, and that the tradition is that it was erected over a lame Saheb. Very probably this is Carstairs' monument. The tradition about the lameness may be a reference to the wound of which he died, or to one which he received in the defence of Fort William in 1756. The tomb had an inscription, but the tablet has been carried off by some one.

It occurs in vol. 29,209 of the Additional MSS. of the Museum, pp. 114—127. The writer's name is not given, and the manuscript is a copy, and has corrections which are possibly in Hastings' own handwriting. On the reverse of the last page of the diary the corrector has put the note: "this is written by a medical gentleman, not Fullarton." I conjecture that the author was a Dr. Anderson who was one of the three medical officers who were at Patna at the time. The other two were Drs. Fullarton and Campbell, and it is clear that they did not write the diary for they are both referred to in it. The contents of the diary shew that the writer was a doctor. It is possible that Dr. Anderson was related to Mr. Anderson who was a friend of Hastings and Bogle, and that it was in this manner that the diary found its way into the Hastings' MSS. So far as I know the diary never has been printed. A small portion of it is given in Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, pp. 322, 324, together with extracts from what was perhaps Dr. Campbell's diary, pp. 320, 321. Mr. Wheeler does not say where he found the diary, and his transcript has not been very carefully made.

The diary gives an account of the attack on the city of Patna by Mr. Ellis and its disastrous termination, of the defeat at Manjhi, and of the subsequent adventures of the author and a few more Englishmen, down to within a few days of their death. The period covered by it is about three months, or from 23rd June to 6th October. The writer was not one of those who surrendered to Ram Nidi the Foujdar of Saran and to Samru after the battle of Manjhi. He was in a boat with the sick, and after the defeat they dropped down the river to Hajipore where they surrendered themselves, and where Captain Carstairs died of his wound. They were taken across the river to Patna, and then were sent down by boat to Monghyr. They were not kept there however, but were brought back to Patna, apparently without having been landed at Monghyr. They were kept in Patna for about two months and a half, and then, I presume, they were put to death. They were kept for a day or two at the fort, and then were conveyed to the State-prison which seems to have been in the Chahalsatun, or house of the forty pillars. This was on the banks of the river near the Madrassa, and was the scene some years previously of the murder of Aliverdi Khan's nephew by the Afghans. Mr. Ellis and most of the other gentlemen were kept at Monghyr, and were only brought to Patna a day or two before they were massacred. Dr. Anderson apparently never saw them again after the battle of Manjhi.

I gather from his narrative that the women and children mentioned as having been in the boat were not imprisoned.

If this had been the case there must have been some mention of their presence in the diary. The number of gentlemen imprisoned was, I think, five including the author, namely, Captain Wilson, Drs. Anderson and Campbell, and Ensigns Armstrong and McKay. This seems clear from the entries of the 25th and 31st July, when we learn that a bottle of spirits contained ten glasses, and that by their boys' smuggling one in, each prisoner got a couple of glasses.

On 11th August their numbers were increased by the imprisonment of Mr. Bennet the Company's factor at Berhampore, and of Mr. Thompson the agent for Mr. McGuire. These two gentlemen were brought from Monghyr. At this time the diarist's party consisted of seventeen persons, including, I presume, servants and perhaps a European soldier or two. They were allowed ten rupees a day for their food, which might be at the rate of one rupee for each of the gentlemen, and of Rs. 5 for the other twelve. When Messrs. Bennet and Thompson were added to their number, the allowance was increased by two rupees.

The diary does not show any literary skill, and the author does not appear to have been an active-minded man. One would have thought that it would not have been easy for a man to keep a diary for three months in such eventful circumstances, and yet reveal scarcely anything of his character or thoughts. Yet this is the case here, for the diary is singularly wanting in suggestiveness. It is only from the want of this that we can conjecture what sort of man he was, and I fear we must say that he was commonplace.

The diary, however, must always be interesting, and the very triviality of its details affects the imagination. We feel as if we were being present at some quiet little station on the eve of the Mutiny. There is something touching in the entries from day to day, and we note with interest that the diarist seems at last to have made a mistake in his count. The 26th September 1763 was Monday and not Tuesday, and so the last entry should be Thursday the 6th, and not the 5th October.

In editing the diary, I have modernised the spelling and added such notes as appeared necessary. I ought to mention that I am indebted to my wife for a revision of my copy which was made by me rather in a hurry. I cannot be always certain that the proper names have been correctly given.

June 23rd—being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, we all dined at the Factory * when it was easy to observe by

* This, I believe, is the present Opium Factory. The hospital for the soldiers was in the city at the Chahalsatun, and Dr. Fullarton and the other medical men lived there.

the faces of the gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the carpet; for our Council had been sitting, and orders were issued out for the guards to be relieved by the awkward men, and the captains to meet the Commanding Officer at his quarters at 8 in the evening. It seems the gentlemen of the factory had advice of Mr. Amyatt's negotiations at Monghyr being broken off and a day appointed for his departure, also that a strong detachment of horse and sepoy, to the number of 3,000, with six guns, were on the march to Patna, so that as war seemed inevitable, they thought it best to strike the first stroke by possessing themselves of the city of Patna. However, they were willing to wait for certain advices from Mr. Amyatt. Accordingly, the 24th, at night, in consequence of the advices, orders were given to attack the city next morning. About one, the troops were under arms and marched off at two (about two companies of awkward men with two officers left at the gardens for a guard) in the following order— Captain Tabby's sepoy and the Europeans were to march by the road of the Chota *Mutni** bastion with their scaling ladders and enter there. Captains Turner and Wilson with four companies each and two pieces of cannon were to proceed to the west gate, enter there, while Lieutenant Downie with three companies escalated opposite the factory. Captain Kinch, with the remainder of the guns, was stationed in Mr. Howitt's compound in order to fire upon the walls, and be as a signal for a general attack. Three pieces (three-pounders,) with two companies of sepoy were to keep up a constant fire from the top of the factory house. Captain Carstairs with the Europeans and Tabby's sepoy after entering, passed along the north-west front and opened the gates, so that the other party with the two guns passed in without any difficulty. We possessed ourselves soon of all the bastions, but had great difficulty in going up the great street as there was a great fire from the houses in which we lost some men and officers, but at length proceeded to the Killa into which the only force in the city had retired. The Subah with most of his jemadars had left the city, and we now began to think ourselves secure, but alas! how greatly mistaken. Lieutenants Downie and Perry, with some sepoy, had gone quite through the Killa to the water side. Our Europeans were in possession of the east gate with one of our guns, but all the rest of our sepoy were dispersed and plundering, so that scarce one hundred could be got together. All were quite fatigued,

* This was one of the earthen mounds round Patna and was situated to the east of the Opium Factory. It was demolished at the time of the Mutiny.

having marched through thick mud and had no refreshment, when, near one o'clock, about 120 of the enemy entered the Killa and drove some sepoy who were there before them. The Europeans and other sepoy seeing this, followed their example and so scarce looked back till they got to the factory; a party * of Marcar's sepoy who belonged to the detachment sent to reinforce the city, arrived with some guns soon after and began to fire on the factory house. Thus ended this unhappy affair not without great loss and effusion of blood. The enemy must have suffered much, but can give no particulars. Our loss is as follows :—

Killed—Captain Perry, Lieutenants Downie, McDowel, Roach, and about eight Europeans.

Wounded—Captains Joecher, Wilson, Lieutenant Perry, 10 Europeans, 100 sepoy. Our whole force consisted of 150 Europeans rank and file, 40 artillery, 2,200 sepoy.

Killed and deserted, but mostly the latter, and I believe loaded with plunder, one thousand sepoy with officers in proportion. Lost two pieces which could not be brought off. Six in the evening the guard for the gardens was called in and arrived soon after. After this disaster the council was called, in which the captains were desired to attend that they might consult of what was best to be done in our present circumstances. Various were the opinions on this occasion—1st, the factory being but small and badly provided with provisions and firewood for 1,200 sepoy and 200 Europeans, besides we must have expected to have been entirely shut up with the fresh troops which would have come from Monghyr, therefore to defend it was thought to no purpose. 2nd, to take boat and proceed by water to Calcutta, but, in the first place, boats could not be procured for such a number, and must have expected an opposition at Monghyr where intelligence must arrive one day before us. 3rd, to cross the river and march down on the opposite side. This must have been to sacrifice many, as we must have embarked in the face of a numerous enemy who had doubtless troops opposite Monghyr to meet us, besides it was impossible without bullocks or coolies to have either guns or much of ammunition with us. Therefore the final determination, and indeed that which had most chance of succeeding was to procure by force as many boats as we could send them up to Phylagy † Pass, and cross the river there with one howitzer, march up the Sircar Saran country, and so cross over to Sujah Daulah's country. This was approved of, but boats could not be procured that night, and the day following having got as many

* An Armenian General in Mir Kasim's service.

† Probably Pahalaza Ghât, near Deega, and the place for crossing to the Chapra side of the river.

boats as we could and sent them up to the pass we prepared everything for evacuating the factory. In the interim a very brisk and incessant fire of both great guns and musketry was kept up on both sides in which we lost a European and three or four sepoys. About ten at night we got our sick Europeans and treasure—about one lakh,—embarked. Soon after Captain Tabby's sepoys were ordered to march out to the sand to the north of the French factory, and there wait for the Europeans. Mr. Ellis, with a company of sepoys from that body, attended by some civilians, made the best of their way to the boats. Captain Carstairs with the Europeans, and Turner's sepoys kept up a brisk fire till near twelve o'clock, and everything being quite ready, spiked up the guns, &c., and marched out and so proceeded to the boats without the least molestation. About two, we began to cross as quickly as possible and without confusion, but before one-third were over, it began to blow and rain, so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime those who had crossed were alarmed by a body of horse running to attack them. They beat to arms, got the howitzer ready and advanced 200 or 300 yards to be clear of the village and so waited for them, but they thought proper to keep at a distance. About ten, the weather turned fair and wind moderate, so that on the afternoon every body was crossed, even our horses. We began to prepare for marching. Accordingly the sick, treasure and howitzer, with part of the ammunition were to go by water for want of coolies, &c., while the army marched by land; on account of the sick I went by water. In the afternoon, about five o'clock, the army marched, and we got under sail with a fair wind, being about thirty boats in all. Here I was greatly disappointed, for the boat with my clothes, instruments, medicines and servants did not arrive, so that I imagine this must have been stopped. We sailed the best part of the night and then came to. At day-light got under weigh and halted at Cherand. Soon after we were all alarmed with two or three companies of sepoys whom we discovered on the opposite shore, and observing them drawing some boats together, we sent immediate advice to Mr. Ellis who sent a company of sepoys to reinforce us, for we had only fifty. About five, the army joined us.

The 29th.—We early got under weigh, but our barge being heavy, we generally brought up the rear. Those sepoys of the enemy having got three boats, chased us about 8 o'clock, but having a fresh wind and by the help of our oars we happily got clear. A guard boat and another in our rear fell in with them. The former cleared herself after a brisk fire, but the other was taken, the sepoys having jumped over board

after having two men killed and two wounded. We entered this afternoon the river Dahwa (a name of the Gogra), brought to within a coss of the army about three coss above Chapra. On the 30th, got under weigh but made a bad hand of it, the stream being very strong in this river which obliged us to put to the other shore, when we discovered within a mile of us ten stands of colours and some horse, which obliged us to put into the stream, and getting foul of another boat, broke our rudder. We were taken in tow by two guard boats which, with great labour, brought us to the ground we had left in the morning. Here we patched up our rudder as well as we could and were greatly assisted in it by Mr. Place who came in the pinnace for that purpose. We observed several villages on fire about a coss from us, and heard of one Somero, with four or five companies of sepoys and three or four guns having crossed over hereabouts in order to join Ram Nidi the Faujdar of the country, who has got together about 3,000 horse and foot in order to oppose us. We made (our way?) to the fleet with great danger and difficulty, for we had nearly overset two or three times. When we joined them, had the agreeable news of our having defeated Ram Nidi that morning and killed about 200 of his people. About evening, had an account of Somero's having joined him and their having encamped within a coss of our troops. The place we now lay at, is an island opposite the upper end of which our people are encamped, but the stream is too strong for us to get round to them. Therefore, having informed Mr. Ellis of it, we are ordered to proceed to the lower end in the morning when they will march down to us. About 400 men, horse and foot, are on the opposite shore attending our motions, but they have only one boat.

1st July.—We dropped down and joined the army and immediately landed our howitzer, but before they could get it mounted the enemy appeared, and began a brisk cannonade with three or four pieces of cannon. Our people beat to arms and drew up with the branch of the river which forms the island on their left, and took a pretty high bank, with the great river about 200 yards behind it on their right, much as follows:—

(Here there is a hiatus in MS. in Mr. Hastings' copy.)

They seemed not inclined to attack us then, our people all sate down in order to be more safe from the cannonade which was brisk. About 8 o'clock Mr. Ellis and all the civil gentleman, except Lushington, came over to the island* to the boats

* That is apparently to the point of the main land nearest the island and the boats. It does not appear that Mr. Ellis ever crossed over to the island.

which began soon after to transport over the baggage by which means great numbers of sepoy's stole over and concealed themselves in the jungle. The enemy seeing their fire did but little affect us, slackened it much; however, about eleven, an unlucky shot hit Captain Carstairs as he was sitting down. It entered the inside of his thigh and passed out at his groin. From the nature of it, it must be mortal. All the day after we had only two or three sepoy's killed and as many wounded. Mr. Ellis had resolved, if possible, to attack the enemy in the evening and so cross to the island and thence to the Bhojpuri side, when we had not above a coss to march out of the province. In the evening it was thought by Captain Tabby who commanded, and most of the other officers, that it would be very impracticable to attack the enemy in their present disposition, more especially as they found they had lost one-third of their sepoy's, so that their present force could not exceed 700 sepoy's, with the Europeans which were about 180, including the artillery. While they were deliberating on the matter, they were alarmed by the enemy being in motion and advancing on them. We beat to arms; the party of the enemy on the right marched and joined the main body which advanced and kept firing from all their artillery. When they came within a proper distance, Turner's battalion gave their fire regularly, but we could not observe any regular fire from the right, only a universal popping. Some few of the European platoons gave their fire, and then on a grape coming amongst them, they went to the right about, which threw everything into the utmost confusion, and every body sought their safety in flight.* Some swam to the island and brought us the melan-

* The author of the *Seir Matakherin* describes Ram Nidi, who defeated us at Manjhi, a ungrateful Bengali. He was assisted by Samru, who had crossed over from Buxar. It would seem that it was the want of artillery that ruined us. Captain Williams had an account of the battle from Serjeant Speedy who was an eye-witness. He says that the rains had set in with great violence and almost the whole country was under water. The English managed to get as far as Manjhi, and then they were surrounded. "They drew up to face the enemy, though their ammunition was nearly expended. The Europeans were upon a high spot in the centre, with Turner's battalion on the right, Tabby's on the left, and Wilson's in the rear. The enemy began to attack, but Turner's battalion advancing upon them with fixed bayonets, drove them back; and, had they been supported, it was thought the detachment might have extricated itself and stood its ground for a day or two longer; but the Europeans, worn out with fatigue and want of nourishment, refused to charge, and in consequence the whole laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. Thus was a body of nearly three thousand fine fellows lost to the service, and the Honourable Company involved in a war at a most unseasonable time, by the rashness and impolicy of one man."

choly news. The boat-people were terrified by the numbers who came pressing on them, and put off to a small distance from the shore. It was with difficulty that our budgerow could get disengaged from the numbers that clung to her. At last, by force, we got to a small distance, having on board Captain Carstairs, Captain Wilson, Dr. Campbell and myself, Ensigns Armstrong, and McKay who had swam to the island to come off to us with two soldiers, and some five or six gentlemen's servants, and three or four sepoys, six women, six children. In this confusion we observed many boats going off and knew not what to do for the best. To escape was impossible, therefore we resolved as we were already sufficiently full of people to proceed down to Patua, if possible, and so surrender ourselves prisoners to the Subah. Accordingly we put off, and on passing the jungle which was in the rear of our army, were hailed and fired at two or three times, but could not think of going to the shore, also the crowd would certainly have sunk the boat. We rowed down as softly as possible in order to avoid alarming the *chokees* which are pretty many on this river. We were often hailed, but made no answer. We cut our mast down in order to disfigure the boat, and procured jâmas and turbans for as many of us as we could, threw many things overboard, lest they should betray who we were, as swords, belts, sashes, &c, and thus spent a melancholy night with poor Carstairs and all of us in the cabin with women and children, and every moment expecting to be stopped by *chokees* who might have found an interest to have murdered us all for the sake of plunder, for we had about 20,000 Rupees of the Company's on board. Near to Maner, as we imagined it to be, our boat ran aground which perplexed us much, and a boat had kept us company for an hour which we suspected much. In short, we were wavering whether to go on shore or not and take our fate by land, but could not think of leaving Carstairs who, though mortally wounded, was perfectly sensible. It must have added to his uneasiness to have his friends leave him helpless in such distress. However, while we were aground we lost sight of the boat that accompanied us, and having got off and into the proper channel, we proceeded down till about dawn of day when we were met by a jemadar on an elephant with about 100 attendants, who was marching up. They hailed us and desired us to stop. We told them we were a Dutch boat from Chapra. We not stopping they fired on us, and I believe we would have come to, had it not been for a boy of Captain Turner's who told us it was the best to proceed on till we were stopped by force, and then tell them we were going to the Subah, which we thought very just. By brisk rowing we got clear of these people without any body

being hurt, and were not troubled with any more, except a small boat with three Moors who came aboard and told us they were a *choki*. We desired them to take us to Patna, but they seemed better pleased that we should give them *buxis*, so we gave them twenty rupees and they left us. When we drew near to the Mahi (?) river, we judged it would be better to go to Hajipore and surrender ourselves, as we should meet with better treatment than that from the people of Patna who were highly incensed. Besides the Faujdar being a brother of Mir Abdoola* might use us better on that account.

The 2nd.—About noon we arrived at Hajipore, and were very kindly received by the Faujdar's son, his father being at Patna.

The 3rd.—Poor Carstairs died on shore at a small house that had been provided for him. We had a coffin made and had him buried as decently as circumstances would allow. The same day had a *chit* from Fullarton who desired us to come over to Patna (and), told us we would meet with gentle usage from the Subah.

Monday, 4th.—Had our effects taken account of and were to be sent to Patna next day. Our treatment here is very easy, having several provisions sent us from the Faujdar, but find our guards and his servants very troublesome for *buxis* which we find best to satisfy. Heard from the Faujdar that our army had marched, that Mr. Amyatt had gone down, but Mr. Hay and another gentleman still continued at Monghyr.

Tuesday, 5th.—Our Faujdar with our guard accompanied us over to Patna. We landed at the *killa* and were brought to the Darbar where we were kindly received by Mendi Ali Khan, and had victuals brought us in plenty, often giving us betel. We were shown to our apartment under the order of Mirza Khalil, a near relation of his own, who for the short time we remained with him, did his utmost to render every thing as agreeable as possible to us, even the most menial services. He sent for us to his own room and had some country spirits for us to drink of, gave orders to bring up all our things and that there must not be the least thing touched. We thought ourselves extremely happy in such gentle usage, for the Nawab himself came and sat down with us at Mirza Khalil's and told us he expected Mr. Ellis with 30 gentlemen and 120 sepoys the next day, for they had set out from Chapra. At 9 we returned to our apartment, where Mr. Fullarton came an

* Mir Abdoola was descended from the Sufi kings of Persia, and so was called the Sufi. He was a friend of the English and was suspected by Mir Kasim. He had his house in Nozzerkattra close to the city wall. His father was Mir Gholam Ali. Nawab Wilayat Ali has married a descendant of his.

hour after and acquainted us that orders had come for sending us to Monghyr, and we must go immediately. This surprised us much as it was very dark and the stream rapid, but by speaking to our friend Mirza Khalil, * it was put off till the morning. Accordingly, early we got all ready and had every thing sent to the budgerow, where he went himself to see us safe and to deliver us to the Jemadar who had charge of us. He had sent some bread and a roasted kid into the boat for our use which we took very kindly. Captain Wilson with great difficulty persuaded him to accept of his sword in a compliment.

Wednesday, 6th.—On the morning we put off with two guard boats and some sepoy with us in the budgerow which had not got out of sight of the *killa* when the boats lashed alongside the better to secure us, and so we drove down like a log, but they soon found it inconvenient as well as us, and cast loose, one going ahead, the other astern of us, and thus we went on till we got to Barh where we halted for the night. Our guard was so careful of us to-night as to keep all the cabin windows fast by running a rope round them.

Thursday, 7th.—Early we got under weigh and proceeded down to Nawabgunj where we made a hearty meal of *kichari* and a dram of country arrack our friend at Hajipur had given us.

Friday, 8th.—Cast loose and proceeded to Monghyr, which makes a bad appearance from the river, where you have a front view of the palace His Excellency has lately built there with a breast-work before it for 30 guns. It began to rain and blow about 12, by which means we drove past it, and were obliged to track up above a mile, and at 5 arrived at the gate close to the lower part of the fort. Our *harkaru* went on shore with the letter, but had nobody come to us but a rascal of a German who had been formerly in our service; he pretended to have come from the Nawab to know our number, names and nation.

Saturday, 9th.—As nobody has come to-day to inquire whether we want victuals, nor even our own *harkaru* returned, it is a matter of surprise to our guards as well as ourselves. We send to the bazaar for what we want in the eating way, having money to the amount of 800 rupees.

Sunday, 10th.—A servant of Mr. Place brought us a *chit* giving us an account of how Messrs. Johnston and Harris, with two Europeans more belonging to the boats with arms which the Nabob stopped, being close prisoners, and having only $\frac{1}{2}$ *sir* of coarse rice per day each for their subsistence; that they were in want of some clothes which they beg us to send if we could

* Mirza Khalil was a merchant and had his house in Marufganj.

spare. They mentioned also their having 10 rupees given them two days before to buy meat, &c. They had surrendered themselves at Patna to Mr. Marcar who finding them merchants, gave them leave to go down if they could, but they found it impossible to pass the *choki* boats at *Monghyr* which are placed on both sides the river pretty close, besides every sand in the middle of the river, on all of them has one or two sepoys. As the servant who brought the *chit*, had a sepoy with him, and our guard would scarce permit him to come into the boat, we found it impossible to send them clothes. We therefore put up 28 rupees and wrote a *chit* giving an account of our situation, &c, but they kept so good a look out, that we could not find an opportunity of sending it.

Three Armenians came on board to us who gave us news of our army being at Katwa. We wanted them to deliver the money to Johnston, &c., but they declined it as they were strangers and had come only to trade. At night we had an account from our *harkaru* that we were to return to Patna and he was providing *dandies* for the purpose.

Monday, 11th.—The *harkaru* got the parwana for our going, but could not procure *dandies*. The jemadar of our guard sent and pressed about a dozen in the evening, so would not set off till to-morrow. Within these few days a large boat or two has brought to this ghât, our two 24-pounders with carriages and transport carriages, with which they carried them off.

Tuesday, 12th.—We set out on our way to Patna with a fair wind but strong stream. Afternoon about 4 coss from *Monghyr* we passed Marcar's encampment with a party of sepoys who are going to *Monghyr*. Heard that Captain Turner and two other officers came down with him and had gone on to *Monghyr*. We stopped a coss above them.

Wednesday, 13th.—Got early under weigh and at Nabobgunge met about five or six companies of sepoys with two pieces of cannon and a few horse and 90 of our Europeans who had taken service, but gave us to understand it was to avoid bad usage and with a view to making their escape. They told us Mr. Ellis and all the other gentlemen had gone down to *Monghyr* excepting Lieutenant Pickering and Ensign Crofts who were either killed or drowned on the 1st. We crossed the river and sailed up to a large island when, getting aground, obliged us to stop for the night about a coss below *Rahuanala* * on the opposite shore.

Thursday, 14th.—Not finding water for us within the island and the current being too strong without it, we crossed the river again

* *Rahuanala* is near *Lekhiserai*.

by which we drove a coss back and had great danger and difficulty in tracking up to Rahuanala as the stream was very strong and the banks fell in pretty frequent. In passing the *nala* we observed three flag-elephants with about 2,000 horse and foot crossing in boats on their way to Monghyr. In the afternoon, being within a large island, we had a fair wind and smooth water which ran us within two coss of Daryapúr where we were brought to for the night.

Friday, 15th.—We proceeded up fairly as there was little wind. At 11 o'clock we stopped at Daryapúr to dress our victuals; in the meantime three companies of sepoys, mostly our own who had taken service, arrived here on their way down. At one o'clock we put off with a pretty breeze, and at sunset reached Monguir (?) about two coss below Punarak.

Saturday, 16th.—Early we got under way with a fair wind, about we passed Punarak and at 12 we stopped at Barh to dress victuals. Here were a large body of horse and sepoys encamped with most of our tents, &c., in their charge. Their route is for Monghyr. At 2 we put off and went two coss further.

Sunday, 17th.—We set out early with a brisk wind which, continuing all day, brought us within a mile of Jaffir Khan's garden at sunset.

Monday, 18th.—Got under way at 5, and arrived at the *killá* at about 9, where, after waiting two hours, we were ordered dinner for us. Here we remained pestered with flies and heat till about 8 o'clock when we were sent for by the Nawab,* who, as before, received us very kindly, ordered chairs for us to sit on, gave a *hookah* to Captain Wilson, and told us not to be uneasy, for we might look on ourselves as at home, that he would provide a proper place for us in a few days, as that we were in was very hot, we should sleep in a bungalow above stairs. We took our leave and thought ourselves happy in falling into so good hands.

The bungalow was the Dewan's sleeping place; it was cleared accordingly; we removed from our hot apartment where we regaled ourselves with the refreshing breeze till near 11. Soon after, our supper came, which we paid little regard to, it being so late. Our guard consisting of 20 burkandazes, and 5 sepoys slept on the terrace while we crept into the bungalow where we found but little rest as it was swarming with bugs and mosquitoes.

Tuesday, 19th.—At daylight we were roused out and returned to our hotroom. Our Gentoo friend the Dewan, I believe, was not well pleased at our sleeping within, for he ordered mats and carpets to be taken off and washed and took immediate possession himself, giving

us his Dewankhana to ourselves, except a small part divided by a *pardah* for his cookroom; and at noon they began to cook there which filled our apartment with smoke. What with the heat and flies we were sufficiently tormented. We made a complaint of it and have a promise of its being removed. To-day our boy brought in a few bottles of liquor which were seized by the guard as they must have the Nawab's parwana for it to pass in. At night the Nawab's khansamah came to inform us he had his master's orders for whatever we chose to have dressed, and we need only send to the cookroom for it. To-night we found it very disagreeable on account of heat, bugs, and a noisy guard who occupy the verandah of our house.

Wednesday, 20th.—Nothing extraordinary, only a visit from Mirza Khalil, who tells us he is going to Monghyr. To-night the Dewan ordered the guard to sleep out; we might have the verandah to sleep in, which was a great piece of service to us. We had a little air and less noise.

Thursday, 21st.—Nothing remarkable.

Friday, 22nd.—Afternoon about 4, we were on a sudden removed from our quarters, leaving two soldiers. We were led into the city and on our way met two Europeans with a guard who told us there were 15 of them come up from Monghyr. We were led through several windings and by-ways to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, and after passing two compounds we came to a third where we observed some prisoners in irons which gave us but an indifferent idea of the place, more especially as the apartment we were put into was quite damp, close and hung with cobwebs. Some mats were in the front close to the door which were secured, and tied down, so that what light and air we had was from the door. Here, to all appearances, we had reason to expect but indifferent treatment, but we had not been here an hour before we began to be somewhat better reconciled to it, for all our things were sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for State-prisoners, and several people of some consequence had been here ever since Ram Narain's misfortunes. There are about 200 peons as a guard to this prison, who allow us to walk all the length of the square, so that we find we are here more retired and have more liberty.

Saturday, 23rd.—We had a visit from Ram Narain Catwal, a man of good character and formerly of influence in the city. We had no victuals sent us, so are obliged to furnish ourselves. We hear to-day that on the 15th instant a body of our troops had an engagement at Katwa with the force from Muxadavad and the latter entirely defeated, the two principal jemadars being killed. That Hugly (?) we have taken and destroyed, our gentlemen at

Cossimbazar had sent off their valuable effects and themselves got safe off. That the Nabob was preparing to go down.

Sunday, 24th.—To-day we were a good deal alarmed by some of our guards having a parcel of old irons, which we imagined were intended for us, but it was only to move them to another place. All of our servants were ordered to sleep out of our square, except one.

Monday, 25th.—Our boys heard a rumour to-day in the Dutch factory of Mr. Amyatt and his brother-in-law being both killed in their passage down near Rajmehal, having made resistance to a force ordered to stop him, but we can't give it credit. Finding the want of liquor our boys to-day smuggled a bottle which gave us a glass each after dinner and at bed time.

Tuesday, 26th.—To-day close and sultry, which makes the flies very troublesome to us. Had a small recruit of two bottles of gin which is two days' allowance. The economy we have established is to drink twice a day, dine at one, talk a while in the evening and sleep at 10. Supper we have none. The intervals are filled up with reading, gaming and conversation with our fellow-prisoners.

Wednesday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 28th.—Our jemadar informs us the Nawab has ordered us to send for our provisions to his cookroom as usual. To-day we heard Mr. Ellis' muushli had got safe to Benares, also that the King and Suja Daulah are come down to Allahabad.

Friday, 29.—On sending to-day for our victuals, the khansamah said he had not his master's orders, by which means we were disappointed of our dinner.

Saturday, 30th.—To-day we sent our servants to the Nawab to request that we might be allowed to send to the Dutch for a little liquor daily as custom had rendered it necessary for our health, also that we might have daily allowance in money rather than his victuals as it was not dressed in our way, both of which he granted, allowing us 4 rupees per day and liberty to bring in two bottles of liquor per day.

Sunday the 31st.—Had a case of bottles of gin brought in with authority having procured a case from the Dutch Doctor for 50 rupees rather than give two rupees a common bottle, which runs ten wine glasses while a case-bottle runs 30, but we find it much adulterated which, considering the Jew we bought it of, is no surprise. Heard a rumour of our troops being defeated at Plecey (Plassey?).

Monday, August 1st.—Heard with pleasure the news of yesterday reversed for, from authority, we have gained a second victory over the troops at Muxadavad, and Mr. Marcar with a large body of sepoy, &c., now lies 8 coss on this side the city, so that we may soon hear of an action of consequence as our whole

forces are pretty near them. The Nabob lies encamped at Monghyr near the hot-wells, but no appearance of moving yet.

Tuesday, 2nd.—Have the news of yesterday confirmed, great commotions at Monghyr, and Kamgar Khan with all the other Faujdars and Jamadars called in. Bought to-day six bottles of very good Madeira for three rupees per bottle, with one of which we regaled ourselves on our good news.

Wednesday, 3rd.—Got a table and three chairs for Rs. 15-8, also a large one for Rs. 7. Thus we are pretty well equipped for eating and drinking. Grijan (Gregory) Khan, with the remainder of the force, has gone down and His Excellency with a few for a bodyguard only remain.

Thursday, 4th.—Nothing extraordinary, but in daily expectation of a battle below.

Friday, 5th.—Nothing extraordinary, but a rumour of a fight at Muxadavad.

Saturday, 6th.—Mr. Roach's boy arrived from Monghyr, bringing news of Mr. Amyatt's head being brought there sometime ago; that Mr. Chambers and some of the Cossimbazar factory are there, also hear that we were thrice repulsed in the attack of the city of Muxadavad, but the fourth attack carried everything; that the old Nabob is declared. Nicolas our servant brings news of Marcar's being defeated, Somero killed with many elephants and jemadars, that Marcar had gone over to us with 1,000 men, but I can give no credit to it.

Sunday, 7th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 8th.—Mendi Ali Khan came into our square and went soon out. He beckoned us not to rise or disturb ourselves, but we heard soon after that he wanted a place to put 20 Europeans who had just arrived from Monghyr. Heard at night that we had rescued mol-or and some of the Royal family who were prisoners at Dacca and had settled that country.*

Tuesday, 9th.—Had a *chit* from one Mr. Bennet, Company's factor at Berhampore, and also one from Mr. Thompson, agent for Mr. McGuire, they were taken prisoners below and sent with about 20 soldiers; are in great distress, wanting every necessary. We sent them 20 rupees for the present. The Nabob of this place is preparing to set out for Monghyr in a few days. *Hurkarus* are in constant motion here, transporting families and effects of the merchants out of the city. Troops from the smallest Foujdaries are ordered to join at Monghyr and a bridge building at Rahuanala. The Setts are made close prisoners and great commotions among the guard at Monghyr. It is said our troops are

* Hastings' MS. illegible here.

marching up and by latest advices are 15 coss from the capital.

Wednesday, 10th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 11th.—Hear * of an action below in which Marcar's army were entirely defeated and several jemadars gone over to Mir Jaffir, but this wants confirmation. Messrs. Bennet and Thompson were to-day brought to us by the Nabob himself. They gave us an account of Mr. Amyatt and Ensign Cooper being killed at Muxadavad, as follows:—They had embarked all the party and sent the horses, &c., with the syces by land. Meeting with contrary winds, it was ten days ere they reached Muxadavad, where at once they saw troops drawn up on each side the river with some great guns. They hailed them and desired them to come to, but not taking any notice of them some of them fired, on which some of our sepoys began to fire also, and killed somebody on the shore, on which great guns and volleys were fired which obliged them to put to the opposite shore where was the least fire. Mr. Amyatt notwithstanding the fire landed with a pair of pistols. He took the Nawab's *parwana* in one hand and held it up to them and a pistol on the other, and advanced to the top of the bank when he was shot in the leg and soon after cut to pieces. Ensign Cooper met the same fate in making resistance, but the other gentlemen they could give no account of, but expect they were sent to Monghyr with Mr. Chambers and the others from Cossimbazar. They also inform us Mr. Hay and Mr. Gulston were left at Monghyr and remain there yet. These gentlemen have suffered greatly, being put in irons and brought up in one boat, and scarce victuals or necessaries to cover them, being in all 27 persons. The Nabob here allows 10 rupees per day to the 17 people left, and an addition of Rs. 2 per day on account of these two gentlemen.

Friday, 12th.—Last night late we had a confirmation of the action below, but no particulars. Heard that the Nabob's wives, &c., are gone from Monghyr in order to be in safety. Numbers here are sending their families over the river. Mendi Ali Khan set out to-day with the 200 Moguls and some sepoys of Monghyr. To-day two *padres* who had a few days ago gone from hence for Monghyr returned on account of the confusion on the roads. They report the Nabob and all his troops are gone too from hence, and it is believed he goes to make his escape.† They heard all the prisoners were embarked in the boats, but this is only hearsay.

Saturday, 13th.—By certain intelligence we have gained a

* Battle of Gheria, 2nd August. |

† "Effect" in the MS.

complete victory. Marcar taken, 9 pieces of cannon. Three jemadars with 1,300 horses and 1,800 sepoy and Europeans went over to us five days ago. Grijan Khan got the Nawab to march down the remainder of his force, but with great reluctance. All the prisoners are well at Monghyr. His treasure there yet.

Sunday, 14th.—Heard that the Nabob marched five days ago with about 6,000 men. Kamgar Khan has marched to join him with one thousand horse, and 2,000 horse from Bettiah are on their way for the same purpose.

Monday, 15th.—Heard melancholy account of Ram Narain and Raj Bollab being both cut off, but as yet not confirmed; that both families here are in great distress on that account.

Tuesday, 16th.—Still the above report prevails strong in this city, with this addition, of the number being eleven in all; amongst whom are Ellis, Lushington and Hay, (?) so it is imagined they have been concerned in an illegal correspondence.

Wednesday the 17th.—Mr. McKay's servant to-day arrived from Monghyr in four days who says he left all our gentlemen well there; that Ram Narain, Rajah Rajbollab and the Sets were said to be cut off there. Hear our troops are between the passes. His Excellency at Bhaugulpore and the bulk of the army at the second pass. The Bagam is said to be delivered of a child at Rahuanala which retards her journey. She has many boats and elephants with 13,000 horse under command of Nobit Roy. It is said all his money from Monghyr is there.

Thursday, 18th.—About 500 sepoy of ours who have taken service at Monghyr are discharged the service and ordered out of the province, lest they serve him as they did below.

Friday, 19th.—By a servant arrived from Monghyr, Mr. Ellis, &c., are well, and Ram Narain, Raj Bollab and his son were put in a boat, and it is believed were drowned. It is reported the Nabob has made proposal of peace, and offered three crores of rupees to make good all damages, but this wants confirmation. His Excellency, for certain, has marched from Bhaugulpore.

Saturday, 20th.—Heard by a messenger from His Excellency's camp that 500 Europeans, three battalions of sepoy, our own horse, had marched from Muxadavad towards Birbhum to the pass in the hills, while Mir Jaffir with his army and 3 or 400 Europeans lately from Calcutta with 1,600 sepoy remained behind. Both armies have artillery in proportion. It is said the Nabob has made a present of six months pay to all his troops, is in possession of the passes, and ready for a run, not caring to leave Bhaugulpore.

Sunday, 21st.—To-day Nobit Roy arrived to see his family, the Begam being at Jaffir Khan's garden.* It is said they proceed up the country to a place in the hills almost impregnable near Sasseram.

Monday, 22nd.—Nothing extraordinary, only some Armenians confined here.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Fair and clear weather to-day which gives us great joy, as the rain for these four days past has occasioned such a damp as affects our health, Mr. Campbell being sick.

Wednesday, 24th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 25th.—By advices from Monghyr hear his Excellency and the Armenian general are greatly in panic. Letters arrive here to the Begam twice a day, often in order to quicken her marches.

Friday, 26th.—To-day the Begam set out on her march towards Rhotasgarh. She has 1,500 bullocks, 3 camels, 100 elephants, very many boats, besides elephant coaches; 1,200 horses and 200 burkandazes are for the escort, having all his treasure with her, and it is currently said, and from some authority, His Excellency will follow in 15 or 20 days.

Saturday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary. Hear a jemadar from Baxar with 4,000 horse and foot passed this place in his way down.

Sunday, 28th.—Nothing extraordinary, only the Begam has halted at Phulwari.

Monday, 29th.—Hear many Armenians and Portuguese are arrived here on account of the commotion below.

Tuesday, 30th.—It is said our troops are yet at Suti Nullah, that His Excellency has sent many detachments down, that Grijan Khan has no command, and a jemadar who lately made his escape from Suja Daulah's country where he was a prisoner, is appointed to the command in his stead. That His Excellency is still at Bhaugulpore. These three days past we can't get our allowance on account of confusion here.

Wednesday, 31st.—Yesterday evening had an account from the *Pudre* that some troops have arrived and joined the army; that they had divided, Mir Jaffir with part of his troops lay at a pass near Sooty, that a fascine battery on the side of a lake was raised by our troops under command of Major Carnac, while Major Adams of the 84th Regiment with Roy Dullobh was gone the Birbhum road. A party had secured the Purneah country and stopped provisions from crossing. It is confirmed that all the best jemadars are gone down, that

* A large walled orchard east of the city. It is continually mentioned as a camping ground.

(Gregory ?) Khan is degraded, because he proposed an accommodation between His Excellency and his father (in-law ?). The Bagam still pursues her journey. We have a report that Dr. Fularton has sent word to some of his black friends here that he will see them in a few days.

September, 1st.—To-day, hear accounts of our gaining a complete victory at Suti Nulla, but not confirmed. This evening all the Armenian women set out to the westward.

Friday, 2nd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Saturday, 3rd.—Heard to-day by a messenger from our camp at Suti to a black merchant, that the armies remain there in their old position ; that Major Adams had for certain gone the Birbhum road with a view to pass the hills ; that yesterday an account of it had been sent here for them to keep a look out, after which many prepared for going off. The Set's houses here with his Gomastahs were seized and three lakhs of rupees. Nobit Roy with the Bagam has arrived at Daudnagar. He has sent word to Ram Narain's family that he is not put to death, but in a secure place in Monghyr and in irons with Raj Bullob.

Sunday, 4th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 5th.—A report of our having possessed Malda.

Tuesday, 6th.—Heard to-day some ships being arrived at Calcutta with sepoys and Europeans, Booali Khan (?) is returned to Bhagulpore and Mendi Ali Khan got the command of the army below. Kamgar Khan is stopped in the hills and can't pass. Things are said to be in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's quarters. This by letter.

Wednesday, 7th.—By a messenger from Muxadavad in nine days, have the account of an action confirmed as follows : The enemy made an attack on our fascine battery at night. Our people quitted it, and having let about 4,000 men land (for they crossed the nullah in boats), then immediately surrounded them and cut them off.

Thursday, 8th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 9th.—Saw a *chit* from Mr. Ellis to his writer, dated 3rd, wherein he tells him he should want him soon in his business at Patna, and therefore to remain there. It is said the Nawab has retreated four coss. There is some rumour of some troops coming up the other side of the river.

Saturday, 10th.—We have from Nicolas some confused account of our storming the enemy's trench in the night, entirely driving them thence and taking all their camp and artillery.* Somero and Marcar are missing, and the broken troops obliged to retreat.

* Battle of Udha Nala, 4th September.

It is reported six jemadars who went with Kamgar Khan are gone off; things in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's quarters.

Sunday, 11th.—We learn by a packet from Chinsurah that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay are ordered to Europe, Mr. Sumner is coming out second in Council, and Mr. McGuire Buxie, so that Mr. Vansittart seems to prevail, which may produce strange effects here. A messenger arrived from our camp who brings an account of the action which he says he heard from the Nabob's *hurkarus*, that Mendi Ali Khan and another jemadar were killed and all their guns and camp were taken, that a 20-gun ship and three sloops were coming up, and had passed Nuddea Santipore.

Monday, 12th.—Hear six lakhs of rupees have arrived here from the Bagam to pay the troops here.

Tuesday, 13th.—Have a rumour of our troops being in possession of the first pass, and that Mendi Ali Khan is certainly killed; that Mr. Vansittart is suspended by the Council. A boy from Monghyr brings an account of Mr. Jones having arrived there in a dooly. Yesterday a jamadar arrived at this place on some important business.

Wednesday, 14th.—It is said the jemadars have been ordered here to put the place in a posture of defence. This place is quite full of the defeat of His Excellency's troops, and the consequences of it. People are going off daily. He has retired himself to Monghyr, and it is affirmed we have a strong party coming through the hills, and that the passes are abandoned.

Thursday, 15th.—Heard that the Armenian General is close prisoner, and a guard put over his effects here; also that the Jemadar commanding at Monghyr had refused admittance to His Excellency, and that our troops will be at this place as soon as his.

Friday, 16th.—We have not these nine days had any allowance from the Nabob on account of the confusion here, the consequence of the late defeat of His Excellency's troops. Heard by a peon of Sir William Hope, that Captain Turner died the night before we left Monghyr. To-day we divided what cash remained in our possession which came to 30 rupees each, and have sent the greatest part of the effects of others who were with us to the Dutch factory. This precaution we have taken, lest we be ordered to march up the country with His Excellency.

Saturday, 17th.—Received advice for certain of our army being at Shahabad (?) three coss above the upper pass, that His Excellency is destroying Monghyr, and they are here destroying our factory-house and fortifying this place.

Sunday, 18th.—His Excellency's people are going off in troops. Mirza Khalil and Mendi Ali Khan are both arrived

here having fled from the late action. Our gentlemen are on their way from Monghyr to this place, and it is thought His Excellency intends pushing through the hills to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, prolong time, and gain some assistance which he may be in expectation of from above. To-day sent my superfluous clothes to the Dutch factory. We also received nine days allowance out of 11 days due to us. Our peons here seem in great agitation, and, in short, the whole city seems ready to take wing. Hear His Excellency is three coss this side of Monghyr, and our troops 16 coss from there.

Monday, 19th.—To-day all our gentlemen, except Mr. Fullarton, arrived from Monghyr. It is said Lady Hope and some other women are left behind, most of the gentlemen are in irons. Captain Turner died of a fever at Monghyr. Our servant Nicolas, in attempting to get in to the gentlemen, was made a prisoner on account of his being dressed with a kris, sword and target. No accounts of either our army or His Excellency's.

Tuesday, 20th and 21st.—Nothing extraordinary; our servant Nicolas is released by making application to the Durbar. Hear the Dutch Chief has sent wine, &c., &c., to Mr. Ellis.

Thursday, 22nd.—Considerable rain with a great wind, it being the full moon and just at the equinox.

Friday, 23rd.—As His Excellency still continues at Monghyr, it gives us reason to think our troops are not yet in possession of the upper pass.

Saturday, 24th.—Nothing extraordinary. Hear for certain that our troops are at Shahabad, that the enemy are repairing what of Monghyr they had destroyed, that everything was in the greatest confusion in His Excellency's camp, that Somero had the management of every thing. His Excellency had not eaten for three days, nor allowed his nagara* to beat, that he and Somero were at Monghyr, and his army advanced to Gurghât nulla, so that we may hourly expect some news.

Sunday, 25th.—This evening heard that ten Europeans at Barh had been tied and thrown into the river, so that from this we may guess what we are to expect. Hear also an account that parwanas have arrived here to several jemadars, and that it is thought many are sent to jemadars of His Excellency's camp. Some think he will be laid hold of by his own people.

Tuesday, 26th.—This morning hear that Lady Hope has arrived at the Dutch factory. A rumour prevails of His Excellency having been completely defeated a few days ago and lost every gun, &c., that he is now on his way to Patna. The very peons are in great agitation on this account.

* Kettle-drum. Mr. Wheeler prints this word Nazir!

27th.—Heard from good authority that His Excellency is retreating, and was two days ago at Surajghara, Somero and the Armenian with a party at Monghyr, and our army at Bhagalpur. Also a party had crossed the river and are crossing up on the other side. Bood (Boocali) Khan with the Sets and several other persons were at Barh. Many prisoners have been released, amongst the rest Sheik Mohamed was released from this place, and put under the care of a friend of his in His Excellency's army and goes out here to-morrow morning.

Thursday, 28th, Friday 29th.—Hear that His Excellency is 2 coss this side of Rahuana, and Somero with the Armenian at the nullah, that his people are going off daily, and he is in great fear of his life. That about three weeks ago he proposed cutting us all off, but was prevented by Somero, the Armenian, and some of his jemadars. The Mollidar* (?) with a good force will be at Hajipore in three days, that His Excellency intends striking off for the hills at Ramserai (?) within 8 coss of this place. It is believed his orders would not be obeyed here, as most of the city seem willing to protect us. Grijan Khan had 15 horses which arrived here yesterday, but the gates were shut and they not permitted to enter. As things grow towards a crisis, our situation must create us much anxiety. It is said he will be at Ramserai the day after to-morrow, so that our fate must be determined in two or three days at furthest.

Saturday, 30th.—Mahomed Emir (?) Khan with the Sets and some other prisoners still remain without the east gate. 12 Europeans who came with him arrived in the city to-day.

Sunday, 1st October.—Heard that His Excellency would be at Barh to-day and our troops at Rahuana, that Grijan Khan is either killed or badly wounded by his Moguls in a dispute about pay. Ten Europeans arrived here to-day.

Monday, 2nd.—Hear the Sets and Mahomed Khan are safely lodged in the city and that the Jemadar sent his chobdar to Mr. Ellis yesterday, telling him not to be uneasy, and if he wanted money he would let him have it. Many of our guards have left us. Rice had risen within these few days to 6 seers for a rupee. Heard this night that His Excellency is at Bishenpur and will pass this place to-morrow. Are told not to be uneasy, for we should be safe.

Tuesday, 3rd.—To-day His Excellency arrived at Ram Narain's garden, and to-morrow comes into the city. They have been very busy to-day, mounting guns on the bastions of this place. Heard that Mir Jaffir's brother had made his escape.

* So in MS. Possibly the true reading is Captain Wedderburn.

Wednesday, 4th.—Hear the Sets were cut off near Barh.

Thursday, 5th.—Heard this morning that Mr. Ellis and 47 gentlemen were cut off last night, so that doubtless our fate must be in 24 hours, for which God prepare us all!

The diary ends here, but the unfortunate prisoners were not to be so soon put out of their agony. They must have lingered on for nearly a week in hourly expectation of being massacred, for it seems that they were not put to death till Tuesday the 11th October. Dr. Fullarton tried to save them, but in vain. He says in his letter to the Board, that he applied to Mehndi Ali Khan for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen in the Chahalsatun, who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October, but that when Mir Kassim was petitioned about them he gave no answer, but still sent orders to Sumru to cut them off. Dr. Fullarton also applied to Ali Ibrahim Khan who interceded for them, but Mir Kassim gave him no answer either.

It is not quite clear whether Mr. Ellis and the other prisoners at Haji Ahmed's house were killed on the 5th or 6th October. Fullarton had his interview with Mir Kassim on the 7th, and if Gholam Hossein Khan is correct, this was the morning after the massacre. Apparently, the interview took place at Jaffar Khan's garden east of the city, where Mir Kassim had his camp until the 14th October when he marched to Phulwari. Gholam Hossein's account is very graphic. He says that of all the prisoners, the only one who remained alive was Dr. Fullarton, who had endeared himself to the grandees of the Court and even to Mir Kassim. The morning after the massacre, and while still ignorant of its having occurred, Gholam Hossein went to Mir Kassim to pay his court. He stayed an hour and was going away, when Mir Kassim bade him remain, saying, your friend is coming! "As I knew nothing of what had happened, I could not help asking with surprise, who was that friend, and from whence he came. The Nawab answered, well, you may go, I shall send for you again. On this answer I returned to my tents, which were in Ali Ibrahim Khan's compound, and I sat down full dressed, expecting to be sent for again. In a little time, a mace-bearer came to tell me that I was wanted. I went immediately, and was hardly seated in the Nawab's presence, when I descried Dr. Fullarton coming. He wore a Hindustani dress and presented, in compliance with the custom of those countries, a few rupees in *nuzzer* to the Nawab. The latter declined taking them and graciously added these words, "There was no such custom between you and me hitherto, and having embraced him, he bade him go and sit by his friend. The doctor

came and seated himself close to me. A moment after, the Nawab looking at him steadily, uttered these words: "Fraud with friends, and treason with acquaintances." "What did you mean by that?" "You have received under your roof within the town, a number of armed men as sick, and have let them out again the night on which they have surprised the city walls." The doctor without the least dismay or fear, answered in a firm tone of voice, "My Lord Nawab, I do not fear death, you have killed all those countrymen of mine, do kill me likewise, you may, you are the master, but never will I admit that I am guilty of treason. I have not done that. If it be proved against me, I am content even now that you order me to be put to death." After saying these words, he chanced to spy Akyadet Mend Khan, brother to the famous Emir Khan, who was sitting over against him—a nobleman, whose house at Azimabad (Patna), was parted from that of the doctor's only by a wall. "That nobleman," said the doctor again, "is my neighbour, ask him. Inquire from whom you please." As really the accusation had no foundation, the nobleman in question vouched for the Doctor's innocence, and said that the Doctor was not guilty. On this assertion the Nawab paused again, and putting on an air of kindness, he bade him go to Calcutta, if he had a mind to it, or else he might remain with him. The Doctor had the prudence to decline going to Calcutta." Fullarton's narrative somewhat differs from this, for it conveys the impression that he was willing to go, but that afterwards the Nawab changed his mind and would not send him. Mr. Vansittart points out that in this interview, Mir Kassim was anxious to vindicate himself from the charge of having killed Mr. Amyatt, but laid no stress on the massacre in Patna. He probably looked upon this as merely an incident in the war, and was only anxious to show that he had not begun the quarrel. There can be no doubt, too, that his wrath against Mr. Ellis was so great, that he could not think it wrong to kill him or wish that the deed had been undone.

The charge which he made against Dr. Fullarton of having introduced men into the city had its origin in the fact, that Fullarton had his house in the city near the Chahalsatun where the Military hospital was. The fact of the hospital's being in the city is referred to in a letter from the Patna Council to the Board, and represented as a reason why they should get possession of Patna. They wrote: "But let us suppose for a moment that on the Nawab's marching against us, we quit the factory and take post, are we to sacrifice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city?"

It certainly was an awkward arrangement that the hospital

should be so far off and in the middle of the city.. In a diary (by Dr. Campbell?) quoted by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, p. 320 of "Early Records" we find the subject referred to. The diarist, as well as Dr. Anderson, dined at the Factory on the Plassey anniversary, and says that he took Carstairs aside and asked him if he thought it was safe for him to stay longer in the city. Carstairs told him that he might stay that night but no longer, and invited him out to his garden (Bankipore). Accordingly the writer went there next day.

In those days Patna was surrounded by a wall and had only two gates, an eastern and western one. There was, however, a wicket called the Barbanna wicket which led from near the factory into the town. This gateway was a subject of great dispute between Mir Kassim and the Patna Council, and at last he shut it up. This was an inconvenience to the factory, and we can sympathise with the Council in their wish to have the gate opened, though possibly their servants abused the privilege of using it. Mr. Vansittart, as President, wrote a minute about this gate on 19th January 1763: He says—"In order fully to understand the question relative to the Barbanna gate and the intrenchment by the water side, it is necessary to describe the situation of the places and to refer to what passed on this subject last year.

"The city of Patna, extending itself down two miles from east to west along the river side, has two principal gates, one at the east end, the other at the west. Between the western gate and the river side is the Barbanna gate, or rather wicket, being a small entrance into a very narrow street; and the English factory being situated on the river side, about 2 or 300 yards to the westward of the city walls; and from this gateway used to find a convenience in their entrance, as the principal western gate is a full half mile from the factory. The city is surrounded by a wall and ditch, except by the river side. The north-east angle is closed by the citadel, or rather the Nawab's palace (the Chahalsatun, &c.) which extends itself into the river, so that there is no passage by it. At the north-west end is a bastion called, the Mutni * bastion, between which and the river was an open passage into the town." At this time the cantonment was at Bankipore. The Dinapore cantonments, it appears, were not built till 1769—(Williams, p. 156).

Dr. Fullarton was the only Englishman of rank who escaped from the Patna Massacre. Mir Kassim made him over to Ali Ibrahim Khan, and the latter allowed him to reside

* This is the Chota Mutni of the diary.

at the Dutch factory. Mr. Wheeler says that he never seems to have been in danger, but Gholam Hossein tells a different tale. Luckily Fullarton managed to bribe the Jemadar of his guard, got into an old boat, by means of which he crossed over to Hajipur and joined Captain Wedderburn. This was on 25th October. Dr. Fullarton's hairbreadth escapes make us think of another famous Doctor.—Dr. Brydon who was the solitary survivor of the massacre at Jagdallak. Fullarton was evidently a brave and good man, and the notices of him which occur in the *Seir* and elsewhere, are like gleams of sunshine in a murky atmosphere. He distinguished himself at the disastrous battle of Massimpore* in February 1760, when he was the only officer who was not killed. He spiked one gun and brought off another, and when the ammunition-waggon got damaged, he quietly stopped and mended it, and resumed his retreat. Afterwards he took an active part in repulsing M. Law when the attack was made on the city shortly before Captain Knox's opportune arrival. What became of Fullarton, I do not know, but Gholam Hossein speaks of him as being in disfavor with Major Carnac. This may have been unfortunate for his interests, but it says nothing against his merit.

Captain Carstairs, who commanded the Patna troops, was an officer of some standing. He was an Ensign in 1756, and Captain Williams says in one place (p. 127), that he was wounded in the defence of Fort William, but got on board one of the ships and so escaped the Black Hole. In his Appendix, however, (p. 349), he speaks of him as having been at an out-factory, and as having in this way escaped the Black Hole. He was at the battle of Plassey, and he took part in the famous Council of War which preceded the action. He voted with Coote, and the rest of the minority, in favour of coming to an immediate action. In 1758 he was disgusted because Clive gave a majority to a Captain Gowan who had come round from Bombay, and along with seven other Captains he resigned his Commission and went to Europe. He returned, however, and was restored to the army, though with loss of rank. In 1761 he got the command of the Patna troops in succession to Major Carnac who, it seems, was removed because he was a field officer, and so could not be subject to the civil authorities. The forces which Carstairs commanded at Patna were very considerable, and it is strange that he could not do more with them. The return printed by Vansittart,

* Perhaps the name is Mohsinpur, a village north-west of Fatwa.

and which is also given in Colonel Broome's work, shews that on 30th April 1763, there were at Patna four companies of Europeans consisting of 220 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 17 officers; 57 artillerymen, 1 Captain, 4 Lieutenant fireworkers, a Commissary, and an Adjutant; 4 battalions of sepoys consisting of 88 officers (including native officers), and 2,533 rank and file. Probably a good many of them deserted before the attack on 25th June, though Mr. Ellis tried to keep them, by ordering them to be prepared to march at a moment's notice, in virtue of which they became entitled to batta. During, and after the disaster, great numbers of them deserted, and there does not seem to be any good authority for the statement that 2,000 of them were cut to pieces. It is probable that many of the Europeans deserted likewise, as they were a very mixed body, many of them being French and or Germans. It is not certain what became of the English soldiers who were imprisoned at Patna. On 18th October, Major Adams wrote to the Board that Dr. Fullarton was the only gentleman who was not put to death, but that all the English soldiers were still alive. About a month later he wrote that the private soldiers were murdered by sixty at a time. According to Captain Williams, who got his information from Serjeant Speedy of Captain Carstairs' detachment, only four serjeants escaped.

These men had been sent to Purneah after they were made prisoners at Manjhi. The Purneah Nawab treated them kindly, and would not kill them when Mir Kassim ordered him to do so. He was, however, compelled to send them to Patna, and had them put on board a boat which was in charge of a jemadar and twelve burkundazes. When the boat reached the Ganges, and they were beginning to sail up towards Patna, the serjeants overpowered the guard and made the *manjhi* row them down to Udha Nala, where they fell in with the army under Major Adams.

One of these serjeants was Serjeant Speedy, from whom Captain Williams got his account of Carstairs' detachment. Speedy had served at home and been in the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. He died in 1767. Another of the four was Serjeant Douglas who was afterwards killed in Captain Edwards' disastrous engagement with the Sanyassis in Rungpore. Captain Williams tells the story of the serjeants' escape very graphically, and one seems to see the gallant serjeants overpowering their guard and tossing the *manjhi* from his lofty perch into the Ganges. More fortunate than Palinurus, he caught hold of the rudder and was allowed to come on board again, and piloted them down the river.

The attack on Patna was a flagitious act and deserved to fail. It brought about the death of Mr. Amyatt and the whole of the miserable war. It would, however, have probably succeeded if the English had not been over-confident. The city was completely taken except the fort and the palace, but instead of remaining on duty it appears that Carstairs and Mr. Ellis and the rest of the principal men all went to Bankipore to breakfast. The bulk of the army dispersed in search of plunder, and the few guards at the east gate were soon overpowered by the reinforcements which came in from Fatwa. Mr. Long gives a letter from the officers of the Dutch factory descriptive of the disaster. It is dated 27th June and recites how the English after defending themselves for a day and a half in the factory had been obliged to fly by parties over the sand flats and cross the river.

“About the middle of the night we saw the flames arise from several salt golahs and the stables near the English Factory ; soon after was heard a heavy firing from the lower part of the tower (?) of the Fort. This morning we understood that the English had evacuated their factory and retired, but whither we know not for certain, but in all likelihood to the bottom, the firing from the Fort having most probably sunk the boat it fired upon.”

The Dutch Factory was situated far down the town on a site which is still known as the *Posta Ollandez*. The information of the officers was not accurate, for Dr. Anderson's diary shows that the fugitives were not molested.

The detachment was still a large one, but the men were dispirited by failure, and were worn out by the toilsome march in the rains and over a flooded country to Manjhi. They were also a retreating force, their object being to get shelter in Oude. It is probable that Mr. Ellis' former intrigues with the Vizier Sujah Daula, induced him to try and seek for safety in his dominions. Ellis and his party always denied that such intrigues existed, but two letters printed by Vansittart show that Mir Kassim had ground for his suspicions about this matter.

At Manjhi, Ellis and the troops were intercepted by Samru, who had crossed over from Buxar with some battalions of sepoys. He was provided with artillery, while our countrymen had apparently only a howitzer.

Mir Kassim was very exultant over the recovery of Patna. The news of the attack reached him at noon, and it nearly killed him according to Gholam Hossein. About twelve hours afterwards, in the middle of the night, the news came that the English had been driven out of the city. Mir Kassim immediately ordered the military music to strike up, and its sound awakened the whole town of Moughyr. At daybreak the gates

of the public hall were thrown open and every one hastened to offer *nuzzurs* and congratulations. He gave vent to his feelings in a curious sarcastic letter to the Board. It is a song of triumph, and is a vivid picture of the state of his mind at the time: "In my heart," he wrote, "I believed Mr. Ellis to be my inveterate enemy, but from his actions, I now find he was inwardly my friend as appears by this step which he has added to the others. Like a night robber he assaulted the Killa of Patna, and robbed and plundered the bazaar and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from the morning to the third pahaar. When I requested of you 2 or 300 muskets laden on boats, you would not consent to it. This unhappy man in consequence of his inward friendship favoured me in this fray and slaughter with all the muskets and cannon of his army, and is himself relieved and eased from his burden."

This was written on 28th June and was the first intimation to the Board of the failure of the attack on Patna.

The most noteworthy of the sufferers by the Patna Massacre was Henry Lushington, one of the Company's civil servants. I have no doubt that he was the Lushington who was in the Black Hole. He escaped then, apparently, by sucking the perspiration from Mr. Holwell's shirt sleeves. After this his name often appears in the history of the transactions of the time, and we always find him acting a vigorous part.

He had a high regard for the gallant Shitab Roy (in itself a mark of merit), and escorted him past Chaprahi, and across the Surju when he had incurred Mir Kassim's displeasure and been obliged to seek shelter in Oude. He remained with the troops at Manjhi, when Ellis and the others came over to the island, and at the supreme moment, in Haji Ahmed's house, he died like a brave man, after cutting down one of his murderers. He was at Patna at the time of the attack on the city and for some time before, and was second in Council there. I am sorry to say that he does not seem to have been, at all more scrupulous than his neighbours. He was Lord Clive's Secretary in 1757, and seems to have been the person who wrote out the Red Treaty with Omichand, and who by Lord Clive's orders, committed the forgery of Admiral Watson's name.*

As illustrative of the magnificent ideas of Clive about money, we may notice that he deposed that Mr. Lushington had something very trifling for his share in the fictitious treaty—"about

* The gallant Admiral never heard of the forgery, according to Captain Brereton, who was his Lieutenant in the fleet, until he was on his death-bed, and then he said that as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish to stay any longer among them.

50,000 rupees." These were siccas, and at the exchange of the day were equal to £5,625.

In 1760, Lushington was with Colonel Caillaud, and acted as his interpreter. In this capacity he was mixed up with the assassination plot against the Shahzada, and seems to have been the person who put Caillaud's seal to the paper. This was the famous affair of the three seals, when Mir Jaffir, Miran and Caillaud, each put his seal to a paper whereby one Conderoy, (?) formerly Diwan of Kamgarkhan, was promised a lakh of rupees and the command of Kamgarkhan's territory if he would deliver the Shahzada into the Nawabs' hands or assassinate him. This was on 15th April 1760. Caillaud reported the arrangement to Holwell, who was the Governor and who expressed no disapproval of it. I am glad to think that Captain Knox, who was present at the time and was shortly to start on his rapid march to Patna, did not like the thing, and said it was a pity so fine a young fellow should fall in that manner. Caillaud afterwards was tried for his conduct on this occasion and defended himself by saying that he knew that the paper would have no effect, and that he only signed to quiet Mir Jaffir, who was uneasy at Mr. Holwell's intrigues with the Shahzada. The Board acquitted Caillaud on the ground, among others, "that his conscience at the time never reproached him with a bad design," and because they were satisfied that his intentions were good, although he erred in the measure. This acquittal was ratified by the Court of Directors on 1st June 1763, with the addition that the acquittal was an honourable one. *

The details of the massacre in Haji Ahmed's house are given in the *Seir*, (especially in the translator's notes) and in the letters of Dr. Fullarton and Major Adams. It seems that on the very day on which Mir Kassim received Vansittart's and Major Adam's letters he sent Samru to massacre the prisoners. Samru came at about 7 in the evening to Haji Ahmed's house and sent for Ellis and Lushington. As soon as they came they were cut down. Others were sent for and killed in the same manner, but one gentleman escaping with a wound in his shoulder alarmed the others who proceeded to defend themselves with bottles and plates. Their knives and forks had already been taken from them. They drove out the sepoy's but they returned and shot them. It is a miserable story and only relieved by the courage of the sufferers. Lushington died sword in hand and Gulston preserved his haughtiness to the last and refused to be saved. We have no particulars as to how the prisoners in the *Chahalsatun* were

+ Of course it may be pleaded for Lushington that on both occasions he only obeyed his superior officer.

put to death. The translator of the *Seir* says that the native commanders refused to do what the wretch Samru accomplished, and that when one of them was asked to undertake it, he said that he could not kill unarmed prisoners, Mir Kassim might send his sweepers to do such work.

Some additional particulars of the massacre are given in a letter from Major Adams, quoted in the *East India Military Calendar*, Vol 2, p. 81. Apparently this letter was written shortly after the capture of Patna, for it refers to Captain Irwine (Irving?) as wounded but, seemingly, as still alive. The letter is a different one from that published in *Mr. Long's Selections*. From it we learn that Samru deprived the prisoners of their knives and forks on the pretext that he was going to give them a dinner in the English fashion. "At night when he arrived he stood at some distance in the cook room to give his orders, and as soon as Messrs. Ellis and Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and pulling his head backwards, another cut his throat; on which Mr. Lushington knocked him down, seized his sword, killed one and wounded two more before he was himself cut down, after which the gentlemen being alarmed by Mr. Smith, they stood on their defence and repulsed the sepoys with plates and bottles, until Samru ordered the sepoys to fire down upon them from the top of the house, which they obeyed with reluctance, alleging that they could not think of murdering them in that manner. All the private men were murdered by sixty at a time, and this bloody-minded villain went so far as to put to death a young child of Mr Ellis." In the same letter Major Adams gives the number of gentlemen killed as 49. No doubt when this letter was written by Major Adams he was, being in possession of Patna, in a better position to ascertain the facts than when he wrote the letter of 18th October.

He says nothing about the prisoners in the Chahalsatun, and therefore in spite of the statement by Dr. Fullarton, some mystery still hangs over their fate. It seems clear, however, that they were all murdered. When we think of their fate it is sad to read the poor diarist's entries about their sending their superfluous effects to the Dutch Factory in expectation of their being taken up country by Mir Kassim.

Major Grant * who was aid-de-camp to Major Adams made a statement before the Committee of the House of Commons, which deserves to be recorded in favour of men for whom little that is good can be said. He stated that when the army

* I presume that this is the officer who, as Captain in Aldercrou's Regiment, got a lakh of rupees for helping in the revolution in favour of Mir Jafir in 1757.

got to Shāhabad on the way to Monghyr, Mir Kassim wrote to Major Adams that if he advanced further he would cut off the English gentlemen who were in his power. Majors Adams and others then wrote to Messrs. Ellis and Hay, recommending them to purchase their liberty from their guards at any price. The answer of Ellis and Hay to this was, that their countrymen ought not to be attentive to them, for they must submit to their fate; and they desired that no considerations of their situation should prevent the army from proceeding in their operations.

The same witness stated that when the army got to Barh they found the bodies of the two Sets buried in the apartment of a house there. They had been put to death by Mir Kassim's orders, and their bodies exposed under a guard of sepoys, to beasts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned according to the rites of their religion. These unfortunate men were brothers, and their names were Jagat Set Mahtab Roy and Rajah Sarup Chand. This story is probably more correct than the other one which says that they were drowned at Monghyr, and that their servant Chuni insisted on being drowned along with them.

Samru's real name appears to have been Walter Reinhardt, though a Major Polier, writing in 1776, speaks of him as bearing the name of Balthazar. There is a good deal of doubt about his nationality, for naturally no country is anxious to claim him. According to the translator of the *Seir Mutakherin*, Samru was a German, but the translator* was a Frenchman and may not have wished to recognise the murderer as a countryman. Colonel Broome says that Samru was an Alsatian, having been born, or at least brought up, in Strasburgh, where he was at one time a butcher. Another account says that he was born in the Electorate of Treves and came out to India as a carpenter. He was first in the French service, and then, like many other Frenchmen, he entered the English service. Probably this was when Pondicherry was taken and Lally's Regiment took service with us. Shortly after Calcutta was taken, Samru deserted to the French service and became a Sergeant at Chandernagore. Not long ago there was a sensational trial at Innsbruck, when a nobleman was found guilty of cheating some Tirolese by inducing them to believe that they were descended from Samru and entitled to share† in his reputed wealth.

* He was a M. Raymond, but he seems to have become a Mussulman, and to have adopted the name of Haji Mustapha. I suppose that it is his will which is referred to in Morton's decisions, 2nd Ed., p 109, quoted by Mr. Whitley Stokes under section 331 of Act X of 1865.

† The name Balthazar might easily be changed into Walter. Sleeman, says Samru was born at Salzburg, in Austria. This corresponds with the Tirolese story, and it is very likely that Strasburgh is a mistake for Salzburg.

Samru died in 1778 not long after the death of his former master Mir Kassim. His widow, Begam Samru, was a remarkable character. According to one account she was the daughter of an impoverished Mogul nobleman, but the more probable story is that she was a dancing-girl from Cashmere. Samru induced her to profess Christianity, and when she became an old woman she endowed churches and chapels. But in youth and middle age she was a sort of Catherine of Russia and delighted, like Burns' heroine, in proper young men. George Thomas, the six-foot Irish adventurer, who became a powerful chief and dreamed of conquering the Panjab, was one of her favourites, but she had many others. Less prudent than Queen Elizabeth, she married one of them, and this, according to Captain Franklin, was the cause of her greatest misfortunes.

Bishop Heber who saw her in 1824 gives a description of her which reminds one of the Baronness von Bernstein: "She is a very little, queer-looking old woman, with brilliant but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features." It is to be hoped that the story the Bishop tells about her treatment of a nautch-girl is not true.*

The author of the *Memoirs of Colonel Skinner* tells a story of the Begam which is too good to be omitted. It seems that after Lord Lake's victory at Delhi, she came in person to pay her respect to the conqueror. She arrived just after dinner and was carried in her palki to the reception-tent. Lord Lake was highly pleased with her loyalty, and forgetting that it was a native lady that he was receiving, he gallantly advanced and took her in her arms and kissed her. Her attendants were astounded, but the Begam was equal to the occasion. She gravely accepted the kiss, and then turning to her attendants quietly observed that it was the salute of a Padre to his daughter!

* Interesting accounts of the Begam will be found in Sleeman's *Rambles* and in Mr. Keene's article in this *Review* (January 1880) on Sardhana. The story about the nautch-girl seems to be substantially true, and with the addition, that two girls were buried alive and not one only. Mr. Keene is wrong in making Bishop Heber responsible for saying that the Begam smoked a pipe over their graves. The Bishop says nothing about this, and it is not likely that a woman of rank, like the Begam, would use the *hookah*. But it seems true that she caused two of her slave girls to be flogged till they were insensible, and then had them buried while still alive, in front of her tent. No doubt the girls were believed to have committed a very serious offence—that of setting fire to some houses—and it is but fair to mention that Colonel Sleeman considered that the punishment was merited and necessary in order to support the Begam's authority. The Begam lived long enough to receive the prayers and best wishes of her sincere friend Lord Bentinck, when he was giving up his government. He died in January 1836. Samru's first wife lived still longer, for she did not die till the rains of 1838.

On 6th November 1763, or just a month after the massacre, Patna was taken by storm by the troops under Major Adams. The siege-operations were conducted by Major Knox who had been educated at Woolwich, and was then Quarter-Master General. The garrison of the citadel made a gallant defence, and on one occasion made a successful sally and carried one of the batteries. Major Irving was killed at the assault of the citadel and several officers were wounded. At this time Mir Kassim, who was no soldier, was encamped either at Bikram or Mahabālpūr. He fled afterwards to the Vizier's country, but came back with him to Patna in April and invested the city. Sujah Daulah, the Vizier, was in command, and had his right at Jaffir Khan's garden, his centre at Lohanipur and his left, under Mir Kassim, at Bankipore. If he really occupied all this extent of country he must have had a very large army indeed. The English were commanded by Major Carnac. On 3rd May the Vizier made an attack on the English position, but after fighting all day he was finally repulsed. Major Carnac's official report of this battle is given by Colonel Broome in his Appendix, and from it we learn that two English officers were dangerously wounded on the occasion. Sujah Daulah remained at Patna for nearly a month after this engagement and the hostile camps remained looking at each other, as Captain Williams expresses it, till 30th May when Sujah Daulah moved off towards Maner. The campaign was renewed under Major Munro and ended on 23rd October 1764 in the decisive battle of Buxar. Only a month before this there was such a mutinous spirit in the army, that Munro was obliged to blow away twenty-four sepoy from the guns. Twenty of them were blown away at Chaprah, and it was on this occasion that four grenadiers (Williams says three) begged to be executed first. Their plea was, that they always fought in the right of the line, and that, therefore, they were entitled to be bound to the guns on the right, and thus to be the first shot away. Their request was complied with, "the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away." *

Captain Williams was present on the occasion as an officer of the Marines and he says that there was not a dry eye among them, though the marines had long been accustomed to hard service, and two of them had actually taken part in the shooting of Admiral Byng.

Gholam Hossein Khan has also his story about this affair. He tells us that twenty-five mutineers were sentenced to be blown

* Colonel Munro's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

away, and that one of them who was a Brahman asked for some moments delay to perform his devotions. Having obtained his request, he prayed to the sun, and took a little clay from the ground, rubbed his forehead and whole face with it, and then marched up to the gun and submitted quietly to be blown up.

Captain Williams' book abounds in grim stories, and is a curious picture of the times. One of his most striking anecdotes is about a sepoy who shot his Commanding Officer, Captain Ewans. He was tried by a drumhead Court Martial and sentenced to be drawn asunder by horses. "The horses being fastened to his limbs, many attempts were made to draw them from the body but without effect, and then the sepoys were allowed to put him to death, which they did with their swords." This was in 1772.

In writing the above narrative I have not attempted to discuss the origin of the war or to detail the miserable controversies about the right of private trading. It was a sad business throughout, and I am glad to get away from it. My main object has been to introduce Dr. Anderson's diary to the public. In thinking over the events of 1763 we are reminded of Thackeray's preface to his novel. "A feeling of profound melancholy comes over us in our survey of the bustling place. An episode of humour or kindness touches and amuses us here and there—a pretty child looking at a ginger-bread stall; a pretty girl blushing whilst her lover talks to her and chooses her fairing; poor Tom Fool, yonder behind the waggon, mumbling his bone with the honest family which lives by his tumbling; but the general impression is one more melancholy than mirthful."

Feelings, such as these, rise up within us when we contemplate the actions of our countrymen and their adversaries. Here and there we find an honest man, an Admiral Watson or a Shitab Roy. The beautiful episode of Captain Speke and his son will live for ever in the pages of Ives, and the devotion of Mrs. Carey, the self-sacrificing tenderness of Sujah Daulah's wife, and the tranquil courage of Fullarton, are subjects of pleasant thought. But the general impression we get is of fierce and unscrupulous contention. There was plenty of courage, but there was no gentleness and very little of fair dealing.

Naturally my sympathies are with my countrymen. I feel that they were my own flesh and blood, that amidst all their splendour they led wearisome lives, that for them there were no isles of the blest, no Darjeeling or Simla, that no fair haired children prattled round their knees, and that the fierce Indian sun was ever beating on their heads. "I would give half my income, cries Francis on some sweltering day in Calcutta, to be up to my neck in the Thames, and how often must the thought of this and

of the beautiful fields of England have struck our forefathers with despair. When we go to one of our old cemeteries and find how nearly every Englishman or Englishwoman died in the morning of their lives, we see what a price we have paid for our Indian Empire. It is easy for us now with sufficient salaries and a settled government to marvel at the deeds of the Anglo-Indian Nawabs, but we cannot forget that we have taken up the inheritance. Cæsar's unprovoked aggression upon Britain led to the civilization of the country, and Clive and Hastings' spoiliations have resulted in British India. We must remember, too, that our most respectable statesmen have been sometimes more mischievous than the early buccaneers of India. Cornwallis stands on a far higher level of morality than Clive or Hastings, but none of them ever did a thing fraught with so much evil as Cornwallis did when he brushed aside the expostulations of Shore and enacted the Permanent Settlement.

The character of Mr. Ellis is one which it is not pleasant to dwell upon. He was headstrong and foolish as well as unprincipled. It was a great misfortune that owing to the dismissal of Mr. McGuire by the Company, for joining in an unsubordinate letter to them, Mr. Ellis became the Chief of Patna. His disposition may be judged of from the fact that when Hastings, a member of the Calcutta Board, came up from Calcutta in April 1762, expressly to arrange matters between him and Mir Kassim, Ellis would not go to Patna to meet him, but remained in his country-house at Singhia (?)* fifteen miles away. Hastings waited in Patna for five days, and then went on to Mir Kassim's camp at Sasseram. He wrote to Ellis from Sasseram and in his letter took notice of the slight. Your motives, he said, for denying me that opportunity (of an interview) which though but as a compliment to a member of your own Board, I might have expected, are best known to yourself. In his reply Ellis said that he did not think any member of the Board could reasonably expect that he should pay him the compliment of travelling fifteen miles at this season. He made no offer to see Hastings on his return journey, and went on to abuse the Nawab and to tax him with being groundlessly suspicious. "Twice has the city of Patna been alarmed with a report that the English intended to attack it; and in consequence thereof guns mounted, guards augmented, gates shut and admittance denied to every one belonging to the factory; and all this without the least plausible pretence whatever being given." While Ellis wrote in this way of the discomforts of a 15 miles journey, he ignored

* Probably Singhighat on the Chapra side of the river. It can hardly have been the Singhia in Darbhanga.

the fact of the much longer journey that Hastings was making. His denial of any design on Patna reads strangely when we think of what happened in the following year.

The most prominent personages at the time of the disturbances were the Governor and the Nawab—Vansittart and Mir Kassim. Hastings, who was far and away superior to both of them in ability, was in a subordinate position and could not effect much.

Both Vansittart and Mir Kassim, were in false positions and neither of them was strong enough to overcome the difficulties occasioned thereby. Vansittart had the disadvantage of being a Madras man and of superseding the Bengal officials. This made him obnoxious, especially to Mr. Amyatt who had hoped to succeed to the chair. Mir Kassim filled the position of our William the Third, for he came to the masnad by dethroning his father-in-law.

In a former essay I endeavoured to draw a parallel between Hastings and Nandkumar and it strikes me that there was a resemblance of a similar nature between Vansittart and Mir Kassim. They were both good office men, well intentioned, and naturally humane, and both were beloved by their friends. Circumstances were too strong for both of them, and drove the one into sacrificing Ram Narain and the other into the Patna Massacre. Their fates were alike disastrous. Mir Kassim died in indigence and exile at Delhi, and Vansittart was drowned at sea. He was coming out to India in the *Aurora* frigate, but the ship never was heard of after she passed the Cape. This was in 1769, and the same calamity involved the poet William Falconer who was purser on board.

Vansittart was an honest and moderate man as things were then, but he could not abstain from trading and from taking presents, and consequently he could not look his enemies in the face. Both he and Hastings seem to have had their trade protected by Mir Kassim, and when Vansittart went on his delicate mission to Monghyr in December 1762, he took large presents from Mir Kassim. At such a time his conduct should have been absolutely pure, but we find that he took five lakhs (two of which were actually paid to him at Monghyr), and that he allowed two ladies who were in his company to go into the Zenana of Mir Kassim and receive presents of jewels! Vansittart in his letter to the Directors of 15th September 1768, did not attempt to deny the statement of Mir Kassim's treasurer and of the banker Bolaki Das. "I have never endeavoured, gentlemen, to make you or the world believe that I passed through the Government of Bengal without receiving presents, at a time when there was no law against it,—and so many

great examples for it ; but this I have said, and with the strictest truth, that I never received one that could prejudice the Company or distress the country, or put back even for a day any public or private payments depending for others."

The character of Mir Kassim seems to me to be an interesting study. He was a timid, nervous man, and yet possessed of ambition. He was not scrupulous, for he proposed to Holwell* that Mir Jaffir should be put to death, and not merely dethroned. His excuse, and it was not a bad one, was that Mir Jaffir and Miran had twice tried to kill him. He was cruel to Ram Narain, though here again there is not much room for sympathy with the victim. Ram Narain was a wily Hindu who played fast-and-loose with the French and English. His behaviour to Coote after the battle of Plassey shews what sort of man he was.

On the other hand, Mir Kassim had many good qualities. He is extolled by Golam Hossein for his love of justice, and he seems to have fully deserved the praise. M. Raymond gives a remarkable instance of Mir Kassim's self-command in a note to his translation of the *Scîr*. He says, that once when Mir Kassim was holding court and deciding cases, he gave a decision against a suitor who was present in person. The latter was so enraged, that he cried out before the judgment-seat : "God had drunk wine when He appointed such an one as you for a ruler." The audience was appalled and the *amla* called out for punishment on the man, but the Nawab calmly said : "He has lost his case and is out of his senses, and you won't let him exhale himself in abuse."

Mir Kassim's patience in submitting to the insults and injuries inflicted on him by Ellis and others, astonished Hastings, and perhaps moved him somewhat to contempt. "Was I to suppose myself in the place of the Nawab," he writes to Vansittart, "I should not be at a loss in what manner to protect my own subjects or servants from insult."

Mir Kassim's forbearance and self-command, were all the more remarkable considering the passionate, excitable nature of the man. This trait comes out frequently in his letters. "For God's sake," he writes to Vansittart, "let not go my hand in the middle of the sea. I told you face to face, and have written again and again to you, that on account of the difference of disposition betwixt me and the English gentlemen, I looked upon

* Holwell apparently forgot this circumstance afterwards, but we have it on his own authority. Mr. Thornton has an amusing note on Holwell's want of memory or want of candour in the matter.

myself as insufficient for this employment; accordingly it were much better that, in the same manner as they gave it once to me, they now deliver it over to whomsoever they may think proper. Why need I continue to repeat these things to you? It is the custom of Europeans to change their chief every three years. As three years of my being Nazim are almost expired, and you have never had any pretence by any deviation on my part; therefore with a view to effect a change and turn me out, you have been raising all these disputes and altercations, and have written to your gomastahs to commit disturbance and ravages in my country; and have sent troops to beat, bind, confine and carry off my officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me."

Mir Kassim's abolition of the transit-duties was a great stroke. It reminds us of the Dutch letting in the sea upon their lands or of the burning of Moscow. It confounded the English traders somewhat in the same way that Mr. Bradlaugh's offer to take the oath non-plussed the conservatives.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VIII.—RAJA RASALU.

1. *The Adventures of the Panjab hero Rájá Rasálú.* By the Rev. Charles Swynerton : Newman & Co. Calcutta, 1834.
2. *The Legends of the Panjáb.* By Capt. R. C. Temple, Vol. I : Trübner & Co. London, 1883-4.
3. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vols. XI, XII, XIII. 1882-4
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1854, pp. 123-163.
5. *The Rájás of the Panjáb.* By (Sir) Lepel Griffin : Trübner & Co. London, 1873.
6. *Rájasthan.* By Colonel Tod, Vol. II, 1829.
7. *Panjáb Chiefs.* By (Sir) Lepel Griffin. Lahore, 1865.
8. *The History of India as told by its own Historians.* By Sir Henry Elliot, Vols. I & II. Trübner & Co. London, 1867-9.

THE great legendary hero of the Panjáb is Rájá Rasálú. From Hazára and Ráwal Pindi to Ambálá, and thence to Dehli and Multan, all the country over, are his praises sung and his deeds recounted in many a thousand household. The peasant relates his story, the bard sets it to music, the humble writer of chap-books murders it and prints it, the poet glorifies it, and all delight in it, from prince to beggar. So great is his fame as a leader in war in the days gone by, that every Jatt family of repute is anxious to claim him among its ancestry, and so widely spread the fame of his deeds, that half the old forts and inexplicable freaks of nature in hill and plain are attributed to him or to his immediate surroundings. Is there an old ruin in the neighbourhood, then it is Rasálú's, or his enemy's, or his father's, or his relatives ; is there a deep, narrow chasm in the hills, then it is where his horse took its well-known leap ; is there a horse-shoe mark in the rocks, then it is where his horse stood when he overcame his enemy. And this, not in one locality, but in dozens. Ráwal Pindi claims him as its own, possesses his palaces and all the places where he performed his feats : he hunted in Hazára ; he fought in Jhelam and Lahore ; he married in Gújráuwálá, he dwelt in Siálkot, it was his home and the place of his origin, and like Ráwal Pindi, it claims him as its own special hero ; down south, about Ferozpur and below Gugairá, and again about Dehli, are his habitations found. Then across the Jamna we find him at Sardhaná, near Meerut, since made so famous by the Begam Samrú, and at Kanauj. Going further south we find him famous all over Ráj-pútáná, and an ancestor in many a Rájput family roll ; at Jodhpur and Ujjayin especially, till we are carried to the banks of the

Godavery. And wherever he is found he is always the same individuality and the same personage, the great hero alike in love and war, the son of the equally heroic Sáliváhana the Sáka, the opponent of the orthodox followers of the Bráhmans of the period. But otherwise, who he was and where he lived, and what he really did, history, as we are accustomed to know it, sayeth not. But that he was, however, once a personage of the first importance in the North-Western portion of India, there seems to be no doubt, and that the solution of the riddle of his date is well worth attempting, we will endeavour herein to show.

There are, of course, two ways of looking at Rasálú. Either he was a purely mythological hero having no existence in the flesh at all, or he was a really historical personage, whom successive generations of story-tellers and singers have found it convenient to use as a peg on which to hang their tales. A writer in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore,* in briefly reviewing Mr. Swynnerton's *Rájá Rasálú* has quoted from the *Westminster Review*, while deprecating the notion, a series of remarks to show that Rájá Rasálú and his story are solar myths. These remarks will be again quoted here in full, in order that as emphatic a protest as possible may be entered against the style of argument therein adopted:—

“King Rasalu, it is asserted, was a solar myth. No one at all acquainted with the science of comparative mythology can, we are told, for a moment, doubt it. Thus, as the sun in his course rests not in toiling and travelling, so Rasalu's destiny forbade him to tarry in one place. And as the sun, after a battle, however tremendous, with the elements, shines forth clear and victorious, so Rasalu, after a series of magical thunderbolts hurled at him by the giants, is found, shortly after, standing calm and undaunted. Hence, Rasalu is considered as merely another form of the fables of Indra, Savitar, Woden, Sisyphus, Hercules, Samson, Appollo, Theseus, Sigwid, Arthur, Tristram, and a host of other heroes, with one or other of whom every country, civilized and uncivilized, is familiar. Again, one large class of the old nature-myths relates to the fortunes of “fatal children,” in whose lives the destruction of their parents is involved—even as the rising sun destroys his parent, the darkness, from which he springs. These children are almost invariably the subject of prophecy, and though exposed and made to suffer in infancy, invariably grow up beautiful, brave, and generous. Thus, Perseus, who kills Akrisius; Œdipus, who smites his father Laius; and Rasalu, whose destiny it was to slay Salvahn his father. Again, like the early ideal of Samson, and like the later ideal of Arthur, Rasalu is the king of spotless purity. Moreover, as the sun dies in the west but rises again, so Rasalu, in common with King Arthur, is expected to appear once more.

“Then, Raja Rasalu has a wonderful horse, who at a crisis warns his master not to touch him with whip or spur. In like manner, in the sun-myth of Phaeton, that hero is charged not to touch with his whip the horses of Helios. To take one more instance, the legend of Mir Shikari

* For July 8th, 1884.

is, as the author has remarked, the story of Orpheus, of Amphion and of Pan ; but it is also the story of Hermes, Sigurd, Volker, Tristram, and many others ; all of whom were pre-eminently harpers, surpassing all men ; or, in other words, they were impersonations of the action and the power of *air* in motion.

There are many other remarkable points in these singular legends of Rasalu, pointing them to a common origin with the ancient solar myths of all countries ; but we have said enough to enable our readers to understand the principles, at least, which lead the Westminster Reviewer, and other students of comparative mythology, to regard the sun as the original fount at which story-tellers of all ages have refreshed their listeners' thirst for recitals of a heroic nature."

This is all very pretty and it sounds well to say, that "no one at all acquainted with the science of comparative mythology can for a moment doubt" that Rájá Rasálú is a solar myth, but if comparative mythology is a science at all, it must at least show that its assertions are capable of proof. Is there a shadow of a proof, properly so called, of any of the statements in the paragraph quoted ? Can the history of the stories as told at the present day be carried back, step by step, to the solar myth and its development into ordinary folklore ? Has anything regarding our hero been yet discovered which will give even a hint of such development ? What if it can be shown that the stories our scientific comparative mythologist has here strung together form merely a part of the stories told of the so-called solar hero, and that the same stories are not told of him in different localities, and that all those he has put into one category to suit his theory are not told in any one locality ? What if it can be shown that some of the stories are the common property of every Indian village, and are told singly, in many a variant form, from Kashmír to Bombay ? What if it can be shown that there is many another story of Rasálú which the liveliest imagination could not twist into the battle of the elements, or the action of the sun, or moon, or dawn, or any other natural phenomenon that might occur to it, and that we have absolutely no reason for not receiving them as genuine tales about Rasálú, if we receive as such those that he has quoted ? The fact is, that there is a stage in most scientific enquiries in which the imagination usurps the place of pure reasoning. "There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river in Moumouth, and there is salmons in both" was the style of argument that was called science in the study of philology, until almost yesterday, bringing down on it, deservedly enough, a contempt among the students of the exacter sciences from which it has hardly yet recovered. "Have we not Sânsi for the name of a criminal tribe ?" says our Indian sage of to-day "and does not *Sâns hai* mean 'it has breath,' and is not there a story to show

that Sánsí is derived from *sáns hai?* and is not that enough?" Says the same man, "the caste name of your gardener, the Máli, is derived from *má lí*, 'the mother was taken,' as the legend shows. The labouring caste name Duggar is derived from *do ghar*, from a mixed marriage the eponymous ancestor made. So Baloch is from *bad log* and Jaghdali the language of the Jatts along the border, is from *jatt gáli*." We could go on quoting in this strain for ever, for this is the kind of etymology still in vogue with every 'educated' native, and quite satisfies him, as it satisfied our own near predecessors. It is nothing more nor less than the imagination running riot, and this seems to be also the state of mind in which the ordinary mythologist still exists. He lets his imagination loose to follow its own foolish way, and, presto, the thing is done and his point is proved. The hero beats his enemies—which by the way he usually does in a story—and it is the sun conquering the storm clouds! He has one adventure after another, and it is the sun running his course across the sky. He is mortally wounded and gets over it, perhaps miraculously, and it is the sun setting and rising. He has a long white beard, and it is the winter clothing of the forest. He has twenty sons, all minor heroes, and these are the lightning flashes. His wife runs away with somebody else, on whom he wreaks prompt vengeance, and it is the evening conquered by the night, who in turn is slain by the returning sun. What is simpler and what more beautiful! "No one at all acquainted with the science of comparative mythology can for a moment doubt" any of these things, especially when they have been applied to story after story all the world over with signal success. Granting the beauty, the ingenuity, and the aptness of the ideas thus evolved, there are still those fortunately who are not satisfied with them, until it is proved in the ordinary way, that any particular hero is a solar myth. That *Rajá Rasálú* was, it cannot be too emphatically asserted that there is at present no proof whatever.

That there should be many students of folklore and mythology who should revel in such notions and publish them to the world as science, is unhappily only what is to be expected, but it is very much to be regretted that their writings should be received at their own valuation. That this is the case is only too clear from a study of Mr. Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*. Everywhere in that book he quotes the lucubrations of author after author on the solar or lunar or elemental origin of hero after hero of Russian popular lore. In justice to him it must be said that he does this in a tentative way, and evidently presents them for what they may be worth, but he quotes enough and often enough to show that Russian and Slavonic folklore have inside and out been long the sport of the

comparative mythologic imagination. If the nascent study of the Indian folklore can be saved from the same kind of thing, it will, indeed, be well for it.

Sixteen years ago Professor Max Muller * in his inaugural lecture on taking the professorial chair of comparative philology at Oxford, describes the rise of the study of philology as it is understood at the present day. First, there were the Jesuits studying the oriental languages including Sanskrit, and asking one after another—"How is it that Sanskrit has so many words in common with Greek and Latin?" Then came the foundation of the mother of Eastern studies—the Asiatic Society of Bengal—long since surpassed in fame and growth by more than one daughter, but still proudly holding her head as high as any of them. And then arose Schlegel, and Bopp, and Burnouf, and Pott, and Grimm, and many another, and, behold, the study of Sanskrit and philology had become popular. "A kind of silent conviction began to spread that there must be in Sanskrit a remedy for all evils: people could not rest till every word in Greek and Latin had in some disguise or other been discovered in Sanskrit. Nor were Greek, Latin and Sanskrit enough to satisfy the thirst of the new discoverers. The Teutonic languages were soon annexed, the Celtic language yielded to some gentle pressure, the Slavonic languages clamoured for incorporation, the sacred idiom of ancient Persia, the Zend, demanded its place by the side of Sanskrit, the Armenian followed in the wake: and when even the Ossetic from the valleys of Mount Caucasus, and the Albanian from the ancient hills of Epirus had proved their birthright, the Aryan family of language seemed complete and an historical fact; the original unity of all these languages was established on a basis, which even the most sceptical could not touch or shake. Scholars rushed in as diggers rush into a new gold field picking up whatever is within reach, and trying to carry off more than they could carry, so that they might be the foremost in the race, and claim as their own all that they had been the first to look at or to touch. There was a rush, and now and then an ugly rush, and when the armfuls of nuggets that were thrown down before the world in articles, pamphlets, essays and ponderous volumes came to be more carefully examined, it was but natural that not every thing that glittered should turn out to be gold." "All languages were, if possible, to submit to the same laws: what is common to all of them is welcome, what is peculiar to each is treated as anomalous, or explained as the result of later corruption."

This period of comparative philology, says Professor Max Müller,

* *Chips*. Vol. IV, pp. 1-41.

has been laughed at as being syncretistic, which I take to mean as that which combined discordant elements, and some of the results he gives further on. "Sanskrit scholars who had discovered that one of the names of the god of love in Bengali was *Dipuc* (*sic*), i.e., the Inflamer, derived from it by inversion the name of the god of love in Latin, *Cupid* !! Sir William Jones identified *Janus* with the Sanskrit *Ganesa*, i.e., Lord of Hosts, and even later scholars allowed themselves to be tempted to see the Indian prototype of *Ganymedes* in the *Kanva-medhātīthi* or *K. invāmesha* of the Vedas." "It was extremely tempting to derive *paradise* from the Sanskrit *paradesa*. The compound *paradesa* was supposed to mean the highest or a distant country, and all the rest seemed so evident as to require no further elucidation. *Paradesa*, however, does not mean the highest or a distant country in Sanskrit, but is always used in the sense of a foreign country, an enemy's country," a sense exactly preserved in the common cry of a stranger in Northern India—*main paradesi admī hūn*. "Further," says the Professor, "as early as the Song of Solomon (IV, 13) the word occurs in Hebrew as *par'és*, and how it could have got there straight from Sanskrit requires, at all events, some historical explanation." And this is our moral. The mythologists say that Raja Rasálú's story, as repeated in the Panjab in the present day, is a solar myth. This requires historical explanation, if the charge of pure *syncretism* is to be avoided.

About the same time that Prof. Max Müller delivered his address, was published Prof. Comparetti's *Researches into the Book of Sindibád*,* which exhibits the value of the historical method, of showing how a tale has come to assume the form in which we now find it. There is no guessing here, no flights of the imagination backed up by strongly worded assertions, no jumping to conclusions, but sober deduction and strict proof. The writer first carefully 'sorts' the stories current about Sindibád, until he arrives at "the form and contents of the story in the 'Book of Sindibád.'" He then proceeds to examine "those particular redactions which can be shown to be more immediately the common basis of all the Eastern versions at present known," of which he shows that the Western versions are secondary offshoots, i.e., not taken direct from the books about the Eastern ones, but compiled from the oral versions then current. The Western literary versions have given rise to fresh oral traditions, and hence the present Western forms of the stories of Sindibád. These basic versions are (1), the story of Syntipas, Greek from Syriac, dated end of eleventh

* *Ricerche intorno al Libro di Sindibád*, 1869.

century A.D. ; (2), Parables of Sandabar, Hebrew from Arabic, dated early in the thirteenth century ; (3) the Sindibád-náma, Persian from Arabic, dated 1375 ; (4) the Tútí-náma of Naqshábí, Persian, dated 1329 ; (5) the Seven Wazírs, Arabic, date not settled, but not old ; (6) the Book of the Tricks and Deceits of Women, Spanish from Arabic, dated 1253. After discussing them at length, the writer arrives at the conclusion that all the known versions of the tale found in these works are from the "Book of Sindibád." The question then is, what is this book and whence came it ? All that Professor Comparetti can directly trace about it is, that it was probably written in Arabic by a Persian of the name of Mûsa previous to the tenth century, and that Mas'ûdí, who lived just before Muhammad, knew of a story about Sindibád. But be this as it may, it is certain that Naqshábí's book was based on a text in Persian, which in his time was antiquated, and which was not translated from, but was based in the *Sukasaptati*, and so the origin of the story of Sindibád, though not the story itself, as now or at any time known to literature, is traced to Sanskrit books, in which its history has been well illustrated by Benfrey's researches into the *Panchatantra*. Here, then, is the history of this book as told by Professor Comparetti so far as the evidence guides him, and whether others, who following the same line of research may agree with him or not, it is, at all events, plain that in writing what he did, he knew what he was about, and it would be well for writers on native myths and the like to labour to produce a similar impression on their critics.

Writes Professor Max Müller in 1870, † "count not your chickens before they be hatched, is a well known proverb in English, and most people if asked what was its origin, would probably appeal to La Fontaine's delightful fable, *La Laitière et le Pot au Lait*." With the Professor's guidance let us follow up this tale to its known origin, though it is probably incorrect to say that it is responsible directly for the proverb. It was first published in 1678, and the question is, how to trace it to its acknowledged source in the *Panchatantra* ? In La Fontaine's fable it is Perrette, the milkmaid, that counted her chickens before they were hatched, and in doing so threw over her milk pail. In La Fontaine's time her story was more or less common property, and turns up in "*Contes et nouvelles de Bonaventure des Periers*," 16th century, and in the "*Conde Lucanor*" of the Infante Don Juan Manuel, about 1340. Again in Rastells' "*Dialogues of creatures moralysed*," about 1517, she is a 'mayden with a galon of mylke,'

† The Migration of Fables, *Chips*, Vol. IV., 145-209.

and this book is a translation into English of a 'Latin one, "Dialogus Creaturarum optime moralizatus" of the 13th century. And lastly, Rabelais in his Gargantua, 15th century, refers to the farce "Du pot au lait," but the hero in that is a *shoemaker*. Whence, then, did this common story of the 13th to the 17th centuries spring? The *fons et origo* is traced back to the days of the Abbasside Khalíf Al-Mansúr of Baghdád, to the celebrated Arabic book of tales *Kalíla wa Damna* written by Imám Abu'l-Hasan Abdullah ibn Al-Muqaffa about 750 A.D., and what has happened to this book is somewhat as follows. It was translated into Greek as Ichnelates and Stephanites in 1080, and this into Italian as "Del governo de' regni" in 1583, and into Latin in 1666. It was translated into Persian prose about 1150, and this was modernised in 1494 as the Anwár-i-Suhelí* and translated into French in 1644 as "Livre des Lumières." The Anwár-i-Suhelí was also turned into Turkish in 1540 as the Humáyun-náma, and thence into Spanish in 1654 under the title of "Espejo politico." Going back again, in the thirteenth century, Kalíla wa Damna, gave rise to the Latin "Alter Cæsupus" but it does not appear that this stream ran any further, and there is another short stream arising from the translation into Spanish in 1289, called Calila-é-Dymna, Latinised in 1313 as Calila et Dimna. But in 1250 Kalíla wa Damna was turned into Hebrew, thence into Latin as "Directorium humanæ vitæ" about 1270, and thence into German in the 13th century, both of which last were once celebrated books. "The Directorium" went into Spanish in 1493 as "exemplario contra los engaños," this into Italian in 1548 as "Discorsi degli animali" and this into French in 1556 as "Le plaisant discours des animaux" and into Italian in 1552 as "La filosofia morale," and this last into English in 1570 by North. Lastly, the "Discorsi" and "Filosofia" are both represented by the "Deux livres de philosophie fabuleuse" of 1579. We have, therefore, now traced our tale into the popular lore of the 17th century, and shown how it became so. We are also now in a position to understand clearly what Prof. Comparetti meant by saying that the Western versions of Sindibád were *secondary offshoots* of the Eastern ones, for the tale of La Fontaine is directly such, having arisen out of current folklore, which itself arose out of current literature borrowed from the East. We must now go back to the Kalíla wa Damna and see whence it came. The author professedly took it from a Pahlaví book

* Touched up as the Ayár-i-Dánish in 1590, which was translated into Hindustani as the Khird Afroz.

composed by Barzúya or Pazroyá, the Court physician of Khusrav Anúshírwán (Nowsherwáu) about 550 A. D.: The story of this author is, that he translated his book from a Sanskrit work while travelling in India, and though *Kalila wa Damna* could not have been taken from the *Panchatantra*, yet it is known that extensions of that book have existed from time to time, the favorite *Hitopadesa* being one of them. To prove that the Pahlaví book was taken from the Sanskrit tales, there is the internal evidence of the book itself (as translated into Arabic) and curiously its title. In the oldest Syriac M. S. this is "*Qalilag and Damnag*," which is the Pahlaví *Kalilak* and *Damnak* and the Sanskrit *Karataka* and *Damanaka*, as Prof. Benfey has shown. Lastly, in the *Panchatantra*, Perrette and her milk pail appear as a Bráhmaṇ and a pot of *ghi* and honey. Thus, do we step by step carefully and painfully trace our proverb from East to West, and from ancient to modern days. Whether or not further investigations may show our ultimate deductions to be right or wrong, there can be no question as to the system pursued being really scientific. There is no leaping and jumping, and evolving out of inner consciousness here.

There is another lesson to be learnt from a study of Prof. Comparetti and Max Müller's writings. However surely and unerringly we may be able to trace a fable now told in an English or an Hungarian nursery to an ancient Indian source, we shall find that the innumerable vicissitudes through which it has passed on its journey from East to West and from age to age, have totally altered its complexion in every case. Though a certain story of the present day is unquestionably a lineal descendant of a certain other story of ages ago, we may be perfectly sure that it has itself changed, as much as those, who now tell it to point a moral or to please a child, have changed from the remote ancestors that invented it. To base an argument, therefore, as to the origin of a story on the version *now* found in the mouths of the people is sheer folly, and can but succeed in bringing down on those who do so, the contempt and ridicule of scientific men. There seems unfortunately a tendency on the part of some diligent folklorists to act as if a modern tale had no history, and in their arguments to jump at one leap from the present times to hoar antiquity, to evolve the embryo, as it were, out of the appearances of extreme old age. This tendency cannot be too earnestly combated, and it is with this view that the value of the historical method has been here shown at such length.

The perfection of historical treatment for the purpose of derivation is reached in the great English Dictionary of the

Philological Society now being published under the editorship of Dr. Murray, and we cannot do better than describe the system adopted in his own words. "The Dictionary endeavours (1) to show with regard to each individual word, when, how and in what shape and with what signification it became English; what development of form and meaning it has since received; which of its uses have, in the course of time become obsolete, and what still survive; what new uses have since arisen, by what processes and when: (2) to illustrate these facts by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest, or down to the present day; the word being there made to exhibit its own history and meaning: and (3) to treat the etymology of each word on the basis of historical fact, and in accordance with the methods and results of modern philological science." It would be impossible to find space in an article such as this for quotations from the Dictionary to show how these principles have been carried out, and the reader must be referred to the book itself, but there can be no doubt that what is true of words is also true of stories. There is, in fact, only one way of ascertaining the real truth about a folk tale, and that is by tracing it back to its last traceable root, as it were, on the historical plan. We should be prepared to show, when, how, and in what shape it is first found in the country where we now find it, and if this is not the last trace of it, whence it came: what developments of form it has since received, which of these are now obsolete and which still survive, and what new forms of it have since arisen, by what processes, and when; and we should be prepared to prove all this by quotations from ascertained sources. But the labour involved in carrying out such a system is far too vast for one man to undertake, and it is only by the combined labour of many minds that anything of value can be achieved in this way. The great Dictionary is a monument built up by many many hands working in unison at its myriad parts, for under Dr. Murray have been employed 30 sub-editors and 1,300 readers, who have supplied $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of quotations from the works of more than 5,000 authors; and to descend to very much humbler things, the history of Perrette and her milk pail and of the story of Sindibád are the results, collected together into intelligible shape by one writer, of the labours of very many others. Surely the consideration of these things should show us in its strongest light, the folly of jumping to conclusions in explaining such a matter as the legend of Rasálú, and that he who would set himself the task of showing its true import should wait until historical materials have been adequately gathered, or rest content with merely exhibiting the extent that

researches have reached to date and pointing out what is still wanting. Unfortunately as regards Rájá Rasálú there is no alternative, and we are forced to attempt the latter task only.

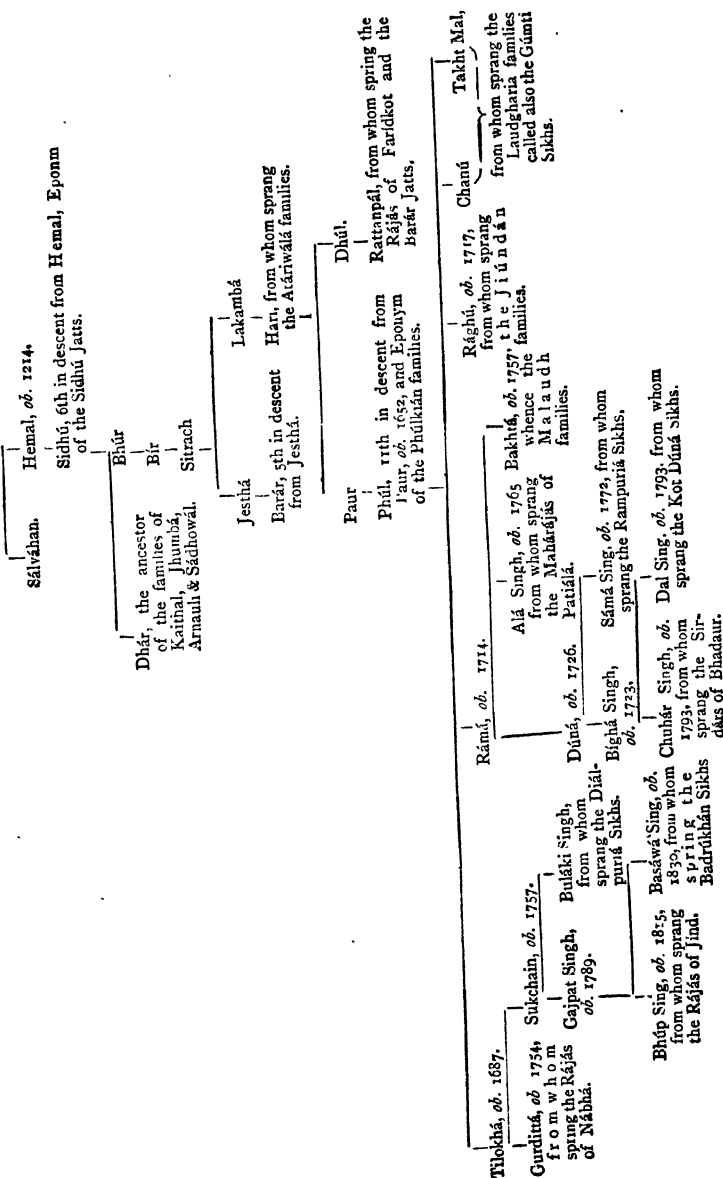
Not that the material for the history of Indian folklore is wanting, but it has never been properly sifted as yet, or worked up into a useful shape. The field, as I have said again and again, is almost incredibly vast, and it is still a virgin soil, for the haphazard scratchings over its surface that have taken place so far, can hardly be said to count for anything. The work of exploring, too, is fascinating to a degree, when once fairly entered on, for the very ground cries out, as it were, for tillage, and new discoveries await the labourer on every side. The joy and the delight of obtaining some thing of value for his pains are sure to be rapidly his, and if only the more intelligent portion of the Anglo-Indian public could be induced to see this, we should not so often have to complain of its apathy and unconcern of the good things so close at hand. A glance at the lists of vernacular books published in the various Government Gazettes will show that the works which run into the greatest number of editions in India, and which are published in the largest numbers in those editions, are chap-books sold for an anna or so per copy. And what do these chap-books contain? Nothing but folklore as a rule: *rechauffés* of local legends and stories dished up in every imaginable shape to suit the various kinds of readers to be found in the towns. One may constantly observe *chuprástís*, and such like men, with much time on their hands and a smattering of reading and writing, pouring over a badly printed and battered copy of one of these chap-books with evident satisfaction to themselves. Take it up and you will find it to be a *Sipáhi-náma*, or a *Qissa Rájá Dhol*, or a *Qissa Rájá Bhartálú*, and so on. Ask them about it, and if not too ashamed to answer, it will be found that they have had the whole story by heart from childhood, and that it is the *form* in which the local poet has served it up, that delights them now. As a rule, I have found that the unwritten legends and stories I have collected from the lips of wandering bards are all to be met with in some such rough publication or other. I have a collection of some 200 to 250 of these chap-books issued from various vernacular presses in the Panjab, in Persian, Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, and Pushto: abstracts of them all being gradually made, but these are merely a few to what must be available. Here then is a field quite vast enough for the most enthusiastic to undertake. But this is only as regards to-day; and for the last two or three centuries an examination of Sprenger's catalogue of manuscripts formerly belonging to the Kings of Oudh at Lucknow, convinces one that materials

for the later history of modern Indian folk-tales should be abundant, and that there is no lack of them in the centuries further removed from us. However, whether it be paucity of material or want of labourers that prevents our building up a satisfactory history of the Legends of Rasálú, it is still impossible to do it at present, and all that can be here attempted is, to gather together in one view what is now known about him.

A study of the various legends current about Rasálú shows that they can be separated into two portions: the professedly historical and the purely folklore. Let us deal with the former first, and make here a real attempt to fix this hero's place in the page of history. But the subject is so obscure and difficult, that it is impossible to speak otherwise than tentatively, and I find that I am forced to alter my views as to details almost every time it is touched, though the general conclusions remain pretty much the same.

It was said at the commencement of this article that very many of the Jatt families of the Panjab count Rasálú as an ancestor. The chief among those that do so come from two main stocks, the Siddhús and the Sânsís. The Siddhú story is that they are descended from the Battí (*i. e.*, Yádú or Yádava) Rájput prince Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmer, and the families that claim this descent in the present day are in order of seniority Kaithal, Jhumbá, Arnauli and Sádhowál, descended from Siddhu's eldest son Dhár, then Nábhá and Jínd descended from Tilokhá the eldest son of Phúl the senior eponym in descent from Siddhu, and the branches of Jínd, Badrukhán and Diálpurá; then Bhadaur, Kot Dúná, Rámpúriá, Patíálá and Malaudh, from Phúl's second son Rámá; then Jiúndán from his third son Rághú; then Landhghariá or Gúmtí from the fourth and sixth sons Chanu and Takht Mal; then comes Farídkot, and lastly Atáriwálá descended from younger sons higher up the line. This gives us seventeen leading families from this one stock alone. Fortunately the dates of the leading names in the tree up to Jaisal are well ascertained, for Jaisal himself died in 1168 A. D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Sálbáhan (*not* the great Sálbáhan), while his second son Hemal (died in 1214), sought his fortunes, in the Panjáb and founded the Siddhú tribe, through Siddhú the sixth in descent from him. From whom the ninth is Barár, at which point the Farídkot line breaks off calling themselves Barárs, and then twelfth from Barár comes Phúl (died in 1652), from whom the great Phúlkián families all spring. The genealogy on the next page will explain the relationship of the families much more clearly, but the point for the present purpose is, that we trace our genealogy according to the family bards up to Jaisal of Jaisalmer, who died in 1168 A. D.

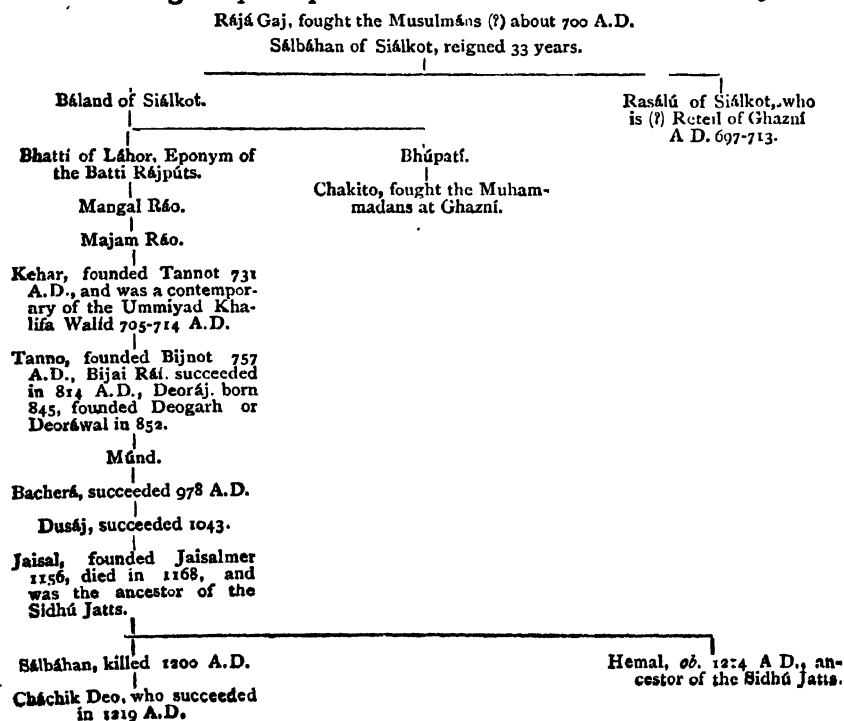
Taisal, ob. 1168.



Now the Sânsis go further back in their family tree, though claiming the same descent practically, for they say they are descended from Rájá Gaj, the father of the great Sálváhan and grandfather of Rasálú and ancestor of Jaisal of Jaisalmer. Their story is that Sálváhan had 16 sons (Tod says 14), of whom Báland was the eldest, Púran (so well known as Púran the Bhagat) was the second, and our hero Rasálú the third, and that they themselves are all descended from Púran. Their immediate common ancestor was Badhá Sing, (died in 1718), from whose elder son Chaudá Sing are descended the great Sindháuwáliá families, and from whose younger son Nodh Singh (died in 1763), come the still greater Sukarchakiás, rendered so famous by the great Mahárájá Ranjít Singh of Lahor. For our present purpose we must try and fix the place of Rájá Gaj in history. So far we have been following Sir Lepel Griffin, but we must now seek the guidance of Colonel Tod, still going on bardic tradition, with such light as contemporary history gives us.

From Tod's account of Jaisalmer, a kind of genealogy (see below) can be made out, though it is obviously not complete.

Table showing the principal names in the descent anterior to Jaisal.



But here again there can be little doubt as to the date of the leading personages in the line, and their real place can be determined with some certainty. Rájá Gaj, says Tod, opposed the King of Khurásán at Ghazní with great success at first, but being at last slain by him, he was succeeded by his son Sálváhan, whom he had by the daughter of the King of Kashmir. Sálváhan, on his father's death, retreated to the Panjab, which he conquered, founding there Sálváhanpúr, i. e., Siálkot. Before his death, however, he recovered Ghazní, which he handed over to his son Báland (the brother of Rasálú, be it remembered,) who again lost it to the Musalmáns. Báland was succeeded by Bhattí, the modern eponym of the tribe, and third from him we find Kehr, the founder of Tannot in 731 A. D. and the contemporary of the Ummyad Khalifa Walíd, about whose date there can be no doubt, and which is 705-714 A. D. Here, then, we are in firm ground, and from hence to the time of Jaisal, his foundation of Jaisalmer in 1156, and his death 1168, it is all plain sailing. The statement, that Rájá Gaj and his immediate descendants fought the Musalmáns at Ghazní fixes their date as the end of the 7th century, for the struggles of the early Arabs against the Hindú kings of Kábul continued from 697 A. D. to the days of the great Sultan Mahmúd's immediate predecessors in the 10th century. So that according to tradition as preserved by the bards of the Siddhú and Sání Jatts in the Panjab and by those of the Bhattís in Jaisalmer, we trace our hero to his home and to his date about 700 A. D., and it is to be here remarked how well all the stories tally. We must turn to the story of the attacks of the Muhammadans on Kábul to see how far the Rájput story is corroborated. Now in the accounts of the long struggle in what is now Afghánistán, there was a very prominent character on the Hindú side, whose name, thanks to the uncertainties of the Persian character, varies as Ranbal, Zentil, Zenbil, Ratbyl, Zenbyl, Rateil, Ratpeil, Rantal, Zambil, Zantíl, Ratpíl, Ratteíl, and which Price guessed to be Vittel, and Wilson to be Ratanpál, and I myself to be Richhpál. However, whatever may have been his real name, he successfully fought the Musalmáns in and about 700 A. D., and the consensus of opinion is, that the name is a title rather than a real name. It is as likely as not that the early Muhammadan historians, in their ignorance of the ways of the Hindús, gave all prominent Indian kings the generic name of Ratbal, or one of its synonyms: at any rate, we find in the *Jámi'u'l-hikáyát* Ya'qúb Láis, about 870 A. D., conquering a Hindú king called Rúsál, but also Ratbal, Ratbíl, Rasal, Rútsal and Zambíl, and in the *Chachnāma* Muhammad Qásim, fighting

and making treaties in 712 A. D. with a Hindú king named Rásil in Sindh. In ordinary modern legends Rasálú's name varies as Risálú, Sálú, Rasál and Risal. So that the inference we gather is, that there was, between 700 A. D. and 870 A. D., a powerful Hindú prince in what is now called Afghánistán, whose opposition so powerfully impressed the early Muhammadan invaders, that they called every Hindú prince after him for many generations, and that most probably he existed really about 700, and that his name varied chiefly as Ranbal, Ratbal and Rúsál or Rásil. Putting the Muhammadan, Jatt and Rájput stories together, is it an unfair inference to say that this King is our hero Rasálú? Of course all that has been above said, is a close condensation of a very long story to be found scattered about in many books, both of the East and West; and the reader must be asked to take it on trust that the deeper we go into details the plainer the inference becomes that Rasálú is Reteil, as the many named prince is chiefly called by *English* writers of Oriental history.

Now it is generally admitted by those who have studied the subject, that not only was Reteil a generic name for a line of kings, but also that their eponym was a Buddhist, or a Bráhmanist convert; so it is not at all likely that so prominent a king of this kind should have passed away without a coinage. The question, therefore is, can this name be found among the known coins of these Hindú kings of Kábul? There is a well known coin of the Bull and Horseman type, read as belonging to Síl Syálapati Devá, common enough in Afghánistán and the Panjab. Opinions seem to differ violently as to which king was the striker, but there is no doubt that it belongs to the earlier series of these Kábul kings, and conjectures on independent evidence assign it to the 8th or 9th centuries A. D., preferably to the latter. Now without for a moment saying that this coin is Rasálú's or Reteil's, we may with some safety assert that if his name is to be found at all among the coins, this is the coin that is to be looked to. Syálapati means the Lord of the Syáls, and its modern form would be Syálpát or Siálpát. The Syáls or Siáls are numerous enough in the Panjab to the present day, and so the question resolves itself in to this: was Rasálú of Siálkot, which means the Fort of the Siáls, if its modern form means any thing at all, the Lord of the Syáls? This takes us into a consideration of the history of Siálkot, beyond doubt, one of the most ancient sites in the Panjab. We can trace back the variations of the name applied either to the present site or to others in its vicinity, from modern times to the days of the Pándavas as follows:—Siálkot, Sálpura, Sálpurí,

Sálbáhanpūr, Rísálkot, Sálkot, Shálkot, Shálkund, Sákulpūr, Sākata; which last is the Sagala or Sangalá of the Greeks, about which so much has been conjectured and written. We can also with some certainty state that the inhabitants of this site were a tribe named successively from modern to ancient days Siál Sárwya, Sárva, Shála, Sála and Sálwa. The Siáls do not now occupy Siálkot, but lay a very strong claim to having been driven from thence to their present more western lands in Jhang, about the 12th century. Names of the kings that ruled on the site of Siálkot, and over this tribe of Siál, are found to be named, counting backwards, Sálbáhan, 12th century A. D., Rasálú Sálbáhan or Sáliváhana; Salichandra, Sálindra and Sála, which last lived in the epic days. All this seems to point to the fact that Rasálú was a lord of the Siáls, and if it be his coin that is superscribed Srí Syálapati Devá, then we have corroborative numismatic evidence that Rasálú is Reteil, and that his date is 700 A. D., or thereabouts.

However, in fixing the date of Rasálú, we are bound to take into consideration two other matters: *firstly*, every legend makes him the son of Sálbáhan, and because the Sáká era (A. D. 78) is attributed to Sáliváhana, the opponent of Vikramáditya, Sálbáhan the father of Rasálú is referred unhesitatingly to that monarch and that date. *Secondly*, the legends of Ráwal Pindí and Siálkot, and of course of the intervening districts, connect him one and all with Rájá Hodí. These facts oblige us to bring the dates of these heroes within our purview.

In the legends about Rasálú recorded by E. A. Prinsep in his report on the Siálkot district, there is a very significant passage. After Rasálú's death his brother Púran the Bhagat (i. e., the Saint) laid the country under the spell of a curse for 300 years, until the days of Rájá Niráwat in A. D. 790. Now this seems to be the legendary way of saying that there was no history, or, in other words, that there was general anarchy from 500 to 800 A. D. It so happens that this is not so far wide of the truth as would at first appear, for we have it on the authority of Hwen Tsang, that the 'troubles affreux' commenced on the death of the last Buddhist king of India, Siláditya of Kanauj in 650 A. D., which ended in the firm establishment of the modern Bráhmaism about 750 A. D.; after which the Bráhmans had it all their own way, and commenced that deliberate falsification of chronology in the Puránas, which we find in full swing in the days of Mahmud of Ghazni and Al Birúni, hardly two and a half centuries later, and which has been a source of such endless trouble to modern enquirers. The date of Vikramáditya is one of those points which it seems to have been

the particular object of the Bráhmans to falsify, as research seems to show that his real date was about 515 to 530 A. D., and that the Bráhmans in fixing his era at 57 B. C., antedated him 600 years for the glory of the faith, thus making him reign as a great Bráhmanist monarch at a time when all India was thoroughly Buddhist. However be this as it may, let us assume for our present purposes that he did live in the first half of the 6th century and overcame Sáliváhana at Karúr about the middle of it, it then follows that if Sáliváhana the Sákā, whom he overcame, was our Sáliváhana the father of Rasálú and king of Siálkot, which I exceedingly doubt, we must place him 150 years before Reteil, if that king be Rasálú; in which case he could not possibly have been his father, and Rasálú can only be his 'son' in the ordinary figurative meaning of early Oriental history.

Turning to Hodí we find ourselves involved in an enquiry of still greater obscurity. Traces of Hodí are abundant enough across the Indus in Pesháwar and up to the Jalálábád valley, and on this side of the river, in Ráwal Pindí, Jhelam and Siálkot, we hear plenty of him. Udayanagars, Udínagars and Hodinagarís, (*i. e.*, cities of Hodí) exist in numbers all over the Northern Panjab, including Lahore itself, which is said to have once been Udínagar. Whoever he was and wheresoever he reigned, the legends tend to show that he was opposed to the line of kings whom Rasálú is made to represent, but as to whether he was actually ever an opponent of Rasálú himself we cannot as yet tell. Of course, evidence as to his date is very obscure and the legends regarding his buildings most mixed, for these are attributed indifferently to him and to Afrásiáb, who, if he existed at all must, as the opponent of Cyrus the Great, have lived in the 6th century B. C., and long long before Hodí. However, the latest researches seem to fix Hodí's date in the 3rd century A. D., though it should be remembered that Fergusson extends the era of the Ghaudhára buildings, so constantly associated with Hodí in legend, to as late as the 8th century A. D., in other words, to the destruction of Buddhism in those parts. It may be possible, therefore, that if Rasálú was a Bráhmanist convert of the 8th century, he may have actually fought and destroyed Hodí the Buddhist, as the legends say. The Siálkot and Gakkhar traditions place Hodí in the 4th century and make him the conqueror of Rasálú, and if the Kushan Kidara of the common coins be Hodí, as Thomas has suggested, we must throw his date back again to the 3rd century at least.

In a review article, it is of course impossible to array in its proper place all the evidence on which the statements above

made are based, and the reader who would pursue the enquiry further must be referred to the books mentioned in the heading and to the references he will find in them, but I think that those who do so will find that the evidence procurable is very strongly in favour of the assumption that Rasálú was a real personage and is the Reteil, &c., of history, and so lived and fought between 697 and 713 A. D., or that his story is a confused recollection of those Hindú kings, who so gallantly repelled the Musalmán invaders of India from 697 to 870.

Before quitting the subject of Rasálú's historical existence, one very interesting point must be noticed. In Sir Henry Elliot's note * on the Hindú kings of Kábul he describes how Ranbal (Rásalú under one of his numerous synonyms) defeated 'Abdu'llah, Governor of Sístán in 697 A. D., how the great Hajjáj thereupon despatched 'Abdu'r-Rahmán bin Muhammad bin Asha's to retrieve the disaster in 700, how 'Abdu'r-Rahmán defeated Ranbal, but could do no more than obtain booty from his territory, how Hajjáj thereupon threatened him which made 'Abdu'r-Rahmán go over to Ranbal's side, and how at last Ranbal was induced to deliver him up to Hajjáj in 703. He then goes on to say, that "the interest which this contest excited throughout the Khiláfat seems to have invested the Prince of Kábul with a fictitious celebrity, insomuch that he is the hero of many Arab stories of the Holy Wars on the frontiers of Hind," and we may add of many Hindu stories also, if Ranbal be Rasálú. This invests our hero with a new interest to Panjábis, for it has thus fallen to his lot to be the hero of folk-tales, both on his own side and on his enemies.' Great, indeed, must have been his influence once, and it would be well worth while to collect these Arabic folk-tales and compare them with those of the Panjab with which we are now so familiar.

In passing on to the folklore view of the stories of Rasálú, we must first endeavour to sort them before we can hope to prepare them for the purposes of historical investigation, but the investigation into *their* history will have no connection with *his* history as a concrete existence, for the stories tacked on by the popular imagination to the memory of a popular hero have not necessarily anything whatever to do with the story of his real life. The value of analysing tales before dealing any further with them, has long been recognized, and the English Folklore Society has prepared a regular scheme by which the analysis may be carried out on a fixed plan, so that every tale may be readily referred to its class on comparison with others. The Society's system is to separate the components of a tale into *dramatis personæ*, thread

of the story and incidental circumstances, on the model of the following example of this method of working. In Pedroso's Portuguese Folk-tales is a tale called "the Hearth Cat," and this is the way it has been analysed.

(a) *Dramatis Personæ* :—(1) Schoolmistress, (2) her daughter, (3) her pupil, (4) cow, (5) fairies, (6) dog, (7) king. (b) *Thread of story*.—Widowed schoolmistress who has an ugly daughter, asks a pretty pupil to induce her father to marry her ¹—father marries her, step-daughter treated cruelly by her ²—cow assists her in her tasks—step-mother angrily orders cow to be killed, and the step-daughter to wash the cow's entrails—cow tells the girl to wash the entrails and to save what comes out of them. Ball of gold comes out and falls into the water—girl searches for it and sees a house in disorder—arranges house—fairies surprise her ³—and endow her with three things ⁴—and present her with a wand which will grant her all she wants. Upon return home she relates the contrary of what she had seen—mistress's daughter goes—she disarranges every thing at the fairy dwelling ⁵—fairies enspell her with three things ⁶—mother enraged sends step-daughter to kitchen—mistress and daughter go to races—step-daughter asks her wand to give her dress—she goes to races and stands in front of royal stand—mistress's daughter recognizes her—King falls in love with her ⁷—next day and third day same events occur ⁸—in her hurry in departing she lets her slipper fall—kingdom is searched to find owner of shoe—mistress tries it on—daughter tries it on—Hearth Cat at last tries it on and it fits—King marries Hearth Cat—mistress and daughter put to death. (c) *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) Father will not marry schoolmistress until a pair of iron boots rust to pieces—daughter wets the boots daily to hasten the wedding; (2) she is given a loaf and a vessel of water for food and drink, yet expected to bring the one whole and the other full—also has to mind skeins of thread all day long. The cow digs out the inside of the loaf for her and fixes the skeins on its horns; (3) a dog barks and calls attention to her services; (4) beauty; pearls and gold to drop from her lips, happiness; (5) the dog barks and calls attention to her misdeeds; (6) ugliness; filth to drop from her lips, wretchedness; (7) upon return home the mistress finds her with her face besmeared with smut; (8) each day she wears a richer dress than before.

Here, then we have our plain unvarnished tale stripped of all the pretty trappings so necessary in a work of pure literature and so distracting to the sober enquirer into histories and origins, and at first sight we are prepared to give it a generic title and say at once it must be a form of Cinderella. Going upon the principle of never jumping to a conclusion so strongly upheld in these pages

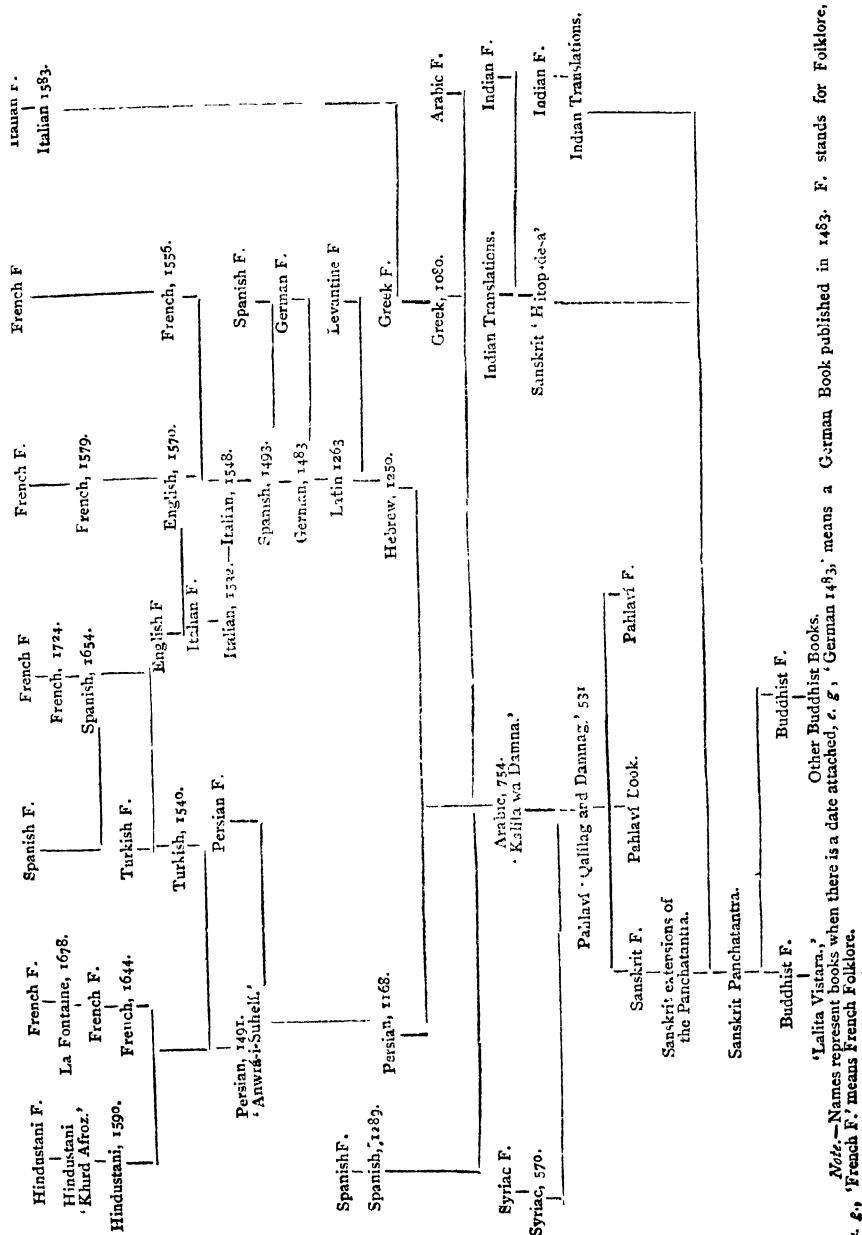
pass by the temptation to say it is so on the ground of incomplete data and examine it further. Cutting the thread of the story still shorter, we shall find that the principles on which, first the skeleton, and then the full fleshed figure, have been constructed are these. A cruel woman marries by fraud and illtreats her step-daughter, who is helped out of her difficulties by animals and supernatural beings in reward for services rendered and for her kindly disposition, while the step-mother and her daughter are punished for attempting to win the good will of the same by fraud and for their unkindly disposition. It will be observed that the skeleton constructed out of these principles takes its form from the religious and domestic customs of the composer, and that the flesh superadded is of two kinds, being composed of notions of the kind we may call pure inherited folklore and of those arising out of religious and domestic customs. The moral of this is that we may expect to find *that* amount of difference between the congeners of the tale as is dependent on the religion, the manners and customs and inherited folklore of the countries in which it is found to be indigenous or acclimatized. If we are to aim at fair and honest comparison the value of the above system of investigation needs no explanation.

There is, however, another way of looking at folk-tales that I hope to develope much further elsewhere, than I could have space for here, which seems to me to enable us to get at the history of every part of a tale even better than by the system just explained. In showing how a particular tale has come to be what we now find it, it is essential to separate the *inherited folklore* in it from its covering of local religion and custom, which last is really accidental, being dependent on the race and abode of the narrator. It is in this inherited folklore that the true history of the incidents will be found to be locked up, and it is this alone that will enable us to really compare them with others of the same class, or, in other words, to classify them on a plan that is not empirical.

It has always seemed to me that the proper use to put the comparison of the skeleton of modern tales, as we now find them, say in India and in England, is to use it as a clue for ascertaining what tales should be traced in each part of the world to their respective common sources with a view to seeing if the last traceable of these are capable of being connected. To illustrate my meaning I will quote some incidents in Prof. Pedroso's tale. In the fourth incident it is to be observed that the fairies grant the heroine three gifts: "*Beauty, pearls and gold to drop from her lips, happiness.*" Now one of the commonest of fairy gifts or possessions in Indian folk-tales is

the dropping of pearls when the hero (or heroine) weeps, and rubies when he laughs. In one of the Rasalú legends, that of his marriage with Princess Adhik Anúp Dai, or the Lady of Perfect Beauty, of Kanauj, we find that she 'fills a platter of pearls when she weeps and of flowers when she laughs.' Of course there are variants of the idea and our heroine in Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days* drops rubies and precious stones when she walks. Again, the same tale makes a cow and a dog, as well as fairies, help the heroine in her distress, partly out of love for her, and partly in reward for services rendered out of her native goodness of heart. It will be observed, too, that the opposite happens to her unkindly-natured step-mother and sister. Now in the Indian folk-tales of to-day, there are hardly any notions commoner than these. The animal, vegetable and supernatural creations are for ever helping the hero and heroine, especially for doing them a good service of a sort that shows native kindly feeling. The notion occurs in literally hundreds of variants, and the turn given to them is, of course, thoroughly Indian depending on strictly Indian observation of surrounding life. The general idea is also familiar in Europe, thanks to the story of the thorn in the tiger's foot, which, we would observe, is equally well known in India. Further, the idea of a wicked relative or companion trying to win the good-will of those who helped the kindly-natured hero by a fraud upon them, which their natural evil-mindedness prevents them from succeeding in, is very frequently tacked on to the tale. All these considerations would make us premise an Indian origin for the incidents referred to, though I am very far from meaning by these the thread of the story. At any rate, the mention of the cow as a helper of the heroine would make it worth while investigating, to see if the old Portuguese connection with India is not responsible for their existence in Portugal now.

In tracing up the history of folk-tales found in various parts of the world in modern times, the analogy of the tree with its branches, trunk and branching roots is very complete, and will show us the advantage of going step by step without any jumps. The diagram on the next page compiled from the *Chips*, Vol. IV, p. 171, will show my meaning more clearly than any explanation.



It will be seen on an examination of it, that the trunk book is the *Qalilag wa Damrag*, and that from it spring the trunk and all the branches and to it rise all the roots. These could be greatly increased in number, but enough has been shown in the diagram to illustrate the present purpose. Now, suppose that we know nothing of the history indicated by the tree, and that we are a company of searchers into folklore, and find, respectively, a series of tales in India, France, Spain, Turkey, Italy, England, Germany, Persia, Arabia, the Levant, Greece and Asia Minor, evidently constructed on the same lines throughout, and apparently of identical origin, we are either driven to jumping to a conclusion, that all the rest are 'derived' from the oldest known source of such things, *viz*, India, or that similar ideas, naturally evolved in various parts of the world, have resulted in the production of similar folk-tales, or we are driven to investigating the history patiently of the tales in each country until we gradually trace the twigs to the branches, the branches to the trunk, and the trunk to the roots. The danger of jumping to conclusions, often as that delightful practice is indulged in, is clearly shown by the tree under investigation. In one corner we find among the twigs Indian Folklore derived from the Khird Afroz, and this from a Hindustani translation of the *Anwâr-i-Suhelî*, which itself, by the way, is so well known in India as easily to give rise to folklore. Again, from the roots of our tree have sprung saplings, through extensions, translations and adaptations innumerable both of the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa*, its offspring. So that our tales in India might be either derived direct from the original roots, or they might be re-importations from the foreign derivatives of the roots, just as the now naturalized Anglo-Indian word 'godown' is adopted in Madras through various ramifications in foreign languages of the indigenous word *githangu*. Whether the folklore then is a re-importation or a legitimate native derivative, only historical investigation can show.

This is so far good as the thread of the tale is concerned, but I have endeavoured above to show, that not only the thread itself, but the various incidents of the class above, called inherited folklore, have a history, and that the history of each of these may be perfectly separate, though we find them thrown together into one tale. How this comes about may be explained thus:—In rustic localities all the world over, there are persons who are 'good' at story-telling, and these tell their stories for effect only, and to amuse, without any *arrière pensée* as to their scientific or other value. If then a story-teller with an eye for the picturesque finds that it tends to his success among his audience to embellish his tales with incidents of an interesting nature, he

will drag these in from whatsoever source he may have gathered them. Any long folk-tale in any collection is an instance of this practise; for, on a careful examination of its incidents, it will always be found to be a composite structure, and that some of its parts, at any rate, exist elsewhere as complete tales in themselves. One of the commonest methods of starting a folk-tale is to send the hero off on a journey of exploration, sometimes with a direct object, but as often merely at random. In the former case his adventures *en route* will be incidental and have no connexion with the general thread of the story, and in the latter, the thread is merely concocted for the purpose of stringing together the adventures. In either case they have not necessarily any connection historically with the history of the thread. The stories told of Rásálú at Ráwal Pindí belong to the type last described, and may be easily treated separately.

Having reference, then, both to the Folklore Society's system of analysing tales and my proposed system of collecting together incidents for the purpose of comparison, let us proceed to examine the stories of Rájá Rásálú as told mainly in the Ráwal Pindí District according to the version in Mr Swynnerton's book, and in Vol. I. of my *Legends of the Panjab*. It is fortunate that we have two versions to lay side by side, so that we can see the more clearly in what shape the legends have come down to us.*

I.—*Story of Púran Bhagat, Rásálú's elder brother.*

Dramatis Personæ:—Rájá Sálbáhan; Ichhrán and Lonán his wives; Púran his son; Gurú Gorakhnáth. *Thread of the story*:—King has two wives; elder has a son, Púran, the hero; ¹ younger falls in love with her step son; he rejects her advances; she slanders him and he is punished. ² Saint rescues him ³ and makes hero into a saint; hero returns home ⁴ and grants his step-mother a son, Rásálú. ⁵ *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) He is put into a pit from birth till puberty; (2) his hands and feet cut off and thrown into a well, (3) and makes him whole again; (4) takes up his abode in his old garden now neglected, but he makes it miraculously green; (5) who is to be chaste, to be a mighty conqueror, to make his mother weep as she had made her co-wife weep, and to be killed at last through the guile of a woman. *Variations*: 'Legends' add, that (6) the water of the well into which he was thrown will make barren women fruitful; (7) he made the well green by sprinkling water over it; (8) he gives Lonán a grain of rice to eat which will make her fruitful. *Separable*

* I cannot unfortunately use Abbott's account in this analysis as it is only to use his own words a *refaictment* in verse of the legends of Rásálú.

incidents—(a) imprisoning the child for a season after birth ; (b) slander by disappointed and lustful wife ; (c) sprinkling water to restore the garden to verdure ; (d) granting a son as a saint by a nostrum.

II.—*Rasálú's Youth.*

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero (Rasálú), his father, his mother, his horse. *Thread of the story* :—Hero ¹ plays tricks on the people ² until the King turns him out of the kingdom. ³ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) he spends his early youth in a pit, being shut up for 12 years in it ; (2) he breaks first the earthen and then the metal pitchers of the women as they draw water at the wells ; (3) his mother is directed to turn him out ; and at last his father sets up the figure of a man with a blackened face and his hands behind his back at his door, as a sign of banishment, and then hero starts off on his travels with his horse and a chosen band of youths. *Variant* in 'Legends': hero's mother ascertains from saints if the embryo is to be a boy or a girl, ¹ is told to shut him up for ² 12 years, ³ boy is accordingly shut up, at 11 years he escapes ⁴ with his horse, ⁵ has various adventures, ⁶ plays tricks on the people, ⁷ goes to see his father, ⁸ and then starts off on his travels. ⁹ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) their power to foretell this is tested by their correctly telling the contents of a goat's womb ; (2) they say that the child will be conceived on a Sunday and born on a Tuesday, and that his father will die if he sees him before 12 years ; (3) breaks out of the pit ; (4) born on the same day and at the same hour as himself ; (5) meets a princess who had vowed to marry him the day he was born, and who directs him to his father's house ; (6) same as above, but with the object of obliging his father to see him ; (7) his father turns his back on him ; (8) with a parrot, a goldsmith and a carpenter. *Variant* : in "Panjab Chiefs:" same tale, but the boy escapes from the pit one day before the twelve years are up, and hence the troubles later. *Separable incidents* :—(a) imprisoning the child for a season after birth ; (b) testing sex before birth ; (c) animal companions : (d) starting on his travels with companions.

III.—*Story of Rasálú's Mother.**

Dramatis Personæ :—Rajpút Princess, heroine (Lonán), Chammár, Sálbáhan. *Thread of the story* :—Rajpút Princess becomes pregnant ¹ and is delivered of a girl, which is floated away down a river in a box : a Chammár finds her and rears her ² : Sálbáhan comes by hunting, secs her ³ and marries her. ⁴ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) she bathes in a river and smells a flower

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 290.

floating by containing some procreating principle deposited in it by a saint, and so becomes pregnant; (2) but so as not to injure her caste; (3) he asks for water and she sends it out to him in a kerchief beautifully worked; (4) she can't go with him unless she is lawfully married. *Separable incidents* :—(a) miraculous pregnancy from bathing in a river; (b) floating a waif down a river in a box which is recovered by a person bathing; (c) hunting king meeting heroine by chance.

IV.—*Story of Rasálú's Father.**

Dramatis Personæ :—Princess, serpent. *Thread of the story* :—Princess bathing in a river is wooed by the king of the serpents, and gives birth to a child who is the great King Sálbáhan. *Separable incidents* :—(a) miraculous pregnancy from bathing in a river; (b) intercourse between serpents and women.

V.—*Rusálú's adventures : the Horror.*

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero and his 3 companion, parrot, goldsmith, carpenter and horror. *Thread of story* :—Hero and his three companions start off together on adventures, and pass the first night in the forests; the three men undertake to watch and watch about; goldsmith and carpenter each kill a serpent,¹ and then hero kills a great horror,² the sight of its dead body so frightens goldsmith and carpenter, that they return home and hero goes on alone with his parrot. *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) It had destroyed everything for 12 miles round; (2) it had done so for 48 miles round. *Separable incidents*—(a) Hero starting on his adventures with an animal and two companions; (b) keeping watch turn and turn about, and each meeting with a marvellous adventure.

VI.—*The Burning Tree.*

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero, parrot, man. *Thread of story* :—Hero comes upon a burning tree, and parrot explains why it is so¹; there is a cygnet in the tree which won't leave it,² so hero makes tree green again.³ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) The bite of a serpent had set it on fire; (2) because it had lived there always; (3) by sheer miraculous power. *Separable incidents*—(a) Animal companion explains the situation; (b) the scorching bite (or breath) of the serpent.

VII.—*The Serpent and the Lizard.*

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero, parrot, serpent, his wife, lizard. *Thread of story* :—Hero takes sand out of the serpent's eyes

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII, p. 182.

on parrot's advice, so serpent asks him home. Next day hero finding serpent's wife unfaithful with a lizard,¹ attempts to kill him, but succeeds only in wounding her.² Hero goes off³; and sleeps under a tree, meanwhile serpent comes home and his wife slanders hero⁴; so serpent catches up hero⁵; but is satisfied with hero's explanation. *Incidental circumstances*.—(1) Hero and serpent had parted in the morning, for the serpent had gone to get his daily meal of human flesh, but hero stayed behind to see what the wife was up to. (2) She protected lizard with her tail and received the sword cut. (3) Gallops away 12 miles; (4) she says he had tempted her virtue, and had struck her when she refused him; (5) arrives in a moment and lies in the hero's shoes to bite him if he does not tell the truth, but parrot warns hero of his danger. *Separable incidents*.—(a) Hero benefiting an animal and the animal's gratitude; (b) animal companion advising hero; (c) slander of hero by lustful wife; (d) serpent's power of flying through the air; (e) serpent's power of keeping back his poison.

VIII.—The Mecca Story.*

Dramatis Personæ.—Hero, the Imám Ali, hero's father, old woman, her son. *Thread of story*.—Hero goes to Mecca, finds the Imám Ali there, and is converted to Muhammadanism.¹ Sad doings meanwhile at Siálkot; ² walls fall down and cannot be rebuilt; ³ so the son of an old woman is sacrificed as a foundation; ⁴ walls stand. Old woman complains to Ali who miraculously helps them; ⁵ and strikes off his own head and fights headless for them.† *Incidental circumstances*.—(1) At his own request; (2) king (hero's father) exercises such tyranny, that the walls fall down; (3) the work collapses three times; (4) he is a bridegroom and his head is laid in the foundation; (5) creates an army of the very trees, birds and animals in a moment while they shut their eyes, (5) the king is slain in the encounter and hero succeeds him. *Separable incidents*.—(a) human sacrifice to cement foundations; (b) the fighting of the headless horseman; † (c) miraculous creation of an army by a saint.

IX.—The Huntsman.

Dramatis Personæ.—Hero, his horse, his parrot, huntsman, his wife, buck, doe, jackal, king. *Thread of story*.—Hero's horse¹ draws his attention to the huntsman's music, ² hunts-

* This is a purely Musalman story obviously thrown in by Musalmán bards. It is, however, full of pure folklore.

† See my article in this Review, No. CLIII, pp. 158 ff. on this subject.

man recognizes hero as his master, ³ and agrees to obey orders; ⁴ disobeys orders, ⁵ and kills forbidden buck; ⁶ which results in his own death; ⁷ in that of a serpent; ⁸ a doe; ⁹ her two kids; ¹⁰ a jackal; ¹¹ hero then follows dead huntsman's horse, and finds his wife, tells her of her husband's death; she complains to the King who orders his death, but hero saves himself by his prowess; ¹² and a riddle. ¹³ *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) He starts with horse and parrot as companions; (2) his lute attracts animals, ¹ and while they listen, he steals on them covered with the leaves of a tree and shoots them; (3) by his sign of carrying an arrow of enormous weight; (4) orders are, never to mention hero's name, never to hunt in the fourth direction, south, never to kill the buck and doe in the south; (5) by telling his wife of hero, by hunting in the south, by killing the buck; (6) buck is killed in spite of the doe's warning, owing to his love for music; (7) as he wipes the blood from his knife in the grass, serpent bites him; (8) he drops knife which cuts serpent in half; (9) kills herself on the buck's horns from grief; (10) her two kids, born in her death agony, die; (11) wants to break the bow of huntsman in case he is only asleep and not dead, so that he cannot injure him, in doing so, the steel spring flies up and kills him; (12) covers the 100 men sent after him with his shield; (13) the answer to which is the deaths he had seen. *Varations in legends*:—The parrot draws hero's attention to the huntsman, buck and doe, the jackal and wife come up to the bodies, and it is his wife that suggests he should break the bow for safety's sake in case they are sleeping and when he kills himself in the attempt, she kills herself from grief: the huntsman's wife being informed by hero of what had happened, kills herself from grief with his dagger. *Separable incidents*—(a) Animal companions of hero explaining the situation, (b) signs of the coming hero, (c) hunting in the forbidden direction and its consequences, (d) a riddle saves hero's life, (e) attraction of music for animals, (f) female warning male animal of danger from huntsman.

X.—*The Crow, the Swan and the Jackal.*

Dramatis Personæ:—Hero, male and female crow, male and female swan, king, jackal. *Thread of story*:—Hero sees male taking female crow "to the sky," ¹ crows fly on to the region of snow and take refuge with a pair of swans; ² crow claims female swan as his wife; ³ and they go off to the king's court to settle the matter, ⁴ king decides in favor of crow and get the swan's wife; ⁵ hero on his journey meets a jackal, and takes

him to amuse him; ⁶ hero meets king and beats him at play with the jackal's help; ⁷ who finally draws attention to the fact that the crow has got a swan for a wife; ⁸ on which hero sets matters straight. ⁹ *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) female crow induces male to do it; hero overhears them, watches them out of sight, and wonders what will come of the adventure, (2) whom they find on an island in the midst of the sea, the crows are taken in out of good nature, (3) in return for his kindness! (4) are treated as ordinary suitors, (5) on hearing their respective arguments. Crow now gets swan-wife, swan has to put up with crow-wife; they both happen to settle afterwards in the same garden; (6) by telling impossible stories in return for which hero protects him; (7) by playing silly pranks on the king, which he excuses by saying he was kept all night in setting a river on fire; (8) by saying it is not more absurd to say that he set a river on fire, than to make a judicial decision that a crow should have a swan to wife. King explains facts to hero and avers he has made a wrong decision; (9) hero tells all the birds to sit in a row and shut their eyes, whereon he shoots crow stone dead. *Moral*:—Evil deeds will always come to an evil end. *Separable incidents*:—(a) Conversation of animals explaining the situation to human beings, (b) obviously foolish decision in a court of law, (c) animal benefitting hero in reward for kindness, (d) animal benefitting another out of kindness of heart, (e) ingratitude and its result.

XI.—The Giants.

Dramatis Personæ:—Hero, old woman, her son, various giants, giantess. *Thread of story*:—Hero has a dream directing him to destroy the race of giants. Starts off on the quest, comes to a deserted city. Finds an old woman ¹ who explains that the giants have depopulated it; ² and that it is her turn to send her son that day; ³ hero offers himself in her son's place, explains who he is; ⁴ and goes off with her son to the giants; ⁵ commences destruction by cutting off the arm of their water-carrier; ⁶ proves himself to be the hero sent for their destruction; ⁷ destroys them; ⁸ and rescues boy. *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) She is taking bread and alternately laughing and crying; (2) they eat up daily from each house in turn a human being, a buffalo, and bread; (3) six of her sons were already devoured, the seventh and last had to go that day and herself the next: the lad was to have been early married; (4) old woman knows that the hero is destined to destroy the giants; (5) boy shows the way and explains that there will be, first a storm, and that when that is over, the giants will come; (6) as he walks off with the

loaves, his cries give warning to the other giants; (7) giants know that Rasálú is destined to destroy them, and his signs are standing the storm (blown from the mouth of the giant king), piercing seven iron griddles with his arrow, they being unable to draw his arrow out of the ground; (8) throws a spell over the king and finally turns him into stone, runs down others, and throws the giantess into a boiling cauldron by a trick, pretending that he wants to marry her, and that they must make a circle round it; burns up others, shuts up another in a mountain cave, where his roars make it shake ever since.

Variations in the Legends:—Additional signs of the hero are, that his heel ropes bind and this sword cuts of its own accord, and seven giants are to stand behind the seven griddles. *Separable incidents*:—(a) A dream starts the story, (b) the desolation of a city by giants (= ogres) of a man eating type, (c) self sacrifice of the hero to the giants, (d) signs of the coming hero, (e) the daily human dole to the giants to satisfy them and keep them from totally destroying the city.

XII.—The Goldsmith's son.

Dramatis Personæ:—Hero, goldsmith's son, princess, parrot. *Thread of story*:—Hero shows himself to be the dreaded hero who is to marry the king's daughter to a goldsmith's son. ¹ Goldsmith consequently forbidden the city; *The* goldsmith's son happens to wander near the city; ² princess sees him; ³ and falls in love with him, and gives him a house to live in by night and a garden by day. In the garden is hero. They gamble together and goldsmith's son makes hero angry; ⁴ he complains to princess who tells him to meet her at night under a tree to concoct a plan of revenge. It is wet: princess goes, but lover does not; ⁵ but hero's parrot shows princess where he is; ⁶ she goes to him, but stays so late that it is daylight, so she and her attendants dress up as men, to avoid being found out. In the streets they meet hero who finds them out; ⁷ and marries princess to the goldsmith's son. *Incidental circumstances*.—(1) Hero had been betrothed to princess, but the prophecy is that he will, instead, marry her to a goldsmith's son: the signs are, he is to shoot the golden cups off the challenge standard, and to knock down two mangoes that never fall; (2) out of curiosity merely; (3) in her garden accompanied with sixty attendants; (4) hero catches him ogling princess. (5) an old peasant however is there, who devours up all the dainties prepared for the lover, not being recognised in the dark; (6) out of gratitude for rescuing him from the cold caused by the rain and warming him in her lap; (7) by their moving off with the left instead

of the right foot : (8) on the ground, that as she had been betrothed to him he could dispose of her as he chose ! *Separable incidents* :—(a) Signs of the coming hero, (b) animals helping human beings out of gratitude for services rendered.

XIII.—*The Minister's wife.*

Dramatist Personæ :—Hero, his minister, his minister's wife, her father, her maids and porter, gardener's wife, the gods.—*Thread of story* :—Minister praises his wife ; ¹ hero determines to see her and try her virtue, so he sends minister away on duty ; ² while he is away hero gets into his house ; ³ tricks the wife into opening the door and letting him in ; ⁴ manages to hide his ring in the minister's bed ; ⁵ minister comes home and finds the ring ; ⁶ resigns his post and refuses to resume it till hero and his wife prove their innocence ; ⁷ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) Hero asks him to name the three most praiseworthy things. Minister replies the only praiseworthy thing in the world is his own wife ; (2) to buy horses ; (3) minister goes off with the keys, but hero opens the 7 doors of the house by his miraculous power ; (4) assumes the minister's voice : the wife's dogs bark, and rouse her suspicions, but she is too frightened to refuse to open the door ; (5) makes her shampoo him on minister's bed, and while she is doing this, hides his signet-ring under the clothes. He then demands food which she miraculously cooks simply by putting it on her breasts, while he miraculously finds the water ; (6) makes her shampoo him, and while she is doing so, the ring runs into his back, and so he finds it and recognizes it ; (7) by ordeal : they are to draw water from a well in an unburnt earthen pitcher by a string of single strand. *Variant* (story of Sílá Daí) : in playing dice with hero, the minister always throws in the name of his wife as being the most precious thing on earth, so hero sets to work to test her virtue, and sends minister to fetch him 'sea-horses.' He sees through the trick, but goes as his wife tells him he should. Sets his hall-porter to watch the house, and sets off after showing hero where his account books and his writing case are to be found. As soon as he is gone, hero sends for a witch ; ¹ who gets round the porter, but fails with the wife, who beats and turns her out ; ² Hero then starts with his parrot who helps him through the whole affair. The wife's maids try and persuade him to go away, but he overawes them. He then pretends to be the minister returned because he had a bad omen. The wife makes porter ask him where the account books and inkstand are, thinking these are secrets ; as he answers correctly, she has him admitted. Wife finds out her error too late, but induces him to go away

again ; hero, however, manages to leave his ring behind. Minister comes back, ³ and porter tells him hero has been there. Wife denies it, but ring betrays her, so she is disgraced ; ⁴ She sends the news to her father, who comes and insists on his daughter undergoing ordeal by dice ; ⁵ before her husband and hero. Husband not being satisfied she also undergoes ordeal by fire ; ⁶. Having proved her innocence she leaves her husband and goes home to her father. Husband in grief turns a religious mendicant and hero is forgiven. Husband goes to his wife's house as a mendicant and dies in her garden. Found there by her gardener's wife who tells her of it, on which she becomes *sati*. Hero hears of all this through his parrot, and by the help of a saint flies in a moment through the air to the place and burns himself on the pyre. But the saint restores the ashes to their proper shape, whereon the gods restore them to life ; ⁸ and all ends happily. *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) Their performances are setting fire to water, estranging hearts, destroying love, turning stone into wax, (2) They say they are her aunts, but give a wrong place as the common home, (3) Goes back hurriedly, being warned by a friend as to what the hero is doing, (4) by being flogged and set to scare crows, (5) she has to throw a number previously fixed on, (6) by bathing in boiling oil, (7) by sprinkling holy water over the ashes, (8) Siva cuts his little finger and restores them to life by drops of blood from it. *Separable incidents* :—(a) Sending away husband on duty to get at the wife, (b) identification by signet ring, (c) ordeal to prove chastity, (d) animals helping human beings through friendship, (e) flying through the air, (f) restoration to life by sprinkling holy water, (g) by blood from the little finger, (h) witches' powers, (i) the 'aunt' trick to deceive heroine.

XIV.—The Hedgehog.

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero, hedgehog, parrot, horse, serpent, raven. *Thread of story* :—Hero ¹ saves a hedgehog from drowning and takes it along with him, they come to the lair of a serpent and a raven, ² who try to destroy hero, ³ but hedgehog kills them and saves hero, ⁴. *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) Starting off with his parrot and his horse, (2) visible by the carcasses heaped round ; the serpent sucked out the breath and the raven plucked out the eyes of their victims : hedgehog explains all this ; (3) all keep watch in turn, parrot, horse, hero and hedgehog. Hedgehog falls into a stream, and meanwhile serpent sucks out hero's life, and raven commences at his eyes ; (4) hedgehog makes a feint, gets out of water and kills raven, induces serpent

to give back hero his life, on pretence of letting raven go, on which he kills him too. *Variations in Legends*:—It is a serpent and a scorpion in place of a serpent and a raven. *Separable incidents*:—(a) Hero's animal companions; (b) animal saves hero in return for services rendered, (c) serpents slaying and making alive again, (d) animals explaining the situation.

XV.—*The Gambling Match.*

Dramatis Personæ:—Hero, corpse, cat, enemy, rat, cricket, enemy's daughter. *Thread of story*:—Hero restores corpse to life, ¹ and corpse out of gratitude shows him how to overcome his enemy at the gambling match, ² he encounters various signs of his enemy's prowess, ³ and announces himself, ⁴ and shows his own powers, ⁵ and the gambling match begins; hero loses at first, but at last his cat saves him. ⁶ *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) By praying merely; (2) he is to take two of the corpse's ribs and feed a cat on them, and he then explains all that follows; (3) he sees a boy of his enemy's subjects drink up a river, encounters storms of rain and snow raised by him; (4) by breaking the gongs and cutting his daughter's swing ropes; (5) by seeing through enemy's tricks, answering riddles and setting unanswerable ones; (6) match is for all property, and then for life, in five games, enemy has rats that help him, hero remembers his cat who keeps the rats at bay and so hero wins. *Variant in Legends*:—The corpse is headless and hero makes it whole by prayer, and corpse tells him to make dice out of his bones, which dice will win any game: hero next saves a cricket from a fire who gives him one of his feelers to burn whenever in a difficulty: he then encounters enemy's daughters who ply him with riddles which he answers, and then sets him an impossible task, which cricket's help him to perform; ¹ enemy has 70 daughters whom hero swings all at once and breaks their swing rope which injures them, and they complain to their father: enemy then tries to poison him, but hero sees through his trick: ² hero saves the kittens of a cat from being burnt in a potter's kiln, and out of gratitude cat gives him a kitten to help in the gambling match. *Incidental circumstances*:—(1) He is to separate a *cwt.* of millet from fine sand in a night, he burns the feeler and crickets come in crowds and do it for him. (2) he gives the poisoned food to dogs which die. *Separable incidents*: (a) restoration to life by prayer; (b) hero helped by animals and superhuman beings out of gratitude for services rendered; (c) gambling extraordinary; (d) the impossible task trick for getting rid of enemy; (e) burning miraculous hair

saves hero; (f) grateful animals giving one of their young as a companion to help hero in distress.

XVI.—*Queen Cooing Dove.* *

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero, heroine's father, heroine, deer, heroine's lover, maina, parrot, horse. *Thread of story* : hero having beaten his enemy in a gambling match spares him from the consequences, ¹ on condition that he gives him his infant daughter to wife. ² She grows up in 12 years, and he takes her hunting, ³ but she attracts all the animals, ⁴ hero becomes jealous and wounds the leader of the deer, ⁵ who attracts the attention of a neighbouring King to the wife, ⁶ who seduces her, ⁷ hero's parrot warns him of what is going on, ⁸ he then induces the lover to be present at the same time that hero arrives, ⁹ and hero slays him and revenges him on his wife, ¹⁰ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) Losing his head; (2) the enemy thinking the girl born in the hour of his misfortune was the cause of it, was going to kill her : hero adds these further conditions,—that he never gambles again, releases all his captives, that he burns his nose off by rubbing five times on a red-hot griddle; (3) she wants to see him perform the miracle of shooting the deer and their running towards him and falling at his feet : that day he fails because his wife's propinquity takes the virtue out of him; (4) by her scented hair; (5) who had sat down at her feet : he cuts off his ears and tail. (6); grazes in his garden and induces him to pursue him to hero's palace; (7) she is guarded in a palace approached by a flight of steps which she helps him to surmount; (8) her maina remonstrates, so she kills her, but her parrot warned by this, pretends to approve, and so she lets him out of his cage : hero is out hunting so he flies to him; (9) by flying to him and telling him that his mistress is waiting for him; (10) by telling her that he has brought venison for her, but it is her lover's heart that he gives her to eat, and when she finds it out, she jumps down the palace wall and kills herself. *Variations in the Legends* :—When the child is handed over a mango branch is given with her to be planted, and when it grows into a tree in twelve years and blossoms, the girl is to become hero's wife; the queen is only wounded and is picked up by a water carrier to whom she bears children. *Separable incidents* :—(a) evil effects of hunting wild animals; (b) animals befriending a friend and injuring an enemy; (c) animals explaining the situation; (d) the life index.

XVII.—*The Washerman.*

Dramatis Personæ :—Washerman, his wife, her lover. *Thread*

* Kokilān is her name, which may be interpreted as cuckoo, cooing dove, or simply darling.

of story :—Washerman's wife goes to a shrine to pray that her husband go blind, husband finds it out, personates the god and tells her that the way to make him blind, is to feed him up with good things. She accordingly does so till he pretends blindness and plays her tricks. ¹ She then introduces her lover to the house, and washerman under cover of blindness walks off with him, ² relieves another man out of a similar predicament. ³

Incidental circumstances :—She tries him by giving him some barley to grind; when she approaches it he hits her over the head with his stick, on the ground that he did not know who it was; (2) he is sent out of the house to cut wood, and on his return to it, the lover gets into a mat; on this the washerman says he intends to go on a pilgrimage and will take the mat, rolls it up, lover and all, and shoulders it; (3) finds a woman baking fine bread and suspects she is doing it for her lover; as he is a blind mendicant, he demands it in alms, which leads to an explanation with the husband, whom he induces to pardon the lover on explaining his own case.

XVIII.—*Princess Perfect Beauty.**

Dramatis Personæ :—Hero, parrot, winged camel. *Thread of story* :—Hero has a dream that he is to marry the Lady of Perfect Beauty¹ and sends his parrot to find her. Parrot finds her by inducing other parrots to eat up her garden, which makes her catch him. He then explains that he is hero's parrot. She agrees to marry hero if he can reach her in eight days.² Hero's winged camel covers the distance in the time and hero marries her.³ *Incidental circumstances* :—(1) She fills a basket with flowers when she laughs, and with pearls when she weeps; (2) but it is 14 hundred miles and across seven rivers to her; (3) after answering riddles. *Separable incidents* :—(a) A dream leads hero to heroine;—(b) animals befriend and help heroine; (c) flying through the air; (d) dropping jewels on laughing or weeping.

There is many another story of Rasálú, some in my own collections, but the above are the only ones that have been published. However, enough are given to illustrate the main positions taken up in this article; that it is absolute folly to attempt to solve the mystery in which our hero is enveloped by any but a strictly historical method; that the history of the hero as a concrete existence has no connection necessarily with the history of the folk-tales fastened on to his name,

* Here the name is Adhik Anúp Daí, the Lady of Perfect Beauty.

and that all that can be done at present towards ascertaining this last, is to so arrange the materials as to enable research to be carried on in profitable directions.

And with this we must, for the present, rest content, satisfied if at least, by avoiding empirical methods of proving our points, however enticing these may be, we shall have escaped the well deserved taunt, conveyed in its very title "*Comme quoi M. Max Müller n'a jamais existé,*" which has been levelled at the later writings of our leading mythologists in an amusing, but sarcastic skit, lately published in our learned French contemporary "*Mélusine.*"

R. C. TEMPLE.

ART. IX.—THE PANJAB POLICE.

PART I.

Reports of the Police Administration in the Panjab, from 1862 to 1883.

Letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambala Circle, on a Detective Police for India.

Letter of Inspector-General of Police on the subject of raising the pay of the Panjab Police Force.

Report of the Civil Administration Committee of the North-Western Provinces.

THE primitive Police force of India appears to have consisted of soldiers called barkandazes, literally, lightning-throwers ; or sipáhís, three-legged (a gun being the third leg of the soldier),—*ubicunque jeceris, stabit*,—under officers called kotwals or daroghas in each Parganah or native sub-district. The Kotwal was always subordinate to the Kárdár or Magistrate-Collector of native rule, and generally was allotted half his salary, the latter usually receiving a nominal allowance of thirty rupees, and the former of ten or fifteen rupees per mensem. Both officers, of course, had large perquisites, the nature of which it is not necessary to discuss here. For many years of British rule in India the old Police system was retained, and the Darogha with his Police staff worked in direct subordination to the English Magistrate-Collector. The system was very simple, it was understood by the native population, and it worked noiselessly and harmoniously with all other public departments. The Darogha was happy on Rs. 25 per mensem under British rule ; he was often promoted to the post of Tahsildár by his appreciative master the District Officer ; and public life was as unruffled as the tranquil water between the Falls of Niagara and the rapids below them.

A brief history of Police Reform in India may be attended with some political instruction. As early as 1836 complaints were made against the then existing system of police. Their pay was low, but, "whatever may have been thought of their pay," writes Mr. J. P. Grant of Bengal, "their character then was so bad, that it is hardly describable in words." The Governor-General of the period appointed a Commission to enquire into the whole question of Police Administration. The main result was, that the pay of the Police, particularly of the daroghas, was materially increased. This occurred in 1839. The increase of pay generally improved the condition of the Police, but it was still far from being all that was desired. Mr. George Clerk, of Bombay, in 1848 described the

Police of his presidency as being on a most unsatisfactory footing. They were badly paid, they had other important duties to discharge, and crime appeared to be on the increase. He gave statistics of offences which would perhaps now be considered modest, but which included highway robbery not at present, except in frontier districts, often catalogued among ordinary crimes.

Mr. Clerk partly blames the laws. He would like to see the system of village responsibility enforced, the compilation of shorter records, more effectual and certain punishment, closer superintendence of bad characters, and a restraint on appellate courts. There must, however, have been defects in the Police system itself. The village Police, whose capabilities he praises, were badly superintended, the European Collector having scant leisure for Police duties. Mr. Clerk would give the Collector a special Police Assistant. This would improve the efficiency of the Police, and also prevent their torturing suspected persons. He thought the Military Police of his time useless and cumbersome; and he proposed to undrill and undiscipline them, dismissing their drillmasters, drummers, and buglers. The men would then be useful to maintain law and order. Indeed, in the present day, very little of importance could be added to what Mr. Clerk wrote in 1848. He clearly saw the weak points of the judicial and police systems, and it was only necessary to pay attention to all his suggestions to secure complete protection of life and property.

It would appear that several of Mr. Clerk's views on police were adopted in Bombay, and that the police establishment was placed under the immediate direction and control of a Superintendent subordinate to the Magistrate of the District. Lord Harris, Governor of Madras, watched the proceedings, and in 1854 addressed the Board of Directors on Police Reform. He obtained permission to introduce the new Bombay experiment into his presidency, provided there was "no unnecessary increase of expense." Accordingly, he addressed the Faujdári Adálat, or Chief Criminal Court of the Presidency, which till then had charge of the Police in Madras, and asked its opinion on the proposal. The Judges gave it as their opinion that "the degree of supervision which could be exercised over the proceedings of the Police by a judicial functionary, must of necessity be ineffectual compared with what could be effected by an efficient Superintendent of Police." They, therefore, recommended that the Bombay system should be tried—"The separation of the judicial duties of the Magistrate from those which relate to the prevention and detection of crime, appears to the Judges an excellent arrangement. It, moreover, is most desirable to have an officer who may be available, on an

emergency, to trace out serious crime on the scene of its occurrence, and in whose proceedings full confidence may be placed. This duty at present devolves on native functionaries, whose proceedings are ordinarily very ineffective and command no confidence, so that the judicial authorities have constantly to be on their guard against the machinations of the Police, by whom confessions are extorted and evidence concocted, to save themselves from the stigma and consequences of failure in the detection of crime."

The conclusion of this letter appears to have set Lord Harris on an enquiry into the extent of torture in his presidency, and a special Torture Commission was appointed. The Commissioners submitted their report in 1855. They stated that the whole Police [of Madras] was underpaid, notoriously corrupt, and without any of the moral restraint and self-respect which education ordinarily engenders. The Commission further added what we all endeavour to ignore now: "The character of the native, when in power, displays itself in the form of rapacity, cruelty, and tyranny, at least as much as its main features are subservient timidity and trickery, when the Hindú is a mere private individual, so much so, that one Judge declares the whole people are to be divided into the governing and the governed the 'oppressors and the oppressed.'"

The Torture Commission thought that the Collector had not, in the first place, time to attend to Police duties, and, in the second place, that he was not in a position to hear of the faults or enormities of his subordinates; and they put forward a suggestion "without offering any direct or positive opinion," that a remedy for the evils complained of might be looked for in the separation of the Revenue and Police functions. "In Police cases, it cannot be doubted that a better paid, better organized Police force, separated altogether from ordinary revenue duties, placed under European officers, and commanded by an intelligent Superintendent immediately responsible to Government for the peace of the whole district, would in a very short time interpose an effectual check to the resort to torture to elicit confessions." It will be observed that so far we have only heard that the Collector had no time for Police duties. The subtle reasons to be afterwards given for the separation of the police from magisterial duties had not then occurred to any one.*

In less than three weeks after the receipt of the report of the Torture Commission, Lord Harris was ready with another minute on the police. He attributed the laxity that had been evinced

* See page 69 of Papers relating to the Reform of the Police of India, 1861.

to an accumulation of offices on individuals, and to insufficient emoluments. Instead, however, of contenting himself with reforms in these directions, he proposed a separate police corps for the whole presidency officered by Europeans. The men should be armed and the strictest discipline enforced. At the same time, the officer at the head of the Police in each district would be under the orders of the Collector, though matters of discipline and every kind of Police information should be sent to the Presidential Commissioner at the capital.

Sir Henry C. Montgomery hailed the proposal to strengthen the magistrate in the exercise of his police functions and looked upon the proposed measure "of attaching to him separate European officers, whose special duties should be under his control, to organize and manage an establishment to be employed exclusively in Police duties, to trace and follow up offenders, and be frequently visiting the different parts of the district assigned to them, as well calculated to promote the objects in view." Like Sir George Clerk in Bombay, however, he saw the defects of the judicial system, and knew that the Police were not wholly to blame. "But it is not so much the detection and apprehension of offenders that will produce benefit, as the greater certainty of their conviction after apprehension. I believe ordinarily the Police do find out the real offenders; but the difficulty of obtaining evidence that satisfies the judicial tribunals is so great, that conviction is rarely secured; and the probability of the release of criminals by some of the several Courts by whom they are in succession tried, is so great, that persons fear to incur their vengeance by giving evidence against them or by co-operating for their punishment. The police, in fact, is often enfeebled and rendered ineffective in its operations by the fastidiousness of the Courts and the requirements of evidence which the state of society in this country does not admit of procuring. Until some remedy is found for this evil, the utmost exertions of the best police will be unavailing in the prevention of crime." In reading this, one thinks Sir Henry Montgomery's words have been just written, and that the ink is still wet on the paper, so applicable are his remarks to the existing judicial system.

Lord Harris lost no time in addressing the Supreme Government on his special subject. But this time nothing would satisfy him but a military police for the honor and glory of Madras. "The Government proposes that in every district, those who are henceforth to be employed on Police duty be wholly separated from native revenue servants; that none be allowed to serve, but such as are of suitable age and able bodied; that they be

well armed and equipped, and instructed in the use of their weapons; *its members being available for 'general service,'* or for employment in any part of the Presidency. It will be proper to have gradations of rank, both for the due maintenance of discipline and to afford means of promoting the deserving. It will also be found necessary to have a part of the force mounted." He further proposed that the force thus constituted should be placed under a special Commissioner of Police.

His "loving friends" the Directors in July 1856 reasoned with Lord Harris. They pointed out that the Commissioner of Police had been recently abolished in Lower Bengal, and had long since ceased to exist in the North-Western Provinces. "And a frequent clashing of authority might be apprehended if the Superintendent of Police in each district were subordinate, at the same time, to the Magistrate, and also to the proposed Commissioner, who, from the Magistrate's position and the nature of his duties and engagements, could not be vested with any control over that officer." The Directors further remonstrated with Lord Harris on the increased expenditure of ten lakhs of rupees per annum which he proposed for his civil army. They also informed him that they would feel more reliance on his recommendation when he had visited the interior of his Presidency, and made himself practically acquainted with its requirements.†

Lord Harris, however was determined on gaining his object, and was on his hobby again on receiving the Directors' despatch. He repeated that no police force could be efficient unless placed under one command, and unless there were uniformity of discipline and method throughout the whole body. The Judges of the Faujdárá Adálat did not enter into the affairs of the police, which is very likely; and their office did not even contain a list of the members and distribution of the police force. It was clear the police of the country were entirely confined to each district under the Collector, and there was no general supervision whatever, and no inter-communication between districts. As an illogical corollary, he held that the Magistrate as a judicial officer should have nothing to do with the Police, and that his interference in Police duties only tended to compromise him and endanger the liberty of the subject. He would, contrary to his previously expressed opinion, even remove the village police from the control of the Magistrate and Collector. All persons trained to Indian political life will at once see that these statements could never have been made by any one of Indian experience, and that Lord Harris who had been sent out from England to govern Madras, was simply drawing upon his imagination for his arguments.

† See page 109 of Police Papers.

Lord Harris appealed to Mr. W. Elliott, Member of the Madras Council. Mr. Elliott's minute was almost to the same effect as Mr. Clerk's in Bombay eight years before. He would like to see village responsibility enforced. He considered the Magistrate was too much hampered by the revenue court on the one hand, and the Judges of the High Courts on the other. "Divided central itself weakens efficiency. But this is not all. The Courts require an adherence to forms of procedure, and are guided by rules of evidence, which more often protect the criminal than satisfy the ends of justice. Their tenderness in dealing with offenders, their unwillingness to convict without the clearest testimony, their fastidiousness in estimating the value of evidence are carried to an extreme. It may be that a sub-judge feels loth to act on his single judgment, when there is the smallest room to doubt. It may be that where the office is obtained by the chances of the service, not by the possession of judicial qualifications, there is often a want of the firmness and self-reliance required for arriving at a decision under such circumstances. Whatever the case, the effect is unquestionable. The chances of escape, compared with those of conviction, are in favour of offenders. Professional robbers let loose are encouraged to persevere in crime. Honest men are deterred by dread of their vengeance from appearing against them. Heads of villages, relieved from responsibility, are often in league with the thieves. The village watcher, selected originally from the predatory tribes, instead of serving as a check, becomes their ally. Systematic plunder by organized bands is carried on with comparative impunity. The Magistrate is discouraged. The exertions of the Police are relaxed. They may trace the authors of individual acts of violence,—the outbreak of angry passions—but they fail in tracing crimes against property, whether perpetrated by fraud or by open spoliation." These remarks, like those of Sir Henry Montgomery, seem as if they had been just made. To a judicial officer reading between the lines, it will appear from the statements of these three high officials, Sir George Clerk, Sir Henry Montgomery, and Mr. Elliott, that it was the appellate system which reversed the orders of Appellate Courts and exercised terrorism over them, and not the much abused Police that was the principal cause of the insecurity of life and property in both the Bombay and Madras Presidencies at the time.

Mr. Elliott, however, thought himself officially bound to agree with Lord Harris. He "concurred with the President in the propriety of placing the Police of each Zillah under a District Superintendent, subordinate only to the Collector, but invested with exclusive direct control over all the Police of the District."

The words "subordinate only to the Collector" appear to have been slipped in under cover of the expression "concurring with the President," for that was clearly not what the President at all meant. Mr. Elliott wound up by expressing his opinion that the village Police as a preventive force, and the regular Police as a detective force should both be under the District Superintendent of Police.

By the autumn of 1856 Lord Harris's irrepressible opinions appear to have worn their way into the minds of the East India Directors, and the latter, by this time, having heard so much against the Police from him, began to believe it to be true, and even joined themselves in the great hue and cry against them—"That the Police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact; that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly inefficient for the detection of crime is generally admitted. Unable to check crime, it is with rare exceptions unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the functions which it fails to fulfil; and has a very general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it, with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a body of police, is seldom entertained." The Directors proposed that the control of the Police should be vested in a special European officer who would not be burdened with statistics, who would have only Police duties to discharge, who would be able to go on tour when necessary, and who would be responsible to a general Superintendent of Police for the whole Presidency. The Directors further sanctioned an increased pay of the Police establishment, and they suggested the passing of an act, giving the Magistrate and Police Superintendent the power of summary punishment of the Police. On the other hand, the Government was encouraged to be liberal in rewarding approved conduct. The Police were not to "approach an absolutely military organization," yet it was to consist of horse and foot; its larger divisions were to be superintended by European subalterns of not less than from six to eight years standing; and special attention was to be bestowed on its arms and equipments, clothing and internal discipline. Thus the venerable Directors, while saying that they would ne'er consent, consented.

Lord Harris, apparently deferring to the Directors' expression, that the Police should not have a military organization, drew attention to it, and adroitly expressed his hope that the remark may be fully appreciated. He stated, though, of course, he

never meant it after his previous proposal to organize the Police so as to fit it "for general service," that the utility of a Police corps was apt to be impaired in attempts to imitate the military. The statement was so ~~thing~~hing, but, as we have seen, insincere.

Meantime the Directors appear to have heard that Lord Harris was leading them astray. On the 30th of September 1857 they hedged, and suggested that the new system proposed by him should be first tried in a few localities before being extended to the whole Presidency. They said, "You are probably aware, that the principle which you so strongly advocate, of separating the judicial from the police functions of the Magistrate, has been as strongly opposed by men of intelligence and experience, who consider that their views are more in accordance with oriental ideas, which recognize no division of functions, and regard the ruler, with as many deputies as may be needed, as exercising in his own person all the powers of the Government." The Directors, however, partially gave way, and furthermore allowed the village watchmen to be placed under the District Superintendent of Police, "provided this was in accordance with the feelings and habits of the people." It is clear the Directors, men of Indian experience themselves, had not made up their minds that Lord Harris was right, but they did not wish to continue their opposition to him.

Mr. Elliott was again appealed to. He clung to his colours, and did not see how the District Superintendent of Police could serve the Police god in the shape of an Inspector-general at the head-quarters of the Presidency and the civil mammon as represented by the local Magistrate and Collector. He thought "there was no doubt that the introduction of the new system must be gradual."

We next find a memo. by an officer called Mr. W. A. Morehead. He wrote that the Magistrate must have no "control over the Police, and that Lord Harris's scheme should be carried out generally with as little delay as possible." We think it may fairly be assumed that this gentleman had either spent his term of service in the Secretariat at Madras, or was hoping that Lord Harris would advance him in his profession. The result was that, by the end of 1858, the Police, in the words of Mr. W. Robinson, a civilian selected as the first Police Chief Commissioner of Madras, "became a distinct department under the direct supervision of the Government, its members of all grades being divested of judicial functions and being under the exclusive control and management of one officer."

Mr. Robinson, however, submitted a memo giving his opinion of a military Police: "My own experience of the Shibandī Corps—bodies of men of purely military formation and organization, and

managed on military principles—is, that they are not Police at all; I doubt if they are good soldiers. These quasi-irregulars are merely a kind of deputy native army, loosely disciplined, without the means of co-operation amongst themselves, or with the ordinary Police; without status or prestige in the country, having the defects of the native army without one of its safeguards or guarantees, and without one single recommendation as a police. As regards the control of the Magistrate over Shibandī corps, this with us is practically *nil*. I have been Magistrate of Malabar, where I had one of the most efficient of these corps nominally under me; but practically it was a military body over which I had not the slightest control; and never did or could work. And so it ever will be when attempts are made to place bodies of men, military to all intents and purposes, *en rapport* with civil functionaries." Apparently, however, lest Lord Harris might think he was depreciating the new Madras Police, Mr. Robinson added. "We can drill, instruct, and arm any part of an organized constabulary force up to any required degree of skill and precision that can possibly be required for the performance of such duty: a Policeman's courage is always on its trial; and selected reserve men, the pick of a large body, led by an European Superintendent or by a good Inspector, may, I am satisfied, be made as efficient as native troops of the line; and still lose none of its character as a civil police." This was simply impossible as Mr. Robinson must have known from his previous remarks, and as since has been amply proved.*

The matter was still left in a muddle. While the Madras Police Act of 1859 was before the Legislative Council, the Madras Government instructed its Legislative Member to urge on the Supreme Legislature, that the local Superintendents of Police were to be "entirely under the orders of the Magistrates." In the following month that puzzled official got altogether different orders—"You should bear in mind in the future discussions on this Bill, that while it is proposed to vest in the local Magistrates the most ample powers of control (save in matters of drill, discipline, &c.) over the District Superintendents and their establishments, it is

* Mr. Robinson on being, after further experience of his duties, interrogated by Mr. Ricketts as to the proper relations of the Police with the Magistrate of the District, stated that, subject to his non-interference with the discipline and management of the Police force, the Magistrate should still continue the head of the Police of his own district and afford the benefit of his cooperation, local knowledge, and experience in the general arrangements; and that the Superintendent should be still recognized as his subordinate, and obey every requisition subject to the general instructions and orders of the Commissioner." At the same time he insisted on making the Magistrates subordinate to himself as Chief Commissioner of Police.

yet meant that such supervision shall only be of a general character, that the Superintendents shall, as far as possible, be left to provide for the prevention and detection of crime in their districts by means of the Police force under their orders; the Magistrate exercising a general control, and interfering more immediately only on occasions when he may deem his intervention really necessary."

We now turn to Bengal which was the last Presidency to approach the subject of Police Reform. In Lower Bengal the offices of Magistrate and Collector were in the hands of one person, at any rate, in 1830. Complaints were subsequently made against the Police. A Commission, as we have seen, sat in 1836 to consider Police Administration. To improve the Police, two measures were proposed;—first, to separate the offices of Magistrate and Collector. This was recommended by Mr. Halliday, apparently with the object of giving the Magistrate more time for Police duties. And, secondly, to raise the pay of the Police, especially of the daroghas. Both proposals were sanctioned. With reference to the first, Lord Auckland, Governor-General, with singular insight into the want of continuity in Indian administration, thus expressed himself: "I am deeply impressed with the feeling, that there has been with successive Governments of India too ready a disposition to adopt extensive changes of system in cases only requiring something of administrative reform. Under frequent changes of this kind, no system is fairly tried, the confidence of the people is shaken, and they become utterly at a loss to know to what authorities, or to what tribunals they are to look with consistent respect. We have a very limited number of trustworthy agents; we have a vast number of important and responsible situations; we must be sometimes disappointed in the efficiency and even in the proper conduct of our officers. Yet I would not, upon occasional instances of such disappointment, be hasty to condemn our present means of enforcing a due performance of public duties or to look to new classes of agency."

In a short time it was found that the Police remained pretty much as it had been before; and in 1854 complaints were again made of its inefficiency. Nothing so well illustrates the instability of Indian political systems as the remedy then proposed for the bad state of the Police, namely, the reunion of the offices of Magistrate and Collector, which had been separated sixteen years before! This was actually again proposed and strongly recommended by Mr. Halliday, the very man who had, as we have seen, previously proposed the separation. This proposal was fortunately adopted. No inconvenience, as far as we have ever heard, has since resulted from the union of the offices of

Magistrate and Collector, and no complaint has been uttered against it.

The discussion on the Police lasted for years in Bengal as in Madras. In April 1857, Mr. John Peter Grant proposed that semi-military Police for law and order be substituted for the barkandazes, and that men of the class of clerks in Police offices be appointed as detectives. He proposed "separating the functions of Revenue and those of Police and criminal justice, so far as native functionaries were concerned." His principal basis for this proposal was the recommendation of the Torture Commission already referred to, that officials did not hear of the faults of their own subordinates. He further backs up his proposal by the opinion of Lord Ellenborough, which, of course, is not material in a matter requiring a knowledge of the habits and inner life of the people of India.

Mr. Grant then dwelt on the inconsistency of the thief-trier being the thief-catcher, an idea started by Mr. Halliday when he was a junior in the Bengal Secretariat, endeavouring to invent reasons for the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector. Mr. Grant further went beyond his depth when he contravened the testimony of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the evil done by Appellate Courts in reversing the better judgments of their subordinates.* Mr. Grant, with further injudiciousness, as it has since been proved, combatted the view of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that if police and judicial powers were separated in the case of native officers, extreme antagonism would be the result. The experience of twenty-seven years of the relations between Tahsildars and Deputy Inspectors has proved that the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was no idle chimera. Sir Barnes Peacock followed Mr. Grant, but it is worthy of note that Sir Barnes Peacock then recommended the separation of Police from magisterial functions and the appointment of special European Police Superintendents, not, so far as our records show, from his proclivities as a lawyer, but from simple expediency, the Magistrate having no time to attend to Police duties.

Mr. Ricketts' report on civil salaries, gives further details of the police discussions in Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who knew that the separation of police from magisterial

* Page 197 of the Papers relating to the Reform of the Police in India 1861. The unanimity of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir George Clerk of Bombay, Sir Henry O. Montgomery and the Hon'ble W. Ellis of Madras, on the defects of the Anglo-Indian judicial system is very noteworthy. Subsequent alteration of laws has in no way removed the main defects of the system they described.

duties would never be successful, was opposed to any separation of police from fiscal and magisterial duties, and to the appointment of District Superintendents of Police, who would not be able to rule and govern the all-powerful Zemindars of Bengal, "without whose co-operation it was already notorious that nothing could be done, and against whose opposition it was almost hopeless to contend." It was urged as a remedy that smaller districts should be formed, which would give officers more time for administration in all departments. In the North-Western Provinces also the general opinion was, that it was desirable to have police powers in the hands of the District Officer. It appears from the official records, that there were several other officials who maintained that the Sessions Judges should have control over the Police, as being the officers immediately answerable for the peace of the country. We ourselves think that far worse suggestions have been offered.

Mr. J. P. Grant, Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Schalch agreed on the separation of the Police from the Magistrate, partly because the Magistrate had not time, and partly because the Magistrate would be more impartial if the Police enquiries in criminal cases that came before him were conducted by a special officer. We can only say that if the Magistrate felt, as was represented by Messrs. Lushington and Schalch, "his credit at stake in procuring a conviction," the political and social conditions of Bengal at the time must have been totally different from any with which we are acquainted in these days, when the acquittal of criminals is the great glory of, at any rate, all the higher tribunals.

Thus rival camps were formed for a pitched battle. It may be assumed that the Governor-General declared on which side he would fight, and officers who were time-servers, or who were practically unacquainted with the subject, joined the side which had the big battalions. The combat thus raged almost contemporaneously with a still more fearful struggle which, but for the success of weapons of a different fashion and temper, would have terminated the controversy with the British Government in India. While the Mutiny was in progress, the Directors authorized the Governor-General, should he deem it expedient, to organize the Police of Bengal after a military fashion in imitation of that adopted in the Panjab for relieving the regular troops of irksome duty, and in other respects assisting them. The minds of the Directors had been previously prepared from Lord Harris' letters on the organization of a Military Police; and now the Mutiny of the Army, and the military success of the Panjab Police troops, fully determined them and clenched the discussion.

The Punjab Police was organized by Sir Henry Lawrence when Chief Commissioner of the Panjab. In 1854 there were seven Police battalions and twenty-seven troops of Mounted Police, at a cost of sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees a year. These men were employed as jail and treasure guards, and on other duties which had previously devolved on the regular army. There were, besides, about ten thousand detectives called *bar-kaudazes* maintained at a cost of about eight and a half lakhs of rupees a year; and then there were the old *chaukidárs*, or watchmen of the country. This was very vastly in excess of any Police force maintained at the time in any other province of India. It was admitted to be a mistake for Police purposes; but it was a mistake which assisted Sir John Lawrence to hold the Panjab and re-take Delhi. Perhaps, however, if the Panjab had long had the benefits of our law courts and appellate system, and our general administration, it may well be questioned how far its police force would have opposed the mutineers.

The sepoy war being over, the Government of India appointed in 1860 a Commission to enquire into the existing constitution of the Police establishments throughout British India, with the view of ascertaining in what way they might be most effectually improved, and also whether in any part of India the present expenditure on Police was susceptible of reduction. The Commission was composed of Mr. Court for the North-Western Provinces, Mr. Wauchope, C. B., for Bengal, Mr. W. Robinson for Madras, Mr. R. Temple for the Panjab, Colonel Bruce, C. B., for Oudh, and Colonel Phayre for Pegu.

Of all the Commissions ever appointed in India, this Commission, notwithstanding the great names on it, was perhaps the greatest farce. With the resolution of the Governor-General appointing it was an elaborate memorandum pointing out to the Commissioners exactly what they should do, and, having done it, exactly what they should say. The Commission was ordered to effect a complete severance of the Police from the judicial authorities, whether those of higher grade, or the inferior magistracy in their judicial capacity. The most perfect organization, is was pointed out, was when the Police was subordinate to none but that officer in the executive department who was absolved from all judicial duty. This was the original plan for the Oudh Police; but the Supreme Government lamented that the Police officer was made subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner instead of the Commissioner; and the organization of the Oudh Police was therefore "less perfect than had been intended." The Police were not to record the statement of any witness, apparently not even of the complainant, but were to proceed on *à priori* prin-

principles. The Police were not to be called a Military Police: That would be *une faute d' orthographe*, but, nevertheless, "their organization and discipline were to be similar to those of a military body." Appeals from Police officers' orders were to be only to their seniors in the Police Department; and policemen were invited to obey the orders of the Magistrate of the District, but, if they disobeyed, they were only to be responsible to their own departmental superiors.

According to Sir Bartle Frere, the members of the Commission held the most discordant views on Police subjects, but, it appears while living in Calcutta, they were educated under vice-regal influence into believing in the advantages of a Military Police, as the Tories were educated by Mr. Disraeli in 1867, into believing in the advantages of the extension of the franchise. In some cases the Commission in its final report repeated the very words of the memorandum given them for their instruction. For instance, the famous argument, that the thief-catcher should not be the thief-trier, which Mr. Halliday must have regretted he ever used in the days of his youth, was thus worded in the memorandum. "The rule should always be kept in sight, that the official who collects and traces out the links in the chain of evidence in any case of importance should never be the same as the judicial officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case." This, the Commissioners, faithful to their orders, literally reproduced as one of their propositions. "That, as a rule, there should be a complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case; even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal." It will thus be seen that the members of this Commission were mere puppets in the hands of the Supreme Government, and, with the exception of some valuable remarks of theirs on the village Police, on which they were not called on to report, they simply repeated like dutiful schoolboys the words of their instructors.

The Police Commission in further obedience to their orders reported that their propositions and the Act they had drafted were based on the English system, and after the model of the British and Irish constabularies; that the new Police should be thoroughly organized, drilled and disciplined; that their training should be continually maintained, so that they should be equal to all the duties of guarding treasuries, jails, and military stores, performing what are called escort duties,

and quelling all ordinary disturbances; that no separate detective branch of the service be formed, but that every part of the Police be held responsible for every duty, preventive and detective, properly belonging to it; that the Police thus constituted should form a separate department in each local Government or local administration, and, under the immediate authority and control of its chief, and, having an independent departmental organization and subordination of its own, be made an efficient instrument at the disposal of the District Officer; that such returns, statistics, and reports regarding the state of crime, and the criminal administration, as the Inspector-General of Police might require, should be furnished him by the District Officer in such manner as may be prescribed by the local Government; that there should be, in every district, at least one European officer of Police who should be departmentally subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police in every matter relating to the interior economy and good management of the force, and efficient performance of every Police duty, but bound also to obey the orders of the District Officer in all matters relating to the prevention and detection of crime, the preservation of the peace, and other executive Police duties, and responsible to him likewise for the efficiency with which the force performs its duty; that the thief-catcher should not be the thief-trier; that the District Officer, of whom they could not conveniently get rid,* was the lowest grade in whom police and judicial functions should unite; and that, consequently, all officers below that grade, who were invested with Police functions, should not hereafter exercise those functions, beyond issuing such orders as might be necessary in their judicial capacity in specific cases before them.

* "That the same true principle, that the Judge and Detective Officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice. But with the constitution of the official agency now existing in India, an exception must be made in favor of the District Officer. The Magistrates have long been in the eye of the law executive officers, having a general supervising authority in matters of Police—originally without extensive judicial powers. In some parts of India this original function of the Magistrate has not been widely departed from; in other parts extensive judicial powers have been superadded to their original and proper function. *This circumstance has imported difficulties in regard to maintaining the leading principle enunciated above; for it is impracticable to relieve the Magistrate of their judicial duties; and, on the other hand, it is at present inexpedient to deprive the Police and the public of the valuable aid and supervision of the District Officer in the general management of Police matters.*"—Proposition 28.

In proposing the Police Act framed by the Police Commission, Sir Bartle Frere was the spokesman of the Government in the Legislative Council. Subject to correction, we believe Sir Bartle Frere's training was almost exclusively in the secretariat and political departments. His first argument was the one so often, so justly, and so unanimously urged, that the Magistrate of the district had not sufficient time to give his exclusive attention to Police functions. No one disputed this, but he made it a ground for the entire separation of the executive Police from all immediate subordination to the district Magistrate, a proposition which is disputed up to the present moment. Mr. Harington opposed the measure. He suggested that changes so vast and so extensive as the Bill proposed, should not be hastily introduced. There was especial reason for deliberation regarding the Bill in question, as he knew "that many old and experienced officers, who differed materially on other matters, and some of whom preferred the non-Regulation to the Regulation system, entertained very serious doubts whether the principles on which this Bill was stated to be based, however suited to England and Ireland, and the three Indian Presidency towns, were suited to the Mofussil districts of this country."

Mr. Sconce and Sir Barnes Peacock came to the aid of Sir Bartle Frere. At this stage of the discussion, Sir Barnes Peacock said that he had "always been of opinion that a full and complete separation ought to be made between magisterial and police functions," though, as we have seen, he had not previously urged this, but had based his proposal on the scant leisure of the Magistrates. Mr. Sconce frankly stated that the proposed Police system was based on the Madras experiment, "which it was believed would not be inapplicable to the whole of India." It will thus be seen that Lord Harris, Governor of Madras, who had no training in Indian official life, and who was unacquainted with native character, was the real author of the Police system organized under Act V of 1861. His military proclivities, his importunity and insistency with the Directors, and the subsequent sepoy war, all decided the Government in favor of the Military Police he had advocated.

We have now got the history of the Police Act (V. of 1861), which was duly passed. It made the Police not only a separate department but a civil army on the model of the English and Irish constabularies under an elaborate gradation of officers who were, as the Supreme Government put it in its memorandum, to be "self-contained." The Police were practically to be only subordinate to their own officers, though

a general control and direction of the district officers was admitted. This is almost all the mention we find in the Act, of district officers, or Magistrates, as they are called ; and it was very kind of the members of the Commission to have remembered them at all !

Now here were made at the outset two prodigious blunders. It was totally impossible to model the Indian Police on the plan of any British constabulary. The material was not at hand for it, and will not be perhaps for centuries. The members of the British constabulary can all read and write, and are generally honest and intelligent men. The natives of India, who obtained even high appointments in the Police, were generally illiterate ; the intellects of many of them were besotted with drugs and other oriental abominations ; and the honesty and principles of several of them were more than doubtful. The member of the British constabulary who looked well on parade, might also perhaps, if he chose, prove a fair detective officer ; but it was not reasonable to expect that any more than a very small percentage of the new Indian Police who were presentable at drill, would ever possess sufficient intelligence or integrity for the real duties of a constabulary force.

The second blunder was setting the District Officer aside and rendering the District Superintendent of a military Police organization all but independent of him. The very system of administration of all ages in India tends to give the District Officer a power which, however it may be regretted by radical statesmen, cannot be ignored or disputed. As chief revenue and executive officer, it is from him favours and honors proceed ; he can consequently get services performed which are beyond the reach of other officials ; he can secure cheaper and more willing labor ; and it is to him, and not to an officer who has obtained a slice of his authority in one particular line, the native public will always look up. If it were not out of my way I could show, how even in the Department of Public Works, a great deal of the wasteful expenditure that occurs might be avoided, if that branch of the public service were obliged to work in conjunction with the officers of districts.

But not only are efficiency and cheapness to be taken into account in considering this question, but the jealousies which sprang up between the Police and the District officers further aggravated the evil. The District Superintendent of Police did not acknowledge the District Magistrate as his superior officer. He claimed official and social independence of him, and sheltered himself behind the backs of his uniformed superiors. The District Magistrate, powerless to check the evil, folded his hands and

let matters take their own course; and the last state of the Police which was made independent of him was worse than the first.

A strange fallacy underlies the main argument for the separation of Police from magisterial duties, namely, that the thief-catcher should never be the thief-trier. The theory is admirable in itself, and would have been perfectly apposite to the discussion, if it had been contemplated to invest the old Police Darogha with magisterial powers. There is very little doubt that if he tried as a Magistrate all the men his subordinates arrested for him, he would either copiously feather his own nest, or there would be a long tally of prisoners in the nearest jail. But the theory as applied to European officers, whether Magistrates or District Superintendents of Police, involves a monstrous fallacy which cannot be too soon or too earnestly exposed. When has the District Superintendent of Police himself ever arrested an ordinary native criminal, or even personally traced out the link-of evidence in his case? No; the present District Superintendent of Police is himself no more the thief-catcher than the Magistrate. The actual Police functions, both under the old and the new system, are all performed by subordinates, and the change effected by the new administration amounted simply to this, that the Police subordinates sent persons arrested to the Magistrate through the District Superintendent of Police instead of direct as before. It is not in our experience that the cases gained in any way in their passage through the hands of the myrmidons of the new system.

It has been our fortune to have worked in conjunction with the old and the new systems of Police. We first saw Indian official life at a station where the new Police, enrolled under Act V. of 1861, were in full operation. We witnessed a great deal of energy under a young and active Police officer, but we found that several of the cases he sent up for trial were totally false. Thefts or other offences were reported to him. He rode to the scenes of their perpetration, put pressure on his subordinates to find out the offenders, and they as often as not, sent up the nearest old convicts on whom they could lay their hands.

We next became acquainted with the Panjab frontier, where the old system of daroghas and barkandazes was still in operation, and many years before the introduction of regular police into the trans-Indus districts. The Assistant Commissioner was Magistrate and Police officer rolled into one, the thief-trier and thief-catcher, but in reality he was no such thing. It is true the Darogha was his immediate subordinate. He reported offences to the Magistrate. The latter, in most cases, waited for final reports

without putting any pressure on the Darogha, but perhaps in an occasional case some suggestions were offered. The Police reports passed out of the Magistrate's head with his ordinary routine duties, and he never thought of them again till the offenders were arrested and brought before him for trial. By this time the cases were absolutely new to him, and he was no more the thief-catcher than he is under the new police system.

Magisterial work was easy with the Darogha and his *bandazas*. There were apparently no false charges, and in a very large proportion of cases men on their trial admitted the truth of the allegations against them. The Police may have used torture to make men confess, and the Magistrate may have convicted innocent men on their own statements and some independent subsidiary evidence, but this was never brought to public notice. Even, however, if he had convicted innocent persons, this is done every day under the new system of Police. In the Bar, or elevated sterile tract in the centre of the Panjab, it is a common thing for old men to falsely confess theft, so as to screen the real offenders who are youngmen and the bread-winners of families. A large number of old men who had falsely confessed to cattle-lifting and house-breaking, could, if not at present, at least some years since, be always seen in a large jail in the central district of the Panjab, a voluntary offering to the Jaganath of English justice. A district officer, and very accurate lawyer, by the way, once said there that he had got so many old men in jail, he hoped at last to come to the real raw criminal material.

As regards torture, the extent to which it is still employed, even under the new system of Police, cannot be accurately known. Prisoners occasionally still speak on trial, of torture having been used by the Police; and members of the Police force are now and again tried, found guilty, and punished for the offence.* They to extort confessions prevent their victims from sleeping, have them trodden on or beaten with slippers; they put them astride on high beds with thorny bushes between their legs; they have them hung by the heels to ceilings; they put them naked into huts swarming with black ants; they put on their shaven scalps large beetles which, by the application of heated lamps, are irritated to bite and scratch the victims to distraction; they make men sniff red pepper on heated braziers; and they commit many other abominations which cannot be mentioned with propriety.

Torture is a political vice or device of a semi-barbarous age, in

* While this is going to press, we notice three charges of torture by the Police, reported in one number of the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

which society still sympathizes with the criminals. In England torture was employed to detect political, and what were called, religious offences. Those were not looked on with universal disfavour, and hence unfair means were employed in their detection. Those offences do not now exist in England, or are ignored; but acts which are known to the law as crimes, are now generally held in reprobation and abhorrence in England; and, if they were not, it would be a serious question how detection could still be accomplished. India is a country in which, owing to the fragility of native dwellings, thieves with facility break through and steal. It is also a country in which men lift their neighbours' cattle, assisted by seasons and peculiarities of soil. Thus, in the rainy season, when rivers swell and the ground for many miles is one sheet of water, tracks cannot be followed up, and thieves commit depredation with impunity. So they do, too, in very dry seasons when the ground is hard, or at times when it is covered with grass which retains no traces of men or animals passing over it.

In the Bar, or elevated sterile tract of the Panjab previously referred to, the Jât youth will not bind a turban on his head till he has accomplished a successful theft. As a child he is called by the suggestive name *chhor*, which becomes synonymous with the word *chor* a thief; and it is in this untamed state of brigandage the youth is reared and educated from the blossom to the flower. As a further stimulus to his lawless career, no man will give him his daughter in marriage till he is tried by this knavish ordeal. When a woman goes to bathe or wash her garments in the village tank, it is not of her husband's virtues she boasts, but of what accidentals would call his vices—the number of thefts he has accomplished, the number of times he has outrun the constable, and the amount of booty he has acquired for his loving and sympathizing spouse or spouses. This being the state of public feeling, and no body being willing to inform except personal enemies or those immediately actuated by motives of lucre, the policemen has recourse to torture and other unholy expedients. A civilized age condemns them, but they readily commend themselves to zealous members of a force superintended by still more zealous officers.

Not many years ago in the city of Amritsur, torture was resorted to under European supervision with the result that perfectly innocent men confessed to the murder of Muhammadan butchers, who had really been put to death by Kúkas under the influence of religious fanaticism. The unfortunate men who had falsely confessed were sentenced to death, and were only saved from suffering the extreme penalty of the law by the

accidental discovery of the real murderers on the occasion of the Kukas' attack on Maler Kotta. Torture is a system of detection to be deplored, and to be repressed by all legal means; but it is to be feared that it will long remain as the *dernier ressort* of the Indian detective working under a too energetic master.

It has recently been proposed by an admirable Police Officer * with great special knowledge of his profession, that a detective police force should be established for the whole of India, which would not be trammelled by the rules and limits of local administrations, but which could follow and trace criminals through the broad expanse of this extensive country. The idea is in some respects a happy one, but before we begin with a special detective force for India, we think a reform of the ordinary existing police system must first be effected. When this is done, it can be considered what further detective agency is required.

After the passing of Act V of 1861, probably the criminal appellate system had as much to do with the demoralization of the police force, as any of the inherent defects of the new organization. We have noted the opinions of Sir George Clerk, Sir Henry C. Montgomery, the Hon'ble W. Elliott, and Sir Frederick Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the Indian judicial system of their time, and there is no reason to believe that it is any better now. Nay, all its imperfections appear to have been stereotyped in successive legislative measures. The Indian appellate system by which criminals are continually let loose on society by a stroke of the pen of an utterly irresponsible Appellate Judge, would perhaps demoralize any body of men whose duty it was to bring criminals to justice. In this we do not refer to any particular tribunals. All officers who have appellate jurisdiction are, we apprehend, led away by the arguments and solicitations of skilful pleaders in appeal, when there is no one to champion the interests of the public and the crown. A Police Officer of the North-Western Provinces, writing in the *Indian Observer*, thus puts the case: "Suppose a conviction in the original Court obtained, there are yet the perils of the High Court to be passed; and what Superintendent of Police in these Provinces does not lament the number of desperate criminals returned on his hands by that august tribunal? A little anecdote in support of this. In the—District a noted free-booter was arrested on information furnished by villagers, tried and convicted by the Sessions Court; he appealed to the High Court and was released. He returns triumphant, and is not long afterwards again apprehended on

* Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Ewart, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambala Circle.

a similar charge. Again he escapes on appeal to the High Court. This time no one will give any information about him: 'He is under the protection of the High Court they say.' This is an absolute fact."

We believe the present appellate system to be intrinsically bad, and that Appellate Courts reverse numerous orders they would themselves have passed, if they had sat in the Courts of first instance. Judgments are not always reversed because they are wrong. They are often reversed from a spirit of opposition to the Subordinate Court, from an imperfect comprehension of the cases, from ignorance of native character, or from unwillingness to accept the responsibility of the findings of Subordinate Courts, lest still higher tribunals might disagree. This last feeling is apt to be fostered by the asperity of language in which some Appellate Courts occasionally indulge, when they differ in opinion from subordinate tribunals.

There is another argument against the appellate system, which we believe has not been noticed. It has often been thought and asserted that public opinion is not brought to bear on officers in India. In one sense this is true, and in one sense it is not true. There is certainly not the powerful opinion that prevails owing to the existence of a fearless press in several parts of Europe, nor are individual Magistrates or Judges visited with those marks of popular displeasure that manifest themselves in such a variety of ways among a free people,—it is rather our system generally that becomes distasteful to the natives,—but there is nevertheless a distinct native opinion that may serve as a guide to an officer in his own district. This can be easily ascertained by any European official who associates freely with the natives. He can generally learn the character of several notorious criminals and the extent of their depredations; he can hear himself rebuked in a delicate manner for discharging offenders in certain cases; he can learn details of the progress of crime and its causes. We think any officer who at all sympathized with natives, or had leisure to associate freely with them in his district, must, to a certain extent be actuated by opinions received from them. The severity of some officers' punishments is, we know well, generally due to the representations and remonstrances of respectable natives with whom they come in contact.

Now we do not think that popular opinion generally operates in this way on Appellate Courts. Some of the most important of them are far apart from the districts in which the cases were originally heard, and native opinion can only affect them, if at all, very faintly. The Appellate Courts cannot be intimately

aware of the condition of several parts of a district or *Tahsil*, of the progress of a particular species of crime, of the apathy or corruption of the Police, and several other matters which are known to the Courts of first instance. Delinquents set free by such system of appeal as we have described, conspire against the Police, or present against them anonymous petitions which are noticed by superior authority, and the Police become further disheartened in the discharge of their arduous duties.

We have spoken so far simply of the appellate system as it has existed since the introduction of Act V. of 1861 ; but after the establishment of the Chief Court of the Panjab and the introduction of Barristers and Pleaders into that Province, the difficulties of conviction in the original Courts became much greater than they had ever been before. Barristers and Pleaders were employed to defend criminals ; sections of procedure and substantive law were debated inch by inch with Magistrates ; cases on trial were stopped by telegram by the order of Barrister Judges ; quibbles of law and outlandish rulings were freely resorted to ; and the difficulties of conviction became immeasurably enhanced. All this could not fail to have its effect on the Police as well as the Magistrates. We know Magistrates, some Europeans, and many natives, who are positively afraid to find accused persons guilty in view of the remarks made on their cases by Appellate Courts. Even when they convict, the punishments are nominal, and in many cases so adjusted, that the guilty persons cannot appeal. When this is the case with Magistrates, it is easy to understand that the Police, a body much more exposed to attack, should become more disheartened still. The next step for them, of course, was to try "how not to do it," and here every thing was in favour of dishonesty and corruption.

In default of Crown Prosecutors, the Act for the regulation of the Police allowed (Section 24 of Act V. of 1861) any Police officer to prosecute before Magistrates up to final judgment. The Criminal Procedure Code of 1872 allowed Courts to permit any person to conduct prosecutions, and of course the Police were the persons generally so appointed. This aid to public morality is now removed. The last attempt at a Criminal Procedure Code lays down (Section 495 of Act X. of 1882), that no Police officer under the rank of Inspector may conduct a prosecution.

In introducing Act X. of 1872, Sir James F. Stephen argued elaborately, that if an appeal were allowed to the criminal, it ought also to be allowed to the Crown, and that it should be competent for Appellate Courts to amend sentences and readjust punishments, when it was found that criminals were inadequately

dealt with. His views were accepted by the Government of the period. Accordingly, Act X. of 1872 allowed Appellate Courts to enhance any punishment that had been awarded, if it saw reason to do so. This was a very salutary check on frivolous appeals; and we do not think it ever debarred an innocent man from endeavoring to vindicate his character, if he felt so disposed. This power then given to Appellate Courts has been swept away by Act X. of 1882, and now Appellate Courts can no longer adjust the sentences of inexperienced magistrates or such as only possess restricted powers of punishment. When it is considered that every sentence of subordinate magistrates of the second and third classes, and every sentence in excess of one month's imprisonment by full-powered Magistrates is appealable, that the appeal can be urged on matters of fact as well as on matters of law, the latter now being extended to "alleged severity of sentence," that the appeal is now never defended by the Crown, but that it is often urged by skilful and importunate pleaders, there seems no real reason why only a very small percentage of criminals should ever finally suffer the punishments adjudged by the Courts of first instance.

Apart from improved and suitable legislation the remedy for the existing state of things lies in the appointment of public prosecutors who would prosecute cases up to final judgment and defend appeals. Till these are appointed,—and it is in the power of the local Government to appoint them,—our most recent attempts at a system of criminal procedure must continue to discourage the Police in repressing crime to a greater extent than has ever been known before in the history of the judicial administration of India.

The proposed benches of Judges to hear appeals after the reorganization of the Panjab Commission would, if the system were applied to criminal cases, do a great deal of good, but still we think the Crown should be represented in all appeals in cognizable criminal cases. An eloquent pleader against a dumb record, perhaps written against time, must generally carry the day. Until pleaders are appointed on behalf of the Crown, neither the Police nor the subordinate Magistrates can have any real confidence in our existing appellate system; and the worst criminals must continue to escape punishment to the despair and indignation of the best sections of the native community.

(To be continued.)

ART. X.—THE VIKRAMORVASI. A DRAMA BY KALIDASA.

Translated into English Lyrical verse,

By Brajendranath De, M.A., B.C.S.

CANTO I.—*The Meeting.*

From forth Kuvera's, * high emblazoned gate
That gleams on far Kailasa's † crest,
The thigh-born child of Narayana ‡ great,
In many-hued heavenly garments dressed
Across th' empyrean flew. Her lovely friends,
The charming Rambha, Menaka
Whom Indra § envious of penance sends
To wreck its fruits, Chitrlekha ||
Begirt her. Th' Daityas, ¶ who by wile or force,
Wage ceaseless and eternal war
Against the gods, espied them in their course
As they with radiance shone afar,
And seized on twain. The others, with their cries
Did rend the arch of Heav'n. 'Twas when
His far-resounding car across the skies
Vikrama ** great, the king of men
Did guide. He heard their cries and ever bound
To help th' distressed, he turned his car,
That meteor-like did fly to where the sound
Of wailings rose. The bereaved fair
Told him their tale, and bidding them to wait
On Hemakuta's crest, he flew,
The ravisher t' avenge as sure as fate.
In less than a moment's time, he knew
Where th' wretch had gone, and after him he shot
A god-like arrow which a sage
Had blessed. Deep in th' abysmal sea I wot
It hurled the Asura †† whose rage

* The god of wealth.

† The Olympus of India. A fabled mountain to the north on whose peak the gods are said to reside.

‡ An ancient sage. As he was celibate, Urvasi (the fairest of the divine songstresses) is alleged to have sprung from his thigh.

Rambha, Menaka, other divine songstresses.

§ The king of the gods.

|| Another divine songstress and the constant companion of Urvasi.

¶ The enemies of the gods who wages ceaseless war with them.

** The hero of the Drama, a king of the great Paurava dynasty. His capital was at Pratisthana, the modern Prayag or Allahabad.

†† A Daitya, an enemy of the gods.

Was in the ocean quenched. The captive fair,
 Who in a death-like swoon did lie,
 He in his chariot took. With fondest care
 To bring the blood, he long did try
 That coward-like had rushed to its fount
 Back to the pallid cheeks. The fair
 Chitrlekha, in sad suspense did count
 Each moment long, with grief and care
 Oppressed, till like the blue Utpala * fair
 That touched by morning's rays doth ope
 Her fragrant cup, her eyes of beauty rare
 And bright, she oped. While new-born hope
 His heart did warm, the king with loving touch,
 From that fair forehead gently moved
 The wand'ring tresses while he gazed on such
 A lovely mien, as would have proved
 Triumphant o'er a hermit in his cell.
 Nor did Urvasi 'scape the smart,
 But as she oped her tranced eyes they fell
 On god-like face, where beamed the heart
 With every noble virtue graced, a front
 Sublime, a chest like buckler broad,
 A long and mightful arm that e'er was wont
 To bend the toughest bow ; a god
 Of men, adorned with every grace divine.
 And forthwith, in her heart she feels
 Love's young delicious dream, that like new wine
 Intoxicates the brain, which reels
 And staggers 'neath its burthen of delight.
 By this, the car on th' golden crest
 Of lofty Hemakuta † did alight
 When th' heav'nly dames t' their bosoms pressed
 Their late lost friends in tearful joy that knew
 No bounds. Meanwhile the mighty lord
 Of Gandharvas ‡ whom Indra to rescue
 The fair had sent, arrived. By word
 Of praise and thanks the grateful joy of all
 The gods, he rendered to the king ;
 And prayed, that the damsel to the shining hall
 Of mighty Indra, he would bring

* The blue lotus.

† A fabled mountain between the heavens and the earth whose golden peak is the seat of the sages headed by Kasyapa, the progenitor of the gods and the Danavas, by

his two wives, Aditi, the mother of the Adityas or gods, and Diti, the mother of the Daityas or demons.

‡ Semi-divine beings whose specialty consists in music.

For meet reward of doughty deed—his fame .
 To hear by fair Apsaras * sung ;
 To sit enthroned with Indra ; and to claim
 The Párijáta † garland strung
 By fairy fingers deft ; the highest prize
 That gods on mortals can bestow.
 The king, to whom a glance of those bright eyes
 That late death-closed he saw, was more
 Than aught that gods or men could give, his thanks
 To mighty Sachi's ‡ lover sent ;
 And earthward bent his course. His car, through banks
 Of clouds did glide whose light'nings lent
 A splendour to his steeds, while rainbows played
 Among the wheels ; but he of all
 This grandeur nothing saw, for ever strayed
 His eyes to that far peak, where tall
 And graceful stood the fair, and cast behind
 A loving lingering look, that told
 Of heart-surrender, which she would have pined
 For words to tell, shame-bound or bold ;
 Till rising skywards with her friends beyond
 The ken of mortal eye, she flew
 And left her princely lover with his fond
 And loving heart her loss to rue.

* Female semi-divine beings who
 are employed in singing and dancing
 in the courts of the gods.

† The fabled flower of Paradise.
 ‡ The wife of Indra.

ART, XI.—CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS.

1.

While the soft darkness of the waning night
Still holds the world in sleep, and while the breeze
Shakes from their flowery cells the dewdrops bright,
With pinions moistened in the moonlit seas,
Comes Cephalus forth to win 'mid forest trees
His heart's delight, to seek the savage bear,
And track the grey wolf to his rocky lair.

2.

Clear-eyed is he ; about his godlike head
The gold curls cluster, and the blood that speaks
Of health and vigorous youth with tenderest red
Mantles the delicate smoothness of his cheeks :
To him 'tis sweet to climb the cloud-capped peaks,
And the rough surge of angry seas to breast,
For speed and force are in his limbs exprest.

3.

His mellow voice no maiden can resist,
And round his neck Aurora oft has twined
Her snowy arms, and his full lips has kissed,
Leaving the fragrance of the rose behind,
But Procris in his heart is now enshrined.
For her the tremulous light of loving eyes,
For her alone are all his smiles and sighs.

4.

Across the sward pass light his buskined feet ;
His dogs, with joyous bounds about his way,
Woo his caressing hand ; while, loud and sweet,
He hears among the foliage of the bay
The nightingale sing his impassioned lay.
He hastens on, and soon, with roseate hues,
He sees the dawn the eastern heaven suffuse.

5.

And now upon a green hill side he stands
'Mid fruited vines, and, in the vale below,
Beholds the reapers with their busy hands
Move through the corn setting the sheaves a row,
And maids with slender urns for water go
To the cool well, and, for the naiad there,
Lay down as gifts the fruit and flowers they bear.

6.

And while the sky larks' silvery matin song
Still melts upon the ear, with rapid pace
He draweth nigh the hills whose shoulders strong
The shaggy arms of giant woods embrace ;
And there amid the trees with eager face
He scans the scene, while o'er the leaf strown ground
Searching for scent his good dogs snuff around.

7.

Then spear in hand, all noiselessly he goes
To seek the boar amid the thickets green
And slay him when, unmindful of his foes,
He champs his roots or makes his tushes keen ;
And here and there he knows a boar hath been,
By deep rents in the sod, and, pressing on,
He fondly deems his quest must soon be won.

8.

And closely do his eager eyes explore
Each misty hollow and each dark ravine
And pine girt gorge resounding with the roar
Of mountain streams, but not for him is seen
The roebuck, or the hart, or grey wolf lean
Licking his hungry sides, or 'mid his brood,
Some tusked monarch moving thro' the wood.

9.

And pausing now for rest, he looks around
And views a scene so strangely fair, that he
Deems for a while his wandering steps have found
A spot made sacred to some deity,
For here bright flowers weave rarest imagery,
And, with the trees whose leaves embowering meet,
Seem loyal guardians of some secret sweet.

10.

And thro' the moss a rill of water flows,
Its surface rippled by the merry breeze
That wantons with bright butterflies, and blows
Soft yellow down amid the branching trees ;
And here he deems 'twere sweet to take his ease,
Till evening with the witchery of her eyes,
Woos from his seat the Archer of the skies.

11.

And hushed is now the ousels' sylvan lay,
The squirrels in the soft gloom of the trees
Doze o'er their hoards all wearied with their play
And, in the brake, the wild cat takes her ease :
The wind has fall'n asleep, and e'en the bees
Have ceased their amorous quest, and in the pool's
Clear depth, her snowy limbs the wood-nymph cools.

12.

And Cephalus amid his dogs reclines,
And loosens from his throat his clinging gown,
And with lush flowers a wreath he deftly twines
To cool his brows, while softly flutter down
The topmost leaves, all ruddy, gold and brown :
And, wearied with the heat, and ill at ease,
He sings this artless song unto the breeze :—

1.

Where art thou my belovéd ? Let the flowers
Whisper thy presence to me, let me hear
The music of thy laughter 'mid the leaves.

2.

Sweet Aura ! come, and let my eyes behold
The withered leaves that thickly strew the glade
Wake to the dancing of thy dainty feet.

3.

Oh ! come, yet, in thy coming do not stay
To make the lily lovesick with thy kiss,
Or wanton with the rose that envies me.

4.

Where art thou, my belovéd ? Dost thou sport
With the blithe maidens in the olive grove
Brightening their pastime with thy merriment ?

5.

Or wanderest thou upon the cliffs, that stand
Like warriors seamed with scars, laughing to scorn
The mighty buffets of the angry waves ?

6.

Perchance thou art e'en now upon those cliffs,
Calling unto the sailors as they urgo
With lusty strokes their galleys to the shore.

7.

Methinks thou art asleep upon some slope,
Rich with the poppy bloom, nor wilt awake
Till evening woos the day across the sea.

8.

Sweet Aura ! come, nor let my voice in vain
Cry Aura ! Aura ! thro' the quiet woods :
Let them not think that thou deniest me.

9.

Let not the wood elves mock me, let them not
Vex me with their light jests, as, here and there
Laughing, they chase each other thro' the fern.

10.

But come, and with sweet music wake to life
The chorus of the birds that, voiceless now,
Rustle the foliage with their restlessness.

11.

Oh, come ! I think thou comest love, for hark
The wood dove coos thy coming to her mate ;
The swallows leave their homes to welcome thee.

13.

His sweetly cadenced voice has scarcely ceased,
Ere from the thicket comes a rustling sound
That seems to tell the presence of some beast
Making its way with stealth across the ground :
Swift to the spot his dogs together bound,
But quicker from his hand his javelin flies,
While hope expectant quivers in his eyes.

14.

A short light shriek—and then a voice he hears,
Broken and hoarse with death, his name repeat,
And then he knows the worst, for, dimmed with tears,
His eyes behold his Procris at his feet,—
The javelin in her side,—the vital heat
Fast leaving her : yet reads he in her eyes
His own forgiveness as their lustre flies.

15.

'Forgive me love?' he says, as, holding her,
He feels her fluttering breath come faint and weak,
And sees the struggling tears her lashes stir,
And deaths chill whiteness gather on her cheek :
And now he bids his best belovéd speak
The words of her forgiveness, and impart
One ray of solace to his tortured heart.

16.

And she with a great effort breaks away
For a brief moment from the grasp of death,
And, in a voice soft as a bird's in May,
'Thou needest no forgiveness, sweet !' she saith,
'Thy hand is guiltless as thy love ;' no breath
Of mine reproaches thee for what is done ;
Hold me yet closer, kiss me dearest one !'

17.

And his hot lips meet hers so cold and white,
And she on one long kiss her life bestows,
Tasting its sweetness, till, around her sight,
The horror of death's utter darkness grows,
And Cephalus then his desolation knows
And feels his being, in its full career,
Pierced thro' and thro' by fates unerring spear.

18.

And in his arms her faded form he takes,
Wrapt in the golden shadow of her hair,
And homeward through the woods his way he makes,
The woods that seem his mighty grief to share :
The timorous flowers, touched by his despair,
Grow moist with sorrow, and the heaven's blue eyes
Darken with tears, awakened by his sighs.

19.

'Sweet woods ! farewell,' he says, 'for never more
Shall breaking day behold my dogs and me
Seeking amid thy wilds the valorous boar,
Or the swift stag : both now may wander free,
For I must seek sweet peace beyond the sea,
And gazing at the woods that round him swell
He bids them once again a long farewell.

THE QUARTER.

THE Quarter just closed has been marked by some events of considerable moment to India as far as their ultimate bearing on the destinies of the Empire can be predicted just now. They may, perhaps, be classed if they are taken in order of importance, as follows: *1st.* The appointment and actual personal organization of a Russo-Anglo Commission to delineate the northern frontier of Afghanistan where it tends towards the borders of the Merv-Turkoman country, now practically Russian territory. *2nd.* The progress of the controversy respecting the Bengal Tenancy Bill. *3rd.* The decision of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire and report on the proposal of the Government of India to make a vast addition to the existing railway system of the country. *4th.* The annual exodus to the hills with all its growing and concomitant evils of administrative neglect, outlay, unseemly scramble among high officials for a certain class of appointments; and *5th.* (coming down to questions of more local interest,) the strained relations between the Government and the public on the one hand, and the Calcutta Municipality on the other, and the climax which has been reached by the appointment of a Special Committee to inquire and report on the sanitary condition of the city. To these may be added, as an event of considerable importance, both social and political, the death of Baboo Kristo Das Pal, the great Indian patriot and orator.

The appointment of the Anglo-Russia Delineation Commission has been viewed with great satisfaction by that school of politicians who see, or affect to see, finality in diplomatic arrangements of this description, but in this cheerful view of the question, we are by no means able to concur. From a strictly political point of view it seems to us that Russia will gain rather than lose by any arrangement which is calculated to give more than existing definiteness to the boundaries of Afghanistan. Russia has arrived at a point in her advance towards India, where the process of quiet absorption must cease. She is at last face to face with a country which she can never hope either to absorb or annex, as she absorbed and annexed Khiva, Bhopkara and Merv, because it is an outpost of the English Empire in India, and because England has announced her intention of regarding it as such. This, indeed, England is compelled to do by all the circumstances and obligations of her position in India. The precise definition of boundaries

will, therefore, as it seems to us, be a source of danger rather than safety to England as regards her future relations with Russia. It is easy to define and maintain physical boundaries between civilized countries inhabited by continuous but distinct nationalities. The physical definition may be equally easy in relation to semi-civilized nations, but the object of that definition is by no means so easily attained. And this Russia knows well. We can mark on a map or chart the physical limitation of a frontier, but can we either mark or limit, by the same process, the passions, tendencies and immemorial practices of the tribes which lie on either side of that frontier? Herein lies the real danger to ourselves and the real gain to Russia if the present Commission eventuates in a precise definition of the Afghan boundary towards Merv. The Commission, at the best, is useless. It will serve to check Russian advances on Afghanistan *in times of peace*, but Russia, as we have pointed out, has arrived at a point where *the further peaceful extension of her frontier is impossible*, and where she has everything to gain and nothing to lose by any pretext which may be afforded for the extension of that frontier by means of war. Surely Madame De Novicoff put the question in a nut-shell, when she stated it thus :—"You are always reminding us, (the Russians,) that Afghanistan is an outpost of the British Empire in India. In return we would remind you that an outpost is usually *the first place to be attacked*."

Like a wounded snake the controversy respecting the Bengal Tenancy Bill, drags its slow length along, but unlike the snake it seems to possess the faculty of becoming longer and larger with every stage of its progress. The most energetic, and indeed, violent criticism continues to be directed against both the principles and details of the measures by the advocates of the Zemindars; but as far as we can judge, the following are the general results of the discussion up to date :—"The Government position—as set forth in Mr. A. P. MacDonnell's memorandum—declaring and explaining the necessity for legislation, is in our opinion entirely unassailable. The more the question has been examined, the more has this been found to be the case. On the other hand, it is not to be denied, that a closer examination has revealed practical difficulties in matters of detail which were not, perhaps, sufficiently appreciated at first. We understand that these points of difficulty in the practical application of the proposed measure have now received minute and exhaustive consideration at the hands of the local Officers of Government, Judicial and Executive, as well as at the hands of the Judges of the High Court, and independent persons interested in the question.

We believe the Bengal Government thinks that the results of this further consideration of the subject indicate a satisfactory method of solving the remaining difficulties, while they point to the necessity of some concessions to the Zemindari interest, they vindicate the entire soundness of the main lines of the Bill. We may presume that the publication of the local reports, with the final summing up of the Government of Bengal, will not be long delayed; and in our next issue we may be in a position to review what we trust will be the final stage of this well-considered and much needed measure. It would be a lamentable thing if any change of Government had the result of postponing its settlement. With complications threatening on the frontier, we cannot afford to keep open any longer a domestic sore of such magnitude, for no one can any longer doubt that a festering sore there now is in the relations of landlord and tenant in Bengal.

The long quarrel between the Government on the one hand, and the Calcutta Municipal Commissioners on the other, has terminated for the present in the appointment by the Government of a Special Commission charged with the duty of inquiring into, and reporting on the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and with the further duty of drawing up a scheme for the cleansing of the city and its subsequent maintenance in a state of thorough and well organized conservancy. To the charges brought against them of neglect and incompetence, the Commissioners replied at great length in a most elaborate and carefully studied vindication, but not in our opinion with any appreciable measure of success. The important points in their defence may be summed up in a very few words, indeed: *1st*, they had done as much as the Government institution which they succeeded; *2nd*, they had done as much as they ought to have done or could have done; *3rd*, the epidemic which decimated the city in 1884, was due to exceptional causes, it was a visitation of nature, an unforeseen circumstance over which they could exercise no control. The point under the first head of this defence may be dismissed at once as simply unworthy of notice, because, as a matter of fact, it has no practical bearing on the question at issue at all. Whether the Municipal Commissioners of to-day do as much as the Justices did seven years ago, is not a question about which the present inhabitants of Calcutta care the fraction of a straw. If the causes which lead to defective conservancy are cumulative—if every day, every hour, adds something to the horrors which follow the neglect of sanitation, it is difficult to understand how the Commissioners of to-day can be compared, as regards their obligations towards the city, with another body charged with similar duties

seven years ago. Comparisons of this description are worse than idle: they are in the last degree disingenuous and absurd.

The second point in the Commissioners' defence, that they did as much as they could do and ought to have done, is still more susceptible, if possible, of instant and crushing refutation. The question is one to be decided by a reference to two very simple considerations, indeed,—money and fact. The money actually assigned by the Commissioners for conservancy and sanitation purposes was utterly inadequate, and fell below what they could have assigned, by so considerable an amount as to show that the Commissioners had no proper appreciation of their responsibility in the matter. The question of fact, related to the *actual state* of the *bustees* and bazars, and here, the evidence against them being based on the testimony of experts, was altogether unanswerable. "On horror's head horrors accumulate." Comparisons between one part of the town and another were not necessary, and it was, as we must think, a pity that they were ever instituted, because, as the Commissioners pointed out with great truth, the sanitary condition of Park Street, and the sanitary condition of the native quarters, ought not to be placed on the same level. What was undisputed—the actual state of the native quarters, was amply sufficient for the Government, and with this they ought to have been content. The third point in the Commissioners' defence is the visitation of God theory, and surely this may be dismissed as unworthy of anything like serious examination. Every calamity to which society is heir, might be described in one sense as a visitation of God, but the providence under which we live governs us not by miracles but by laws. The case stated very briefly stands thus:—A frightful outbreak of cholera occurred at a certain season in a certain quarter of Calcutta. In what relation did that outbreak stand to the actual state of the bazars and *bustees* at the time, and in the opinion of those whose opinion ought to be decisive on such a point—qualified medical officers—it stood in the relation of cause and effect. With this we may dismiss the controversy for the present.

To our thinking the whole affair must be regarded as one of the most profoundly regrettable incidents which has occurred in connexion with the modern administration of Bengal. All who wish well to the progress of representative institutions in this country—who look forward with confidence to their effective development—cannot but deplore this instance of their melancholy failure in connexion with one of the most important and conspicuous representative bodies in the country. It is in this spirit that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has dealt with the question. The duty which he had to perform in superseding

the Commissioners was certainly not a pleasant one. If he could have escaped from it he certainly would have done so, but this was not possible. The responsibility of acting, as he did, was fixed on him, and from that responsibility he did not shrink.

The decision of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to examine the Government of India proposition to expend a sum of twenty-eight millions sterling in connexion with the extension of our railway system in this country, is an event fraught with the utmost importance to the future of India. The Government proposition has been accepted. Stated very briefly "in a sentence," as Dr. Hunter said, the object of the new scheme is this—to connect all parts of the country, but especially those parts which are liable to periodical famines—with the ever-productive districts of Chhattisgarh, a part of India which enjoys, owing to peculiar conditions of soil, situation and climate, a fertility and productiveness which, in the nature of things, can never fail. This is the main object of the scheme, but other results must flow from it of the first consequence in connexion with the development of the material resources of the country. Remote local industries will be immensely stimulated by the increased facilities for traffic, and in time commerce will bind together the scattered populations of the Continent "in its golden chains."

The periodical clamour against the annual exodus to the hills has been revived during the quarter with great vigour in the columns of the Calcutta and Madras Press. This agitation partakes of the character of a recurrent epidemic. It comes in regularly with prickly-heat, and subsides as regularly with the advent of the cold weather. But it recurs with ever-increasing violence, and will very soon become both too universal and too powerful to be any longer ignored. The reason of this is not far to seek. The undeniable evils of the system are cumulative in their nature. The requirements of Indian administration are being added to in extent, variety, and complexity, and that out of all proportion to any increase in the European officials employed in that administration, and hence the necessity for greater despatch in the transaction of public business is becoming every day more widely felt, more distinctly recognized. Does the absence of Heads of Departments from their head-quarters in the plains, during a considerable portion of the year, lead to any serious administrative inconvenience? If it does, the evils of the system are not only altogether undeniable, but are in themselves very serious indeed. Now, judging from the statements and representations which have reached us, it is impossible to doubt that delays and postponements

of the most serious character are the direct result of the divided system of administration which obtains in India during a greater portion of the hot weather. But this is the most serious is not the only evil of the present system. In the present day, with exchange at its present low figure, and with the increased expensiveness of living and education in England, it has become an object with a certain class of officials to keep their wives and families as long as possible in India, and hence it too often happens that a senior official who has no preference for the hills himself, and no taste or aptitude for those appointments to which a residence in the hills is attached, joins in the "scramble" for these appointments. In the change from the plains to Simla, Nyuee Tal, or Darjeeling, they undergo an official transformation. The excellent district officer often becomes a bad Secretary, and what is lost to the plains, the district knowledge and experience of half a life time, is certainly not made up for in the hills. Finally, there is the question of expense. This may not be overwhelming, but still it is considerable, and cannot be altogether ignored in the consideration of the question.

The objections to the system do not in our opinion apply to the Viceroy and to his staff, or to Lieutenant-Governors and their principal Secretariat officers. It is the extension of this privilege to every one claiming in any way to be the head of a department, (and new departments are springing into existence every year, or old departments are being divided into separate administrations,) which constitutes the scandal of the system.

By the death of Baboo Kristo Das Pal, India has lost a statesman and a patriot whom she could have ill spared at any time, and whom she has very special reasons for deploring now. Whatever the aim and intentions of Lord Ripon's legislation may have been, and they were no doubt excellent, the practical consequences of that legislation have been altogether deplorable. All the more important measures associated with His Excellency's name have led to a revival of race animosities in this country which, in the opinion of the most competent judges—all those old enough to remember the period—even the Mutinies did not produce. At such a time the loss of such a man as Kristo Das Pal is a "heavy blow and great discouragement" to all those who have at heart the consummation so devoutly to be wished, the growth of a better understanding and a kindlier feeling between the rulers and the ruled.

The poet tells us that—

There is no compound of this earthly ball
Which is like another all in all !

and it is to be feared that the rare combination of qualities, moral and intellectual—which made Kristo Das Pal what he was, a link between the two races—will not be reproduced in our time if they are ever reproduced at all. He loved, and of course thoroughly understood his own countrymen ; and as the result of study, observation and great natural penetration of character, he thoroughly understood their English rulers—their virtues and their failings—and was apparently absolutely free from all feeling of prejudice against them founded on distinctions of race or creed. To these rare qualifications he added intellectual ability of a very high order indeed, and a gift of speech which made him one of the most effective orators of his time. As a writer and speaker of the English language he reached that rare pitch of excellence which foreigners so seldom attain to ; he wrote and spoke English as if he thought as well as expressed himself in the language, and there was, when he was at his best, a certain persuasive element in his oratory, a gentle fervor which always characterizes the highest forms of oratorical power. But towards the end of his life his style, both literary and rhetorical, underwent a marked change for the worse. His speeches and his writings lost much of the vigor, point and condensation of his earlier style. They were too often florid, redundant, and diffuse.

Countless books have been written on the folly and wickedness of race prejudice, but it may be doubted whether they have diminished that prejudice by a solitary bitter feeling or hard thought. In this direction the lesson and example of one noble life is worth all the precept that was ever wasted. Kristo Das Pal is dead, and every phase of his noble life was a living vindication of his race. He stood forth before the world the type of what a Bengalee gentleman could be. He disarmed the prejudices of his opponents and purified and ennobled the ambition of his friends. The good which he did in his life will therefore live after him and, in its way, was altogether incalculable. It is proposed to raise a monument to him in some central part of the great city where he lived so long—for which he did so much—which he loved so well, but in truth he has little need of any such artificial commemoration of his memory and fame. He has raised to himself in the hearts of his countrymen a monument more imperishable than marble, more enduring than the solid

brass. The voice which so often charmed the Council is hushed in eternal silence, the brilliant pen is motionless for ever.

Ashes to ashes, lay the old man down,
And o'er his dust no monument need stand,
Save the long glory of his pure renown
And the proud sorrow of his native land.

Lord Dufferin is to be the next Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The appointment was expected, and has given universal satisfaction. Lord Dufferin is not only a most skilful and experienced diplomatist, but his experience since he left Canada, has lain in directions and been connected with questions calculated to qualify him in a peculiar degree for the great appointment which he is soon to obtain. Lord Lytton came to India with a mission, and he fulfilled it. That mission was to strengthen our frontier against Russia by closing his hand on Southern Afghanistan. Lord Ripon came to India with a mission, and he fulfilled it. That mission was to relax the closed hand and practically surrender all that accrued to us as the fruit of the last Afghan war. Lord Lytton gave us internal tranquillity and external wars. Lord Ripon has given us external tranquillity and internal ferment. What in the shape of a mission is there left for Lord Dufferin to accomplish? He has still two courses left open to him. He can give us *neither or both*.

Among the minor events of the Quarter, the collapse of Madame Blavatski and the Theosophist sham deserves at least a passing notice, and that less from the intrinsic importance of the event itself, than for certain tendencies of modern thought in connexion with religion which it emphasises and illustrates. If the letters published in the *Madras Christian World* are genuine documents, and under the circumstances it is impossible not to believe that they are, Madame Blavatski, the leader of the movement, has been all along a vulgar impostress of the lowest type. The amazing thing about the whole matter is that such a woman should have found dupes and followers in Allan Hume, Percy Sinnett, Mr. Carmichael, and the other distinguished persons whose names have been associated with her career in this country. The faith in ancient revelations, so we are assured, is passing from us. Let those who regard this as a subject for congratulation reflect on what we are offered in their stead; Madame Blavatski, Mr. Slade, Colonel Olcott, Koot Hoomi, the separated halves of cigarette-papers, bundles of bladders, of feathers and muslin, signs, miracles, and manifestations which, from their despicable character, apart from the clumsy trickery by which they are contrived, constitute an outrage on human credulity and an insult to the human understanding.

15th September 1884.

GEORGE A. STACK.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS FOR 1883.

Many of these publications have only been issued from the Press in June and July 1884. We commence our summary with *The Jails of Bengal*, by E. V. Westmacott, Esq., C.S.

THE Report, although it bears Mr. Westmacott's name, is substantially the production of Dr. Lethbridge. Turning first to the all-important question of mortality, we are glad to learn from the Report that the vital statistics for the first time, since 1878, show a great and decided improvement. The ratio of deaths from all causes in 1883 was 16·6 less than in the previous year. There has been a decrease of over 6 per cent. in the total number of convicts admitted direct for the year under review as compared with the previous year, but it is not satisfactory to notice that there has been no falling off for 1883 in the more serious classes of Jail offences, criminal offences for 1883 standing at 88 as against 76 for 1882.

Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums of the Punjab for the year 1883.

IT is satisfactory to observe that this important class of institutions are carefully administered in the Punjab. Lunatic Asylum administration may be tested by one great result: the number of cures effected under treatment. 143 lunatics were admitted to both Asylums (Delhi and Lahore) during the year under review, and of this number 53 were discharged completely cured.

Report on the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year 1883.

THIS report is described by the Lieutenant-Governor as a record of efficient and economical work. To sum up the year's operations, 16,26,821 patients were relieved; 12,997 major and 78,613 minor operations were performed, special relief was afforded against fever in 14, and against cholera

in 31 places, 34 buildings were constructed, extended or improved, and 34 poor blind or leper asylums were maintained, in which 9,765 cases were relieved or maintained, and the cost of these operations was Rs. 3,78,942.

Report on Education in Coorg from 1834 to 1882. By Lewis Rice, Esq.

MR. Rice's review of education in Coorg since 1832 is a record of what may be called intermittent progress achievement under circumstances exceptionally difficult and discouraging. Mr. Rice says: "the upshot of the whole inquiry would thereof seem to be that, what could be done has been done, and that to a greater extent than mere figures would indicate." The number of Government and aided schools is 59, with 3,043 pupils, of whom 305 are girls. Of these schools, 6 are English, established by Government, one in each Taluk. They contain 346 pupils, one being a girl. The Vernacular schools are 53 in number and have 2,697 pupils, of whom 304 are girls. There are no unaided schools connected with this department.

Report on Calcutta Medical Institutions for 1883. By A. J. Payne, Esq., M. D., Surgeon General of Bengal.

A PECULIAR interest attaches to Dr. Payne's reports just now, and it seems to us a pity that an important annual report of this description, a Report for 1883, should not be in the hands of the public until August 1884. Dr. Payne submitted his report in its entirety early in May 1884, and the few pages of the Government Resolution on the Report were therefore the result of nearly three months secretariat study and meditation, but we suppose Mr. Macaulay consoles himself with the reflection that, although the mills of his administration grind very slowly, they grind uncommonly small.

The general medical record for 1883 shows a distinct improvement on the record for 1882. The general death-rate of the town was 28.4 per mille as against 30.4 per mille in the preceding year. The number of deaths from cholera was 2,037 against 2,240 in 1882, and 1,368 the average of the nine years ending with 1881. The small-pox returns for the year under review were very discouraging. Dr. Payne says: "In the small-pox hospital 103 persons were treated in 1883, of these 22 had been vaccinated, of whom 3 died; 18 had been inoculated, and 5 died; 4 had had small-pox previously and 1 died, 59 were

unprotected and 26 died." Referring to the working of the Vaccination Act in Calcutta, Dr. Payne says: "the records of the Health Officer do not show any in the quantity of work, and the protective value of it is open to serious suspicion on the ground supplied by the Campbell Hospital."

The Lieutenant-Governor admits that these figures are unsatisfactory, but His Honor does not consider that they establish any ground for the organization and maintenance of a separate small-pox hospital. The action of the Government in connection with this important matter will be limited for the present to securing a more thorough and efficient administration of the Vaccination Act.

The total number of patients admitted to the various hospitals was 239,337 for 1883, as against 253,083 in 1882, and the deaths in proportion to the whole number admitted was 136·83 per mille in 1883 as against 143·73 in 1882.

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for 1883.

MR. HARRISON is to be congratulated on the fact that he can now and then escape from the turmoil, the raging sea of municipal controversy to the calmer waters of Police Administration. The Police Report for the year 1883 is, on the whole, very satisfactory reading. There has been a decrease under almost every heading in connection with which a decrease was desirable. The total net decrease in false cases was 229, there being a decrease of 273 for the town, and an increase of 44 for the suburbs. The total value of the property stolen in rupees during the year amounted to 16,247, and of this property to the value of rupees 84,065 was recovered, and this gives as a percentage of value of property recovered 51·74. Murders in the town were less by one than in 1882: six in 1883 as against seven in 1882. Offences of burglary and lurking-house trespass in the town decreased from 149 in 1882 to 130, of which 46 per cent. were detected. There was an increase, in the number of suicides, 60 for 1883 as against 45 in 1882. The cognizable crimes in the suburbs decreased from 3,276 to 2,857, but there was in the suburbs a remarkable increase in serious offences against the person, the number of which rose from 44 to 115, or an increase of 71. The Police service is not popular with the Bengalis. This is attributed to the severity of the work for which, owing to their inferior physique, the Bengalis are unfitted. Yet their superior intelligence is valuable, and the Bengalis in the force have no reason to complain of the service. Of 230 Bengalis employed, 148 were

constables and 82 native officers, representing a very large percentage of promotions indeed.

Reports on Native Publications issued and registered in the several Provinces of British India during the year 1882.

WHY this Report, which deals with the year 1882, should not be published until 1884, is not explained? It shows a great increase in the number of publications, attesting in every department of literature the spread of increased intellectual activity among the people. The Reporter for Madras concludes his analysis as follows:—"As far as I have been able to notice the general tone of the publications, registered during the year, was unobjectionable as regards morality and loyalty."

In Bengal, according to the Reporter, Baboo Chunder Nath Bose, the results were very uneven. In fiction, according to the Baboo, we had some "grand" works, and the grandest was the *Valmiki Jay* of Pandit Hara Prasad. The publications, as we have said, show an increase under every head—Biography, Law, Fiction, Poetry, Work of Science; but according to the Reporter the increase under the head of poetry is scarcely a subject for congratulation.

"Much of the poetry," we are told, "was of the usual kind, rapid, verbose, dull and unsubstantial," and it is not satisfactory to learn that works on science have been confined to a few elementary treatises on mathematics, while as regards travels, no work in any language was received during the year. The publications under the head of Law and Poetry show a great increase. Thus, the educated tendencies of the Bengali intellect, sentiment and litigation are well illustrated in their literature. Let us now turn to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Everything, fiction, history, biography, science, has to give way to language and law in the North-Western Provinces. As against ten books on biography, one on politics, two on travels, 50 on history, there were published in the North-Western Provinces for the year under review, 226 books on language and 325 on laws. Turning to the Punjab we find that everything in this part of India, judging by the literary outcome of the year, has to give way to poetry and religion.

As against three works on politics, seven on philosophy, ten on history, one on travels, 16 on fiction, there were published in the Punjab 289 poetical works and 300 publications on religion. British Burma shows the very satisfactory increase of ten per cent. in the number of publications registered. Religion carries away the first prize, but poetry is a good second. As against two

publications during the year on law, one on philosophy, twenty-three drama, four history, there were published 57 poetical works, and in all 64 works on religion. Judging by Mr. Wilson's report, the intellect of Assam is still fettered by the "cold chain of silence." The summary for the province is melancholy reading. One dramatic work, one on language, seven poetical works, five on religion, this is the sum total of the publications for Assam registered during the year. Mysore has done much better, Mr. Rich says :—"The increased literary activity has been remarkable," 48 publications for the year under review as against eight for the preceding year. Religion carries all before it in Mysore. We have twenty-six publications under this head as against one poetical work, nine on philosophy, two on law, two fiction, one on science, and the rest miscellaneous.

Review of Forest Administration for 1883 in British India.

By Dr. Schlich.

THE rapid increase of Forest revenue is noted by Dr. Schlich as the most remarkable feature in Indian Forest Administration. It has risen from 68 to 104 lakhs in five years, and it is more than probable that this rate of increase will not only be maintained but greatly exceeded in the future. Dr. Schlich looks forward with confidence to the future of Forest Administration in India, and attributes the greatly improved results of late years to the careful special training which the higher classes of Forest officers have now to undergo, and to the superior organisation of that most useful body—Forest Rangers—from the native subordinates. The necessity for Forest conservancy has at last been fully recognised. During the year under review prosecutions under the Forest Conservancy laws, have been very numerous, and, on the whole, very successful.

Annual Report on Inland Emigration for the year 1883.

By J. G. Grant, Esq., M. D.

IT is most satisfactory to observe that this important department has been carefully looked after by those who are responsible for it, as far as an annual report can supply any indication to this end. Mere statistics could not by themselves indicate all the more important features of the results achieved. A large increase in the number of emigrants might be accompanied by a corresponding increase of suffering and hardship, but in connexion with the increase which has actually taken place, there is no reason to fear that this has been the case. Regulations for the protection of the coolies have been rigidly enforced, and the

medical supervision has been so strict and so thoroughly carried out, that the increase may be taken as representing the increased popularity of the system. The total number of emigrants and their dependants registered for contractors and garden-sardars, taken collectively and for transmission, *via* Calcutta, Goalundo, or Kooshtea, as the case might be, was for each of the past three years as follows :—

Year.	Contractor's Coolies.	Sardar Coolies.	• Total.
1881	6,415	2,379	8,794
1882	7,995	2,907	10,902
1883	9,876	5,291	15,167

Review for 1883 of Ward Estate Management in Oudh.

THE management—the improved management—of Wards' estates is a question which has been engaging the serious attention of the Supreme Government for some time past. The review for 1883 of the management of estates in the Court of Wards or under the Talukdars' Relief Act in Oudh, will therefore be read with peculiar interest. The extent of Wards' Estate land under the direct administration of the Government is enormous, and if Mr. Buck's department is to be anything more than an emporium of agricultural theories, Wards' Estate management will be the arena of vastly improved methods of agriculture, leading, it may be hoped, to commensurate results. All the more important results connected with Wards' Estate management in Oudh for the year 1883 were, in the highest degree, satisfactory. The gross rental of these estates has risen in the course of five years from Rupees 5,67,201 to Rs. 5,86,578. The rise is a little more than 3 per cent. in all, or half per cent. per annum. We quite agree with Mr. Woodburn in thinking that the smallness of this increase is a subject for congratulation. Increased rentals can always be brought about by means which would have the worst effects on the prosperity of the estates themselves. Mr. Woodburn says : " It will be seen that most of these estates begin with encumbrances as even the minority properties are usually in debt." The rent due for the year under review was collected in full, and so far from any pressure being used to exact full rents, the collections in 1881 were allowed to fall eight per cent. below the full rental, and when a good season ensued in 1882 : " The tenants (we are quoting from Mr. Woodburn) came forward admirable in the payment of rent suspended after a bad harvest. Loans for land improvement form an important part of the Wards' Estate Administration in Oudh, and has so far been attended with the most satisfactory results." As regards the manner in which

these improvements should be made, Mr. Woodburn says: "It is becoming more and more widely recognized, that local improvements can at least, in estates under official management, be best carried on indirectly, that is, through the tenants." In this opinion we entirely concur. The improvements of every kind effected on the various estates are enumerated in considerable detail: sinking new wells and reclaiming jungle or marshy land, were among the more common forms of estate improvement, but we regret that this record contains scarcely any mention of the introduction among the ryots of more scientific and economical methods of agriculture. Can it be that the Oudh Government is after all a convert to Sir Ashley Eden's doctrine, that the one thing the Indian ryot does *not* need, is any instruction which would tend show him how to make the most of the soil on which he lives.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Gujarát and the Gujarátis : Pictures of Men and Manners taken from Life. By Behránji M. Malabari. Bombay : Education Society's Press, 1884.

TO the second Edition of this work is prefixed a vast number of complimentary extracts from reviews of the first Edition appearing in newspapers both in India and in England. These extracts are nearly all couched in terms of extravagant praise, and as they stare the reader in the face at the outset of the volume, they naturally create a very high expectation of the treat in store for him. We mean no disparagement to a lively and entertaining volume, when we remark that the expectations created by these laudatory extracts are not altogether realised. Native newspapers may be expected to be considerably too fulsome in their appreciation of a smart book by a native author, and one is accustomed to receive their comments with a large allowance for the extravagant fervour of oriental speech : but English reviewers, in their natural and kindly desire to encourage native talent, should be careful not to suspend their functions as critics. It is the duty of an English reviewer to point out clearly to a native writer his faults of language and defects of style, although this should perhaps be done in a gentler and more sympathetic spirit than in the case of an English author. It is a weakness which may proceed from a kindly spirit, but which is none the less a weakness, to speak of this work as "remarkable," of its English as wonderfully perfect and its humour as always genuine and fresh, when, in truth, its English abounds in the solecisms and peculiarities with which we are all familiar in the speech of the English-educated natives, and its humour is as often as not, forced, unnatural, and ineffective. That, however, does not prevent these sketches from being on the whole smart, lively, and entertaining reading.

To support our statement that the usual peculiarities of "native-English" are to be found freely in Mr. Malabári's volume, we give here a few examples picked out at random, of which we

make a present to Messrs. Rowe and Webb. The possessive case is frequently misused, as on page 3: "There was nothing for it however, but to bow to *friends' decision*." The wrong adverb is sometimes used, as on page 88: "One of the *most* educated men in India," where "most" is used for "best." The following speak for themselves:—"Last week I was *dined by my mother-in-law*:" "The local Municipality, under some *energetical* Collectors," &c.: "The grain-dealers, who, only the other week, sat with all the *insolence of shop*, are fearfully down in the mouth." Again, Mr. Malabári is not altogether free from the tendency to use a magniloquent style which is so marked a feature in the English of the educated Baboo, and which reaches its culmination in the immortal biography of Mr. Justice Onoocool Chunder Mukherjee: as for example, when he describes the bleeding breast of a Moham-medan fanatic as "a piece of raw flesh besprinkled with the vital fluid." We will conclude this unpleasant task of picking holes in Mr. Malabári's English by drawing attention to his peculiar misuse of the word "abuses." One article in his book is entitled: "Native abuses: symptoms, causes, and treatment thereof." Of this, he remarks "Native abuses are of endless variety," and so on, using "abuses" as an equivalent for "terms of abuse." Mr. Malabári may do this advisedly and intend it merely as a legitimate joke: but it is not English. Having finished our duty of fault-finding, we gladly remark that, in spite of oriental solecisms, Mr. Malabári's English is, on the whole, powerful and easy, and has a quaintness which in many cases gives it a peculiar charm.

It is obvious that Mr. Malabári has a real sense of humour, and some of his descriptions and incidents are laughable in the extreme. There is, for example, the amusing scene in a Police Court, where an Irish soldier is brought up on a false charge of assaulting a woman, and is examined by a Va'quil. Mr. Malabári has succeeded fairly well in catching the superficial peculiarities of the Irish brogue, and works the dialogue between Magistrate, soldier, woman and pleader with considerable skill up to the laughable close.

Va'quil (sententiously).—Weigh your words.

Soldier.—How kin I weigh me words?

Va'quil.—Sir, have you come here to *brandy* words with me?

Soldier.—Do ye think so, thin?

Va'quil (furiously).—Now, hold out your tongue, Sir.

It is needless to say that the soldier obeyed the unexpected injunction, and held out his tongue, thus transforming the gravity of the Court into "inextinguishable laughter." Or, again, we may instance, as a good example of quiet humour, the following

comment on an official description of a dispensary as "unsurpassed at least in this country." Mr. Malabári remarks: "But I too, have seen dispensaries in Káttwár which are, and will remain for a century to come, quite 'unsurpassed.' For instance, there was one at Mahá. It was in a nice little hovel and was conducted on Catholic principles: for not only was it free to light and rain, but even beasts of the field and birds of the air found free access to it. For some time I had been told the dispensary had not been working: but I found that this assertion could not be borne out, for I myself saw a number of respectable-looking mice experimenting with the surgical instruments, and a number of big stalking spiders surrounding the blue bottles with a fantastic network." There is a great deal of this sort of humour in the book, natural, easy and kindly. But then, again, there is a great deal of very unnatural humour. Mr. Malabári is evidently conscious that he has a considerable gift of humour, and is laudably anxious not to bury his talent in a napkin. But he allows his desire to exercise his mental gift to run away with him. His descriptions, consequently, frequently show an unnatural straining after humorous effects, which robs them of their force, and sometimes renders them altogether unintelligible. Mr. Malabári aims too obviously at being a native "Ali Baba." If we may venture to give advice to so able and eminent a native journalist, we would recommend him to cease to strain after humorous effects, and to be content to be "funny" only when the fun arises spontaneously out of his subject and his method of treatment.

In spite of these disparaging remarks, which we mean in no unkindly spirit, Mr. Malabári's sketches are undoubtedly fresh, piquant, and entertaining, and afford a very suggestive insight into the mental attitude of the well-disposed amongst the educated natives towards their fellow-countrymen and the European element in India. In the "Introduction," the author gives a brief but lively sketch of his own career, more especially of his connection with the native press. This may be taken as shedding an amusing light on the character and management of a good many of those native papers which are a "thorn in the flesh" to our rulers, and on the qualifications of their editors to browbeat the Government of the country and to guide and educate native public opinion. He describes with a keen relish his eagerness, at the age of 18, to become a journalist and censor of morals, and "to enlighten the public on political and other topics of the day." At that age he was joint-editor of a native newspaper, whose name is not given, but which must have been a precious production. Mr. Malabári treated of social questions:

the co-editor of politics. "Was it not glorious to criticise and ridicule the highest men in the country? What a privilege for too-early-emancipated schoolboys!" Mr. Malabári had always scribbled poetry: and his leaders on social topics consisted of his rejected poems turned into prose. His co-editor's qualifications for the post of a political guide to the public may be gathered from the following anecdote:—"One day, writing I believe of the battle of Plevna, P. asked me what was meant by 'the Porte,' I explained 'the Porte' might be the Sultan of Turkey's principal wife. P. thought it was only the European title of the Khedive of Egypt." Mr. Malabári naïvely remarks: "We often thought and wrote in that curious way." We suspect a good many of the more violent native papers are conducted by schoolboys whose qualifications to be leaders of the people are on a par with those of the mysterious P. The refreshing candour of this account indicates one of the charms of the book. For the same candour is displayed in all Mr. Malabári's sketches of Indian Social and Religious life, and no belligerent Christian Missionary has ever unveiled with a greater force of scorn and indignation the various abominations of the more degraded forms of Hinduism or Mohammedanism. The vast weight of horrible and obscene superstition that hangs like a plague-cloud over the land may yet be removed if the educated natives of the country turn from the fascinating pursuit of political will-o'-the-wisps, and apply their energies, like Mr. Malabári, to exposing and denouncing fearlessly all that is degrading and unclean in the social and religious observances of the people. We appeal to our young Bengali orators and journalists, if they must found, with flourish of trumpets and with infinite expenditure of fervid rhetoric, a National Fund, to devote this fund, not to "political agitation," but to social and domestic reform. Reform best begins at home: and the salvation of India will be near at hand when we find the whole body of educated natives of every race throughout India banding together for the abolition of child-marriages or the emancipation of widows, with the same zeal and fervour as that which they are now displaying, say, in their attempt to get the age of candidates for the Civil Service raised. In this matter we have nothing but praise to give to Mr. Malabári: he dedicates his book "to the true reformers of the country as distinguished from the false," and his own courageous exposure of the various mysteries and abominations of the Indian religious systems, whilst practically ignoring political questions, sufficiently indicates wherein the difference consists between the "true" and "false" reformers. It is true, Mr. Malabári is a Parsi, so that

it is an easier matter for him to take up an attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the abominations of Hinduism than it would be for a Hindu: but he is equally unsparing in his exposure of the hypocrisies and vices of his own community, as witness his chapter entitled "Parsis," in which the lifeless formality and aimlessness of the faith of his co-religionists is sketched with no hesitating pen.

We observe that in the preface, written by Mr. E. B. Eastwick, he remarks: "Here will be found evidences of the friction which exists between the governing and the governed race. It is to be hoped that the *hauteur* of the one and the irritation of the other are decreasing: but the European who goes to sleep with his boots in an Indian gentleman's lap while travelling in the same compartment of a carriage on an Indian railway is, it is to be feared, not wholly extinct," &c. Some of the criticisms appearing in English papers would also lead one to infer that there is a good deal in Mr. Malabári's sketches illustrative of the strained relations between the English population in India and the natives, and denunciatory of the fancied insolence and *hauteur* of the former. Now, we have read the book through, and fail entirely to find "evidences of the friction, &c." Mr. Eastwick has probably read as far as page 25 on which this incident occurs, and has inferred, without reading, that there would be similar incidents in every 25 pages. It has been remarked that a man finds in a book only what he brings to it, which may possibly account for what Mr. Eastwick and the reviewers have found in Mr. Malabári's volume. The incident referred to by Mr. Eastwick is the only one in the book having the least reference to "European *hauteur*," and we may venture to question its significance. In the first place, we are not quite sure that it ever occurred: Mr. Malabári does not vouch for the truth of all his incidents, and this may be simply introduced for the sake of effect and to give piquancy to the account of a dull railway journey. In the second place, what it illustrates is simply the vulgarity and insolence of low-bred people any where, no matter what their race: the Englishman, being an exceptionally vigorous animal in all the walks of life, is exceptionally truculent and offensive when he takes to insolence. But we do not see that it involves any race-feeling at all. If Meer Gulám Bibá had been an unmistakeable English gentleman travelling in England, he might have had to submit to similar, or even greater, annoyances in a third-class carriage from some brutish fellow-traveller—navvy, or costermonger, or day-labourer—in which no race-feeling could possibly have lurked. There is nothing whatever in

the story which could not have occurred to an English gentleman travelling on an English railway. And we therefore very strongly demur to the remarks as to "race-feeling" based upon it. For the rest, Mr. Malabári's sketches are peculiarly friendly to the Europeans. All the European officials to whom he refers are spoken of with deference and respect, and praised for various virtues: whereas the personal sketches of distinguished natives are frequently scornful and sarcastic in the extreme. So much is this the case, that we can easily imagine a native critic charging Mr. Malabári with subservience to the ruling power, and with an unpatriotic severity to his own people. We make these remarks because a certain class of publicists and writers do incalculable harm by writing and speaking as if the only question to be solved in India was the question of abolishing "European insolence." There is a wide-spread impression at home, amongst the large class to whom politics is a mixture of ignorance mistaking itself for knowledge with mawkishness mistaking itself for sentiment, that the Englishman in India habitually ill-treats and insults native gentlemen, and displays a "spirit of arrogance which must be checked" in all his relations with the native community. This feeling is fostered by such remarks as that of Mr. Eastwick quoted above, who mentions "European *hauteur*" as a matter of course of which every one knew. Our own impression is that this "European insolence" is largely imaginary as far as it is based upon any race-feeling. Europeans are frequently insolent and arrogant one towards another: some are habitually so to every one. But this is due to the personal character of the arrogant individual, which shows itself equally in his dealings with Europeans and natives: in the latter case it is no more due to race-feeling than in the former. The offended native fancies it is so, and writes of it to a native paper: the offended European returns scorn for scorn, or bears the infliction meekly: at any rate he does not think of erecting it into a public question.

Oriental Carpets. How they are made and conveyed to Europe, with a narrative of a Journey to the East in search of them.
By HERBERT COXON. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.

"OF writing many books there is no end," and it is difficult to surmise any reason why this particular book should have been written at all. Its origin is probably due to the following extract from the *Globe*, October 12th, 1883, which is inserted on the title-page:—

"Through Baku there recently passed a Newcastle carpet-dealer,

who had come out to the Caucasus and Persia to open up a direct trade in Oriental carpets between the Tyne and the principal carpet centres of the East. To the Russians here such enterprise is amazing, and I must say that the fact deserves record in these days, when English commercial enterprise is often said to be degenerating, that one of the first Europeans to travel along the new Baku railway should be an English provincial trader."

This flattering notice no doubt suggested to the "Newcastle carpet dealer" that, like other great travellers, he might easily render himself famous by writing a book: but *nē sutor ultra crepidum*, and it is a pity that he has quitted the familiar business of haggling for carpets to enter upon the more difficult pursuit of literature. Mr. Coxon's book is ambitiously got up, with a sensational cover across which two gilt camels are patiently bearing the illustrious traveller's baggage duly labelled "Coxon, Batoum," is embellished with a pompous dedication, a prefatory note, eleven illustrations and a map, all of which serve as the elaborate setting for 75 pages of print, containing a very commonplace account of the by no means difficult or unusual journey to Baku on the Caspian Sea, and a few flimsy remarks about Daghestan and other carpets. Nowadays a railway runs from Batoum to Baku, and there is nothing novel or strange or dangerous in the attempt to reach the latter city that entitles it to be immortalised in a book. It would be possible to write an account of an everyday journey from London to Manchester which should be fresh and entertaining and worthy of the comparative immortality of print: but Mr. Coxon's account of his journey through such well-known places as Flushing, Berlin, Breslau, Cracow, Odessa, Batoum, Tiflis and Baku, is conspicuous by the absence of any such freshness of treatment, and simply consists of short paragraphs of commonplace comment which look like fragmentary reminiscences of the various guide-books read by the author during his journey. Thus "Breslau, the capital of Silesia, an ancient and progressing town situated on the Oder, which river is navigable for light draught steamers from Breslau to Stettin on the Baltic. The old fortifications have been tastefully converted into pleasure-grounds, the fosse serving as a breeding place for a variety of fowl." "Odessa is a flourishing and strongly fortified town on the coast of the Black Sea. The city is regularly built, in a parallelogram form, on a gentle declivity, and slopes towards the sea. Many of the streets are broad and lined with trees. The grain warehouses are of immense size. Corn is the chief article of export, after which comes wool and tallow." Mr. Coxon enlivens his account of his perilous journey across such unknown and unfre-

quented countries as those that form the Continent of Europe by heaps of strange and interesting information of this kind. We are disappointed, however, to find that although he passed through the comparatively unknown town of London, he does not seem to have been able to pick up any fresh information regarding its population, birth-rate, government, or principal buildings. We expected something of this kind: "London, the capital of England, a flourishing and rather large town on the river Thames, a dirty stream which flows into the North Sea. The population is numerous, and is yearly increasing. There are a good many ships to be seen at the extensive docks here, and a large trade is carried on, which is no doubt capable of much extension if properly fostered. This city is chiefly noted for its 'porter,' a pleasant malt liquor consumed in immense quantities by the inhabitants." A good part of Mr. Coxon's 75 pages is made of of excellent guide-book information of this kind. Mr. Coxon, however, in the course of his exciting travels into unfrequented parts, does occasionally pick up a startlingly fresh piece of information which he generously imparts with great naïveté to his reader, as, for example, where he announces his discovery that the Moors of Morocco, a race hitherto but little known, are "followers of Mahomet," or again where, commenting upon the disappearance from Baku of fire-worship, he informs us that "in South Persia and India fire-worshippers still exist."

Mr. Coxon was accompanied during the greater part of his perilous journey by his brother-in-law, and from Odessa to Baku he had the good fortune, apparently, to have the well-known Mr. Charles Marvin as a fellow-traveller, to whom he was much indebted for his kindness in interpreting. But from Tiflis to Baku he had very extraordinary travelling companions, if we may judge from the following: "After thoroughly exploring Tiflis we quitted the town for Baku, accompanied by a downpour of rain and flashes of lightning." Mr. Coxon's English style very frequently affords similar amusement to the reader, as, for example, when, in describing Sevastopol, he makes a statement which, if it means anything, means that he saw a Russian ironclad strolling ashore at that place!

Mr. Coxon's object in this journey was to "establish a direct trade between Newcastle and the carpet districts of the East," so as both to diminish the cost of the carpets by doing away with the half-dozen middlemen through whose hands oriental carpets passed before reaching the dealer in England, and to lessen the chances of deception so as to ensure genuine specimens. However, in the account of his travels, carpets are kept conscientiously in the background, and two-thirds of the

book are devoted to explaining how the author managed to arrive at Baku, with a running account of the usual incidents of railway and stean-boat travelling. It seems, however, to have occurred suddenly to Mr. Coxon as he was finishing his book, that he ought after all to say something about the subject which forms its title, so he treats us to a chapter of 14 pages on "The Carpet Industry in the East." Here, we thought, we shall get something new from Mr. Coxon, as he is treating of his own *métier*; but the chapter is disappointing and fragmentary, although somewhat ambitious in its historical introduction. "Carpets date from a very remote period. We read of them being applied to sacred uses by the priests of Heliopolis in Egypt," &c. There are very few things in the chapter that might not have been written by one who knew nothing about carpets, and who had got the subject up from an Encyclopædia: and we searched in vain for those little touches which would betray the practical carpet-dealer. Perhaps the following quotation contains the only point of any practical value in the chapter, and even this is by no means new. "An old Persian test for a good carpet is to drop a pease of red-hot charcoal upon it. This leaves a singed brown spot. If the carpet be a good one, of the first quality, the hand can then brush off the singed wool without the least trace of the burn being afterwards discernible in the carpet." The following remarks by an English carpet-dealer may be of some interest to the superintendents of our Indian jails. "It is to be regretted that the baneful influence of competition on the part of the Indian jails, coupled with the greedy desire of dealers to obtain them quicker and cheaper, should have lowered the quality and depreciated the value of Indian carpets in Europe." "In some districts of India carpets are made altogether unworthy of notice."

The book is illustrated by eleven drawings "from photographs purchased of an enterprising French artist, resident in Tiflis, and from information, sketches, and ideas with which I have been able to supply him." Mr. Coxon informs us that these drawings are the work of a "local artist:" this is quite unnecessary, as only talent which was purely "local" could have produced the exquisite sketch which forms the frontispiece of the volume.

On the whole, we cannot altogether approve of Mr. Coxon's ambitious venture into the field of literature. The matter in this book would have done very well to form the raw material for two or three letters from "our special correspondent on the Caspian" for the local Newcastle papers, and the style would probably have passed muster in the columns of the daily press, but it is a mistake to have diluted it out to 75 pages and made it into a gorgeously got-up book.

Arminius Vambéry. His Life and Adventures, written by Himself. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.

THE title of this fascinating volume is somewhat misleading. It is really simply an account of the famous journey of Vambéry to Samarkand in the guise of a dervish, with just so much of his previous and subsequent life as is necessary to introduce and round off the story of that exploit. As the author entitles this "His Life," we may infer that he himself regards this adventurous journey of his as the main event in his career, to which his previous life served only as a preparation, and the successful accomplishment of which has robbed his subsequent history of any interest in his own eyes. We rise from reading the volume with a feeling of regret that this great exploit of Vambéry's early manhood should have dwarfed so entirely in his own mind all that went before and all that has come after: for, although we are prepared to find the life of a Professor of Languages at an Hungarian University sufficiently dull and commonplace to be dismissed in a few short sentences, our curiosity is excited to know more of those early years of privation and poverty which resulted in turning out into the world so remarkable a linguist and so daring a traveller as the famous "faux derviche." But these early years are dismissed in ten pages: the journey from Budapest to Samarkand begins on p. 11. We hope the author may be induced in some subsequent edition to give us a more detailed account of the struggles of his youth: the story of his earlier years of hardship and penury written with the same freshness and piquancy as the rest of the volume would be fascinating in the extreme, and might serve to inspire a fresh chapter in the next edition of Smiles' "Self-Help."

Born of poor Hungarian parents, and losing his father when but a few months old, Vambéry was early turned adrift to seek his own livelihood. After three years' schooling, the future traveller and scholar was, at the age of twelve, apprenticed to a ladies' dressmaker! As the occupation of stitching two piece of muslin together was not quite satisfying to his ambition, he next obtained employment as private tutor to the son of the village innkeeper, occasionally relieving the work of teaching by acting as tap-boy or boot-black. Saving in this way the large sum of 8 florins, our hero quitted the innkeeper's service and entered as a student at the Gymnasium of St. George, near Pressburg. "The money I had brought with me was just sufficient to purchase me the necessary books, and kind and charitable people helped me on in many other ways. Seven different families each gave me one day in the week a free meal, adding to it a big slice of bread for breakfast and another for luncheon. I also got

the cast-off clothes of the wealthier schoolboys." From St. George he repaired at the age of 14 to Pressburg, where he supported himself whilst continuing his studies "now in the capacity of a servant, and then teaching she-cooks, chambermaids, and other individuals thirsting for knowledge." Here the passion for roaming, destined to affect so marvellously the future of the young scholar, began to show itself, and during his holidays he visited Vienna, Prague and other cities on foot, picking up his maintenance as he went along in a manner which he thus describes : " At night, I usually put up at the houses of the reverend clergy of the place, where my Latin conversation was sure to earn for me some regards and a few kreutzers for my travelling expenses : and by a few happy neatly-turned compliments, bestowed upon their housekeepers, I generally succeeded in having my travelling bag filled with provisions for the next day." Thus, with a cheerful heart, pursuing knowledge under difficulties, Vambéry was able to develope his extraordinary faculty for the acquisition of languages, and at the age of twenty-two was master of all the chief European tongues, and also of Turkish. His mind had long been fascinated by the mystery of Central Asia, and he had devoted himself to the study of the latter language with a view to journeying thither. " All my musings, endeavours, thoughts and feelings tended towards the Land of the East which was beckoning to me in its halo of splendour." As soon as he had mastered Turkish, our enthusiast started for Constantinople, knapsack on back, an obolus in his pocket, and with a vision of the East dancing alluringly like a Fata-Morgana before his eyes. Here he remained for about eight years, spent apparently in gradual and thorough preparation for the great journey before him, familiarising himself with Oriental speech and manners and customs, and in reality converting himself into an Oriental. " Already I was tolerably well acquainted with the colloquial language of the countries on the Oxus. Indeed, I may add, that many a quarter of a town and region in the distant Mohammedan East was as familiar to me, from hearsay and reading, as is the capital on the Seine to a European who has been a reader of French novels for many years." This long stay in Constantinople accounts, in a large measure, for the marvellous success with which Vambéry carried out his perilous journey. These eight years were years of patient and thorough training for the work before him, during which he had continually in his mind the great end for which he lived, and availed himself greedily of every opportunity of acquiring the necessary familiarity with Eastern customs. At the end of it, he seems to have become so engrained with Eastern ideas as to be able to counterfeit at will

any of the ordinary characters likely to be met with in his journey. Into this wonderful journey we do not propose to follow him. Here the story is admirably told with a freshness and piquancy *verve* that make the book of absorbing interest, and keep the reader's attention agreeably engaged throughout. If Vambéry's command of English is an indication of his attainments in the innumerable other languages which he professes, then assuredly he must be a marvellous linguist. His English is, on the whole, simple, fresh and clear, with a certain "foreign accent" about it which only serves to give it a quaint charm. Only rarely in these 370 pages does he make any slip, or, by falling into a solecism or grammatical error, betray the fact that the language is acquired. The narrative hurries on smoothly without pause, which is largely due to the fact that the author very rarely breaks the progress of his story to indulge in reflections or moralisings. This self-restraint is perhaps carried a little too far, as very often, in his desire not to interrupt his story by diffuse explanations, the author leaves the reader in considerable doubt as to his motives. He obviously assumes that his career and achievements are already well known. But it would have been to the advantage of his story if he had occasionally let us see that his motive in this journey was not merely an aimless love of adventure. Although he remarks at the outset that there is "nothing more glorious than the hope of being able to enrich even by a single letter the book of intellectual life lying open before us," as indicating the ambition that stimulated him to his perilous enterprise, in the course of his story he never refers to these deeper motives or even suggests that they existed. This perhaps is to be regretted, as it detracts from the value of the volume as a complete account of the life of Vambéry. We have to go elsewhere to find what additions to our store of knowledge resulted from this hazardous undertaking.

Perhaps the most striking feature in this striking story is the really marvellous ease with which Vambéry was able, on all occasions, to maintain his assumed character of a Hadji. His journey was throughout a sustained piece of elaborate acting, under circumstances that rendered detection probable every moment,—detection almost certain to result in death. But Vambéry seems never to have been at a loss: he had always ready some new ruse to suit new difficulties as they arose, and it is really amazing to find by what simple and easy artifices he was able to deceive and circumvent the "wily oriental." His narrowest escape from detection was at the hands of Yakoob Khan, then prince of Herat; the incident is thus told:—

"As became my position as a dervish, I entered with the cus-

tomary salutation, and exciting no sort of comment by it, I went up straight to the prince, seating myself between him and the vizier, after having pushed aside the latter, a stout Afghan, to make room for me. There was a general laugh at this intermezzo, but I kept my countenance, and immediately raised my hand to recite the customary prayer. The prince looked at me fixedly during the prayer. I observed an expression of surprise and hesitation stealing over his face, and after I had said 'Amen,' and the whole company smoothing their beards responded to it, he jumped up from his chair, and pointing at me with his finger, he exclaimed laughingly and yet half astonished, 'I swear by God thou art an Englishman!' A loud burst of laughter followed the original remark of the young prince, but he, in no wise disconcerted, approached, stood up in front of me, and then clapping his hands like a child who had guessed right at something, he added: 'Let me be thy victim! Confess thou art an Ingiliz in disguise.' But I now pretended to act as if the joke had been carried too far for my forbearance, and said: '*Sahib mekum* (stop this): dost thou know the proverb—'he who even in fun makes a true believer to be an unbeliever, becomes one himself.' Give me rather something for my *fatiha* that I may continue my journey.' My grave looks, and the citation made by me, somewhat perplexed the young prince, and sitting down again, half ashamed of himself, he excused himself by saying that he had never seen a dervish from Bokhara with such features."

The unfortunate Yakoob Khan afterwards, when Vambéry was safe in Europe, found out that his impression was right, and, says Vambéry, "the miserable wretch is always boasting, as I am told, of having been the only Asiatic who penetrated my *incognito*." Considering that Yakoob Khan furnished him with the means of continuing his journey, it is rather an unkind return to refer to him so contemptuously as "the miserable wretch."

This is a fair instance of the readiness of resource which kept Vambéry's disguise undetected through the perils of Bokhara and Samarkand. Whilst one cannot but admire the skill and courage displayed, it is an interesting question in casuistry whether such elaborate deceit is justifiable even with the motive of adding something to the stock of human knowledge. For there is undoubtedly a reverse side of the picture, and some of Vambéry's deceptions are decidedly unpleasant. He supported himself in his assumed character of dervish by resorting to the usual arts of dervishes, and did not even hesitate to pretend to supernatural powers of healing if that seemed likely to bring him the necessary expenses of his journey.

“Later on, I went with Hadji Belal, bestowing blessings, or visting the sick in company of Hadji Salib, who dabbled considerably in the art of healing. Whilst he gave the medicine, I bestowed the blessing on the patient, and was rewarded for it by the gift of a small piece of cloth, dried fish and other trifles. Whether it was owing to my successful cures, or to the curiosity of the people to see the Hadji from Roum, I do not know, but certain it is that patients came flocking to me and I treated them* by either bestowing my blessing upon them, or breathing upon them, or writing talismans for them.” Two years of deception of this sort must have had strange effects upon Vambery’s character, of which he himself seems aware. “That double-facedness in which a man lives, thoroughly aware of his real nature in spite of his outward disguise, cannot be maintained very long with impunity.” It would be interesting to get from Vambery himself an estimate of the permanent effect upon his mental and moral nature of these two years of elaborate and sustained deception. This deceit, however necessary it may have been, renders some of the incidents in the book rather disagreeable reading. There is something that strikes us as unpleasant in the story Vambery tells of his lectures and speeches in London when being “lionised” on his return. He was apparently in the habit of ending these by conferring upon his audience a mock blessing, “reciting the first *surah* of the Koran with all the eccentricity of the Arabic guttural accent and with all the queerness of the genuine Moslem gesticulation,” thereby, of course, throwing his audience into fits of laughter. He himself writes with some feeling of the frequent painfulness of the incessant deception which was absolutely necessary for the success of his journey: and we cannot help thinking that this attempt to amuse his audience in London at the expense of those whom he had duped with his false blessings and counterfeit sanctity, was in excessively bad taste. Indeed, we may say that the whole of this part of the volume, narrating the events of the season of lionising through which he passed on his return from his journey, is a little unpleasant, although Vambery’s remarks upon the people he met are smart and entertaining: the impression left is that the whilom dervish’s head was turned by the sensation created by his return, and that he has since found nothing in life to equal the exquisite pleasure of being a “lion.”

Although the author, as a rule, studiously avoids halting in his narrative to give expressions to his views, he finishes the volume by explaining at some length his well-known opinions regarding the Russian advance in Central Asia and England’s duty in the matter. The innumerable articles that

Vambery has written on this subject are thus accounted for : " Other scholars, particularly in Germany, were used to spend their leisure time in social circles, in beer and coffee-houses, or the like. I never knew, nor did I practise, any amusement in life : and when I wanted recreation I sat down to write a leading article on Central Asian politics to some leading paper." It is as well to understand, then, that those articles emanating from Vambery, which serve to keep alive an active and virulent Russophobia, perform in the mental and physical economy of the great Hungarian the same sedative and recuperative functions as are ordinarily attributed to coffee or beer. Whilst it is a great pity that a more systematic and prudent attention has not been directed towards the Russian advance, this is no doubt largely attributable to the general violence with which the views of those who see in it a menace to our empire have been expressed : and we are afraid that the natural Magyar hatred of Russia and all things Russian, to which Vambery confesses, has somewhat prevented his innumerable warnings from receiving the attention to which they were intrinsically entitled.

The Epic of Kings. Stories Re-told from Firdusi. By Helen Zimmern, with two etchings by L. Alma Tadema, and a Prefatory Poem by Edmund W. Gosse. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1883.

THIS beautifully-printed volume contains an attempt to tell in simple and popular language some of the more striking of the stories in the famous " Book of Kings " of the Persian poet Firdusi. Miss Zimmern, who honestly confesses her ignorance of Persian, has used for this purpose Jules Mohl's translation of the *Shahnameh* into French, which is the only complete rendering of the immortal Persian epic into a European tongue. She has selected the most striking incidents in this enormous epic of 60,000 verses and condensed them into short stories, told, of course, in her own language without any pretence at reproducing the original, endeavouring, however, with considerable success to " preserve the peculiarities of Eastern imagery and allusion." In her preface, she remarks, " I have ventured to write my stories in the simple language of the age of Shakspeare and the English Bible, in order by thus removing them from every-day speech to remove them from the atmosphere of to-day."

The Introduction, which is charmingly written, contains a brief account of the origin of this great epic, and a sketch of the strange life of Firdusi, more interesting and romantic than any of his own wonderful stories. It is followed by a Prefatory Poem

from the pen of Mr. Edmund Gosse on "Firdusi in Exile," telling in graceful verse the story of the troubled close of Firdusi's career and of the faithlessness of his master, Mahmoud of Ghaznin. The "Introduction" and the "Prefatory Poem" will probably form, for the class of readers for whom the book is intended, by far its most interesting part, as containing the romance of the life of a real poet instead of the imaginary adventures of mythical heroes.

The "Stories" themselves are all taken from the earlier portion of the *Shahnameh*, ending with the death of Rustem, dealing with the purely mythical part of the history of Iran in which the marvellous is very little diluted with the historical, whilst the imagination of the poet is less trammelled by the awkward restrictions of comparatively recent facts. We have the story of Zal, "beautiful of face and limb, without fault or blemish, save that his hair was like unto that of an aged man," nurtured on Mount Alberz by the mythic bird, the Simurgh: of his marriage with Rudabeh, "the Moon of Cabul" and the birth of Rustem, the mighty. The heroic achievements of this famous hero and his wonderful horse Rakush, fill the greater part of the book, which ends with his death by the treachery of Shugdad, his wicked half-brother. The stories are told, as stated above, in simple and somewhat archaic language, which suits the decidedly archaic incidents with which they abound. The condensation is perhaps a little overdone, as the absence of detail frequently renders the narrative colourless and tame. Moreover, a note or two here and there to explain allusions and terms would be an improvement, as the book is intended for the general reader not conversant with the manners and customs of the mythical age of Persian history. Some of the stories are peculiarly pathetic, such as the famous incident of the meeting of Rustem with his "not unworthy, not inglorious son" Sohrab, immortalized by a modern poet borrowing from Firdusi. In her introduction, Miss Zimmern remarks "Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his fine poem 'Rustem and Sohrab,' misses one of the most exquisite points, owing to his having derived his story, not from Firdusi direct, but from a corrupt version." A comparison of the story as told here from Firdusi, and as told by Matthew Arnold in his exquisite poem, shows the widest divergences. Many telling incidents are altogether ignored, such as the attempt made by Sohrab to pick out his father's tent, by making the captive Hujir tell him in detail to what Persian nobles the various ensigns floating above the Persian hosts belonged, or the clandestine visit of Rustem, disguised as a Turk, to the chamber of Sohrab. Again, the three

conflicts between Rustem and Sohrab on three successive days are condensed by Matthew Arnold into one, and no reference is made to the unmanly device by which the hero Rustem saved himself in the second fight from falling under his son's sword. But Mr. Arnold's poem is so beautiful and perfect in itself, that we should be sorry to see it altered even in the direction of greater faithfulness to the original myth, nor are we quite certain what is the "exquisite point" which he has missed. The infinite pathos of this tragic meeting is brought out with a force and completeness which is not equalled even in the detailed story here given, although this is sufficiently effective.

The volume is beautifully printed on toned paper, and got up so as to form a pretty gift-book. It contains two etchings by Alma Tadema which are on the whole disappointing. The incidents chosen are from the story of Zal: in one he is depicted shooting a bird, and in the other meeting Rudabeh, when "they gazed upon each other and knew that they excelled in beauty." This extract attached to the second etching looks like a joke, for in the illustration Rudabeh is a graceless middle-aged woman, whilst Zal is an amorphous and very ugly old man. Mr. Alma Tadema might surely have found in the many heroic incidents of the "Book of Kings" some more striking subjects for his etching-needle.

Indian Railways. An Argument for a Government Monopoly in preference to Private Enterprize. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1884.

THIS opportune pamphlet contains a succinct and forcible argument in favour of a Government monopoly of Indian railways. To whatever views one may incline on this most important of questions, it is an advantage, especially at the present moment, to have the arguments for a Government monopoly placed before the public in such a clear form by one who is evidently well-versed in the practical aspects of the subject. The author starts by quoting *in extenso* those paragraphs in Major Baring's Financial Statement for the year 1881-82, in which the policy of endeavouring to attract private enterprise without Government guarantees into Indian railway extension was forcibly advocated, and announces that "the object of this paper is to endeavour to show that, as a general principle, private enterprise is not applicable to railways in India, and that they should be constructed and worked by the State." His arguments may be divided into three heads. The author maintains that a Government monopoly as opposed to private enterprise would ensure (1.)

economy and ease of construction : (2.) economy of administration, and (3) a due regard to the broader interests of the country, necessarily totally ignored by private enterprise, which naturally and rightly can only look with a single eye to the largest direct profit on the capital employed. Under the first head there is, of course, the obvious fact that an Imperial Railway Loan could be raised with ease at a much lower rate of interest than in the case of money lent to a private company. Then comes the cost of construction. The author shows that the usual conditions imposed and accepted by Government are equivalent to an immediate present of £3,500 per mile of railway from Government to the private companies as an inducement to construct a mile of line costing £10,000. That is to say, a line constructed by a private company under the present system, costs the public £13,500 per mile, whilst, if constructed by Government alone, it would cost only £10,000 per mile. In addition to this, in order to induce private enterprise to take up a scheme, Government has frequently to consent to proposals which, whilst for the good of the company, are only an additional expense to the community. The proposed extension of the Gwalior-Bhopal line to Cawnpore, the only object of which is to swell the profits of the company working that line, is instanced under this head. Further, the State has much better means at its disposal for constructing railways than any private company can command : indeed, as a rule, the services of Government engineers are lent to private companies for the construction of their lines. "The State actually deprives itself of the services of its own engineers, who are able and willing to continue serving in India, by granting them leave to take service under private companies."

Coming to the second head of his arguments, economy of administration, the author has of course no difficulty in showing that, if all Indian railways are administered and worked as one homogeneous whole, there will be an immense saving in the staff necessary, when compared with the state of things where each 200 or 300 miles has a separate staff and control. This applies not only to the staff employed in India, but also in England : for each railway company must have an office in England and an expensive establishment, all of which could, under the system advocated, be concentrated in one Imperial Agency. The third argument is that to which the author devotes most attention, and which is obviously his *cheval de bataille*. The interests of a private company are exclusively confined to obtaining large profits on the capital invested. The interests of Government are far wider and more comprehensive and have regard to the development of the resources of the country, the encourage-

ment of agriculture, and all the items which go to make up social, industrial, and commercial progress. Frequently the interests of the shareholders of a company are directly at variance with those of the general community, which consequently suffer. "This is the reason above all others why Government should, for the public welfare, own and work all the lines of the country." To enforce this argument, the author instances the case of the G. I. P. Railway making a profit of 10 per cent. on the carriage of grain for export, and declining in spite of the strongest representations to lower this rate, although it served as an effectual barrier against the development of the grain trade. If the line had been owned by Government, there can be no doubt that it would have done its utmost to encourage the trade by lowering the rate to the smallest figure consistent with ordinary prudence, as was done over the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, of which Government was absolute master. Several other instances of the same kind are advanced to show that "only by the State both owning and working all the lines of the country for the public good and to serve no private ends can the general good of the country be advanced." The pamphlet concludes with an examination of the arguments advanced on the other side, in favour of private enterprise, as set forth in Major Baring's minute above referred to. In this the principal point made is in reply to Major Baring's contention, that it is better that the profits from railways "should be left to fructify in the pockets of the people," in which case "they will be more advantageously employed than would be the case were they paid to the State, with a great chance of their being employed on unproductive expenditure". The reply to this is simple enough. The profits from private railways do not "fructify in the pockets of the people" for the simple reason that the natives of India cannot be induced by any amount of well-meant advice to buy up railway shares. The shareholders are nearly altogether Europeans, and the profits are remitted to England. If the railways belonged to Government, the profits would be spent in India for the benefit of India, in the reduction of debt, in the construction of fresh railways, or in other expenditure which need not necessarily be "unproductive." That argument of Major Baring's is completely demolished.

On the whole, this pamphlet is a very welcome addition to the literature of railway extension, and, although the arguments and facts advanced in their support are by no means new, it is as well that they should be thus collected together and put in a clear and condensed form before the public.

A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect of the Nicobarèse Language; in two parts: Nicobarese-English and English-Nicobarese. By the late F. A. de Roepstorff. Edited by Mrs. de Roepstorff. Calcutta: Home Department Press. 1884.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to this posthumous work. Mr. de Roepstorff, Superintendent at Camorta Island, was well-known as an enthusiastic and patient enquirer into the ethnology and philology of the interesting and little-known islands amongst which his work lay, and had contributed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal several valuable papers containing the results of his researches. For thirteen years he had been engaged in conscientiously and laboriously collecting materials for what was intended to be his *magnum opus*, a Nicobarese Dictionary. He had carried this far towards completion, when he was murdered last year by the havildar of his Sepoy guard on Camorta Island. We have all read in the newspapers how bravely his widow acted in her terrible position, left with her husband's corpse alone on Camorta Island with its population of savages, convicts and half-mutinous sepoys; how courageously she took charge of the settlement, and maintained order until the arrival of help. This brave lady has also taken up the work of her husband's life where he left it, and with the assistance of friends has been able to complete and publish this Nicobarese Dictionary, "in the hope that it may prove a lasting memorial of him." In the preface an account is given of the patience and care with which Mr. de Roepstorff collected materials for his work. He seems to have lost no opportunity of making himself thoroughly familiar with the language, social and domestic habits, and mental characteristics of the curious savages amongst whom his lot was cast, carrying his devotion to this task so far as to live with them in their huts for days together. "From the first day of his residence amongst them, he began collecting words for a Dictionary." In the year 1878, when on furlough in Denmark, he was fortunately able considerably to enhance the value of the materials thus collected by the discovery of ten manuscript vocabularies and a translation of 27 chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Nancowry dialect, memorials of the Moravian Mission of last century to Nancowry. "These manuscripts, however, do not form the basis of the Dictionary now published. They served to enrich its definitions, but they were chiefly used for instituting a comparison of the language as it now is, with its condition in the last century." The result of this comparison has shown that the language is now practically the same as it was a century ago, in spite of the operation of a singular superstition amongst the Nicobarese which forbids the utterance of

any word which has formed the name of a dead person. "To such an extent is this carried, that when, as frequently happens, the man rejoiced in the name of 'fowl,' 'hat,' 'fire,' 'road,' &c., in its Nicobarese equivalent, the use of these words is carefully eschewed for the future, not only as being the personal designation of the deceased, but even as the names of the common things they represent." This extraordinary custom gives, as might be inferred, a peculiar instability to the Nicobarese language, although the comparison instituted by Mr. de Roepstorff, between the present language and that at the time of the Moravian Mission, shows that it has hardly as destructive an effect as might be imagined, as the prohibited words are still employed in villages where the deceased was unknown.

Mr. Chand, Chaplain of Port Blair, who has assisted Mrs. de Roepstorff in preparing her husband's work for publication, has thrown the various incidental notes and observations left by Mr. de Roepstorff into the form of "An Introduction to the Grammar of the Nancowry Dialect." This, however, is of course only fragmentary, as the first attempt at systematising a savage language is bound to be. The Dictionary is followed by various appendices, which, besides their value as linguistic aids, are interesting as containing numerous contributions towards a knowledge of the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the Nicobarese. Amongst these are four Nicobarese Tales, in the original and translated, one of which "Tiomberombi," has already been published in the Asiatic Society's Journal. These are enriched with copious explanatory notes, which embody a good deal of that intimate acquaintance with Nicobarese customs and ideas which was the result of Mr. de Roepstorff's patient and prolonged study of this people. The most interesting of these tales is, perhaps, that which gives the Nicobarese version of the origin of mankind. This bears a striking resemblance to the Biblical story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, so striking, that Mr. de Roepstorff is probably correct in suggesting that it may have originated in the teaching of two Jesuit Missionaries who visited the Great Nicobar in the early part of the 18th century. In the Nicobar story, the father of mankind is represented as a wild being, only partially human: the woman, made by God out of a rib taken from his side, performs the pleasing mission of weaning him from his savage ways, and teaching him the first refinements of civilisation. There is in this story no reference, however, to the sin of the forbidden fruit. The last appendix contains a detailed account and explanation of the elaborate ceremonies performed by the Nicobarese at the death of their friends, which are "the most characteristic, continuous, and interesting of all their superstitious doings."

A Concise Dictionary, English-Persian ; together with a Simplified Grammar of the Persian Language. By the late E. H. Palmer, M. A. Completed and Edited from the MS. left imperfect at his Death, by G. Le Strange. London : Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1883.

THIS handy little dictionary is based, in the main, on the late Professor Palmer's Persian-English Dictionary, with such additions and alterations as, owing to peculiarities in the Persian language, were necessary to render the English word list complete.

"No one can be better aware than myself," says Mr. Le Strange in his preface, "of the disadvantages under which the book labours in never having been revised by the hand of its learned author. I have endeavoured to carry out what I believe to have been the intention of my friend. I have made additions to nearly every paragraph for the purpose above indicated, such as he would assuredly have made, had he lived ; and I have also completed the list of words from my own reading and colloquial knowledge, and from the works of my predecessors, Messrs. A. N. Wollaston, A. Bergé, J. B. Nicolas, and others." While not pretending to be exhaustive, the work thus produced will be found sufficient for most practical purposes, and is likely to form a very useful addition to the library of the student of Persian.

It possesses the advantage of being combined with a concise Persian Grammar—the second section of Professor Palmer's "Simplified Grammars of Hindustani, Persian and Arabic," published in 1882, to which a table of the Persian irregular verbs has been added.

In a postscript Mr. Le Strange warns the public against a flagrant act of plagiarism on the part of one Sorabshaw Byramji Doctor, who has published at the Irish Presbyterian Mission Press, Surat, as an original work, a "Manual" which is little more than an incorrect reprint of Professor Palmer's Persian-English Dictionary.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Bediyá Bálíká. Translated by Umesh Chandra Datta and Published by Ashutosh Ghosh. Printed by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh at the Victoria Press, Calcutta, 1884.

THE story of the *Gipsy Girl*, originally written in French, and subsequently translated into English, and now for the first time rendered into Bengali, is really excellent reading for

children. The example of courage, humanity, and general nobility of disposition displayed in it, is, indeed, such as might interest and even fascinate grown-up men. But it is likely to exercise a particularly healthy and stimulating influence upon children, because the hero of this heroic story is a child. We have therefore to thank Babu Umesh Chandra Datta for publishing a Bengali version of the *Gipsy Girl*. Babu Umesh Chandra has laboured long and earnestly in the cause of education in general, and particularly of female education in Bengal; and his selection of the beautiful story of the *Gipsy Girl* for translation into the language of his country may be taken as indicating the earnest spirit which has guided him in his specially chosen field of work. We are, however, sorry that so excellent a story has been rendered into such wretched Bengali, and our regret deepens when we think that the translator is a Bengali writer of such reputation as Babu Umesh Chandra Datta. We find almost invariably that in translating from English into Bengali, Bengali writers closely imitate the idiom, style, and structural peculiarities of the original as if there were a legislative enactment or religious ordinance which prevents them from throwing the original English into a purely Bengali form. An example will make our meaning clear. At page 8 of the work under notice, we find the following sentence:—

“এমত সময়ে সকল গোলমাল থামাইয়া ‘চুপ’ এই কথাটি হঠাৎ ধ্বনিত হইল।”

Word for word, the English for this is—“At this moment, putting a stop to the uproar, was suddenly uttered the word—“hush.” This may be *English*, if not *good English*. But the Bengali that we have extracted is nothing like Bengali, much less *good Bengali*; and no Bengali who does not know English will understand what it means. The translator could well have expressed the meaning of the original in some such form as the following:—

“এমন সময়ে ‘চুপ’ এই শব্দটি হঠাৎ উচ্চারিত হইল এবং তৎক্ষণাৎ সমস্ত গোলমাল থামিয়া গেল।”

This would have been like Bengali, and persons not knowing English could have understood it; and, so far as we can see, there was nothing to prevent the translator from adopting some such form.

In another place (p. 10), we find the following sentence:—

“আমি বেশ বলিতে পারি আমাদের ফাঁসী যাইবার যেমন ইচ্ছা, অন্য ব্যক্তির এখানে আসিবার ও তেমনি ইচ্ছা।”

Word for word, the English for this would be—"I can assure you, the desire of other people to come here must be as strong as is our own desire to be hanged." The English is intelligible, because the ironically affirmative form of expressing a negative idea is English. But the Bengali is not intelligible, because Bengalis do not, except in very rare instances, express negative ideas in ironically affirmative forms, and where they do so, they give their affirmative forms a peculiarly idiomatic turn which we miss in this extract. It is, at any rate, observable that the sentence we have quoted will not appear quite clear, if it does not indeed convey the very opposite meaning to what is intended, to those Bengalis who do not know English. It would certainly have been better Bengali, and the meaning would have been concisely and forcibly expressed if the author had said—আমি বেশ বলিতে পারি যে আমাদের ফাঁসী যাইতে যেমন অনিচ্ছা অপর ব্যক্তির এখানে আসিতে ও তেমননি অনিচ্ছা। And in this instance, too, we know of nothing which should have stood in the way of the simpler, clearer and less figurative form being adopted.

We have dwelt a little longer on this aspect of the work than we should have felt inclined to do, because the faulty method of translation adopted in this work is followed not by one, two, or three, but by almost all Bengalis who translate from English into their own tongue. We cannot understand why they should do so except by supposing that the mind of the English knowing Bengali is a little too Anglicised, and therefore unable to fully sympathise with those Bengalis who do not know English. But this, if it be a fact, must be seriously deplored. For Bengali writers will work in vain, and Bengali literature will probably do much harm so long as the former are not influenced by genuine popular instincts born of a truly national culture, and the latter remains a jargon and gibberish, hard to understand, and attractive only to men of an Anglicised turn of mind.

Priyabodhini-arthát Priyapáther Bisadabyákhya. By Matilál Chakrabarti. Printed by Sarachandra Deb at the Biná Press, Calcutta, and Published by Matilál Chakrabarti, 1290 B. S.

PRIYAPATHA seems to be the name of a small poetical reader used in some of the schools of Bengal, and *Priyabodhini* is a *key* to it. Men use keys in order to open their treasure chests, and true to its function, this *key* of Babu Matilál Chakrabarti also opens for us a treasure of surpassing value. This is a specimen of the treasure:—

"Sedan—a fortified town in France, standing on the river

Maas. There is a monument at this place. In this town a great battle was fought between MacMahon and Prussia. It was at the battle fought at this place that, in spite of a large army remaining on his side, Napoleon IV. was imprisoned by the Prussian Minister, Bismarck, through the treachery of the French Commander-in-Chief. From that day France became subject to Prussia and got off by paying 200 crores of rupees to Prussia under a treaty. The imprisoned Napoleon IV. was brought to England, and in his prison he committed suicide by taking poison."

The passage of which this is a translation consists of nine lines only, but it would be a difficult task to count the innumerable gross errors concentrated in this brief space. We pity the poor Bengali children to whom this farrago of false statements is presented as wholesome mental food.

Bangabhāsār Byākaran. By Kālipada Bandyopādhyāya.
Printed and Published by H. M. Mukharji & Co. at the Nutan Sanskrit Press, Calcutta.

"**W**ORKS on grammar are not wanting in Bengali. Works on grammar are as numerous as works in the other departments of Bengali literature. Learned scholars have written excellent works on grammar. But the many efforts made one after another to produce good works on grammar show that there are yet wanting works on that subject written and compiled on the right method." This last remark is perfectly correct. Numerous works on Bengali grammar have been already written, and yet new works are coming out in dozens every year. This means that not one sufficiently authoritative work has been yet written, and this again means that not one work has been compiled in a manner which can secure for it a pretty general recognition among the teachers and managers of schools. We cannot exactly say why no grammar which can be universally adopted has been yet written. Probably, the fact that the Bengali language is still in its infancy, and has not yet attained its final form, may have some bearing on this question; and probably the policy followed by the Department of Public Instruction of encouraging competition in the production of schoolbooks by adopting for use in schools any book which is found to possess any merit, however small, instead of rejecting all books which do not reach or rise above a certain specified standard of excellence, also prevents the production of such works as deserve to be universally adopted. Under the present system of encouraging every author who can display some amount of ability, almost every man who

knows how to put two words together is tempted to write a school-book, and the educational area being thus parcelled out amongst a very large number of authors of indifferent merit, efforts to secure the whole or best part of that area for a book which will deserve general adoption are in a manner discouraged, and therefore seldom made. To prove that this is not a merely fanciful assertion, we will point to the significant fact that good schoolbooks, like Pandit Iswara Chandra Bidyásāgarā's *Alphabetical Primer* are being given up in several places for similar works of inferior merit. The system which leads to the gradual displacement of such works as are already in universal use is not certainly one which is calculated to favour the production of works which would deserve general recognition. Any effort, therefore, which is made to write a schoolbook in the manner which ought to be followed in order to make it generally acceptable deserves special commendation. And we are glad to say that Babu Kālipada Banerji has, in the work under notice, made an effort of this kind. In explaining Bengali grammar he has not, like many writers on that subject, fallen into the error of adopting the method which is followed in works on Sanskrit grammar, and he has, on the other hand, avoided the opposite error, made by some writers, of paying little or no heed to the principles of Sanskrit grammar. It seems to us, moreover, that Baboo Kālipada Banerji has in some instances adopted a few principles of English grammar. In the chapter on *Adverbs* he says that two, three, or more words sometimes form an adverb, as in the sentence:—
 ‘তিনি দশ জন অশ্বারোহীর সহিত চলিলেন’—Now to say that দশ জন অশ্বারোহীর সহিত is an adverb or an adverbial clause, is to talk like an English grammarian, which certainly looks anomalous in a writer on Bengali grammar. But although a novelty, we are not quite sure that this is not a wise or useful innovation to be followed by modern Bengali grammarians. We are therefore prepared to commend this work as one which is compiled on sound and rational principles. We cannot of course say that it is a model work of its kind, and is therefore suited to become the one text-book on Bengali grammar in the schools of Bengal. But we do say that it is compiled in a style which indicates an advance in the art of writing Bengali grammar. On the lines adopted by the author, his exposition of the principles of Bengali grammar is clear and methodical, although it includes much debatable matter which ought not to find place in a work intended for children.

There are many points on which we do not agree with Baboo Kalipada Banerji, and there are many others on which he

does not appear to have written with due care and reflection. He has, for instance, included *ঐ* or the *Long Ri* in the alphabet; but Pandit Iswara Chandra Bidyásagará has long since rejected it. And as there is no real necessity for the use of this vowel in Bengali (we have not, we may remark *en passant*, seen its use in any Bengali book we have read within the last eight or ten years), we think that it would have been better if our author had also rejected it. It is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary that the Bengali alphabet should be recognised by everybody as fixed and consisting of a definite number of letters. It is almost certain that some of the letters which have been retained by those who have already cut it down will have to be discarded as useless and unprofitable. But the time has not yet come for doing that. It is therefore necessary that there should be a universal agreement about the limits of the Bengali alphabet until the time arrives when a further revision of it will be practicable. Pandit Iswara Chandra Bidyásagará has given that alphabet a shape which may be now very conveniently adopted by the nation as sufficiently correct. We should therefore have been glad if Babu Kálipada Banerji had also adopted Bidyásagará's alphabet, instead of disturbing it by the introduction of additional letters for which there is no apparent need. But in spite of all our disagreement with the author, we are constrained to say that he has brought out a good book—a book, which may be introduced in the higher classes of schools with great advantage.

Chhubi o Gána. By Rabindra Náth Tagore. Printed and Published by Kálidás Chakrabarti at the Adi Brahmo Samaj Press, 1805 Saka.

BABU RABINDRA NATH'S poetry is gaining rapidly and remarkably in sweetness, solidity, and strength. The poetry hitherto written by him was undoubtedly excellent of its kind. But it was the poetry of a soul which loved to contemplate qualities apart from the objects to which the qualities belonged, or rather to bring qualities to the front, keeping their possessor concealed in the far background where other eyes than the poet's went not. That poetry was therefore rather baseless and unsubstantial. One who read it could feel its force, fire and energy, but was seldom moved by it as the human heart ought to be moved by poetry. But the poems before us are of a very different order indeed. They are the poems of earthly things, of things with which men are familiar, of things which they know and can sympathise with. And all these are described in a realistic

style, but with a sufficient mixture of idealism to raise the sketches above the low category of merely descriptive poetry. Babu Rabindra Náth has of a certainty descended on the earth from the almost invisible region where he had been hitherto striking notes upon his lyre which called forth no real response in the hearts of his fellow-men. The poetry he has now written may live; the poetry he had heretofore written, although so good, will soon die.

With this important change in the general character of Babu Rabindra Náth's poetry, some of its old characteristics have disappeared, and some new characteristics have been developed. The almost savagely fierce and vehement tone of his old poems is gone, and its place has been supplied by the tender eloquence and the simple earnestness of a heart that loves the earth as an earthly thing, and delights to dwell in it.

Babu Rabindra Náth has always displayed sympathy with external nature. But with the realistic turn of mind evinced in his new poems, that sympathy has also assumed a new and deeper form. Nature is no longer treated as a cold but beautiful abstraction, but as a sentient Being, with a heart that beats in sympathy with the pulsations of the heart of the poet. This development has, of course, a profound effect upon the spirit of these poems.

The following extract from the piece entitled অভিমানিনী will illustrate all that we have said regarding Rabindra Náth's new poetry :—

এলোথেলো চুলগুলি ছড়িয়ে
 ওই দেখ সে দাঁড়িয়ে রয়েছে ;—
 নিমেষ-হারা আঁখির পাতা ছুটি
 চোখের জলে ভরে এসেছে !—
 ঐবাখানি দ্বন্দ্ব বাঁকানো
 ছুটি হাতে মুঠি আছে চাপি,
 ছোট ছোট রাক্ষা রাক্ষা ঠোঁট
 ফুলে ফুলে উঠিতেছে কাঁপি ।
 সাধিলে ও কথা কবে না,
 ডাকিলে ও আসিবে না কাছে ;
 ও সবার পরে অভিমান কোরে
 আপনা নিয়ে দাঁড়িয়ে শুধু আছে !

কি হয়েছে কি হয়েছে বোলে
 বাতাস এসে চুলগুলি দোলায় :
 রাক্ষা ঐ কপোল খানিতে
 রবির হাসি হেসে চুম খায় !
 কচি হাতে ফুল দুখানি ছিল
 রাগ ক'রে ঐ ফেলে দিয়েছে,
 পায়ের কাছে প'ড়ে পড়ে তা'রা
 মুখের পানে চেয়ে রয়েছে !

Babu Rabindra Náth's new poetry possesses several other characteristics of much interest and importance. But the limited space at our disposal prevents us from discussing these on this occasion. We cannot, however, close this brief notice without observing that we have not come across anything at all infelicitous in this volume of poems consisting of 104 duodecimo pages, except the following verses in the piece entitled আর্তস্বর :—

জ্বলন্ত বিদ্যুৎ অহি
 ক্ষণে ক্ষণে রহি রহি
 অন্ধকারে করিছে দংশন ।
 কুস্তকর্ণ অন্ধকার
 নিদ্রা টুটি বার বার
 উঠিতেছে করিয়া গর্জন ।

The simile appears rather unfortunate, because the very name of Kumbhakarna gives rise to ludicrous ideas in at least the Bengali mind.

Bhárata-kosha. Vol. I., compiled by Rájkrishna Ráya and Sarach Chandra Deb. Printed by Sarach Chandra Deb at the Biná Press, Calcutta, 1939 Sambat.

THE nature of this work was explained in this *Review* some time ago when a portion of this volume, separately published, was sent to us. We then pronounced it a very useful and commendable work which reflects great credit upon the compilers. After going through this volume our opinion on the work remains unchanged, and the only remark we feel called upon to make is, that the progress already made by the compilers strengthens the hope that the work will be speedily and satisfactorily brought to a close.

Jála Pratápa Chánd. Reprinted from the Banga "Darsana. Printed by Sarach Chandra Deb at the Biná Press, and Published by Rádhánáth Banerji, Calcutta.

THE story of the *Jála Rajah* is known to many people in this country, because it is not more than fifty years since half the population of Bengal was thrown into a state of romantic excitement by the alleged re-appearance of a prince of the Raj family of Burdwan, who was believed to have died fifteen years before. The prince, Pratáp Chánd, was the son of Maharajah Tejchandra by his wife Náнки Rani, and was very much loved by his father, who, in his old age, entrusted to him the management of his vast estates. He was, however, exceedingly disliked by Parán Babu, the brother of one of his step-mothers. Parán seems to have aimed at mastery over the Raj, and with that view endeavoured to bring the old Maharajah under his control by marrying to him his beautiful daughter Basanta Kumári. But the device does not seem to have succeeded so well as had been imagined; and we therefore find the prince Pratápa Chánd shortly after inveigled into committing an abominable crime, the knowledge of which, it was calculated, could not but excite against him the mortal resentment of his father. Shortly after that occurrence, Pratápa Chánd left home secretly. Maharajah Tejchandra thereupon grew disconsolate, and upon learning from an informant where he might be found had him brought back to his house. But a few days after his return the prince fell ill after taking, apparently with studied deliberation, an unusually long bath. The sickness increased; the prince himself directed his removal to the river-side at Culna; he was taken thither accompanied by his father, and shortly afterwards died. Three hours after his death, the aged Maharajah left Culna for Burdwan. Three or four days after, it was rumoured all round that Pratápa Chánd had not died but fled away. And when Tejchandra was pressed to adopt a son, he long refused to do so, saying that Pratápa would return. It is difficult to say whether this was the real belief of the poor old man, or whether, like a distracted mourner, he simply gave expression to a pathetic wish. But, however that may have been, there is no denying that, fifteen years after the alleged death or disappearance of the prince, a sannyási came to Burdwan and was at once recognised, near the gate of the well-known gardens called the Golab Bágh, by an old shop-keeper as "*our chota Maharajah.*" Many others saw him including some of the amlah and the female servants of Pratápa Chánd's wives. They all recognised him as the "*Chota Maharajah.*" Thereupon Parán Babu sent some *lathials* after him, who did not give up their pursuit until he was on the other side of the

Damudah. The sannyási went to the Rajah of Bishenpore who also recognised him at once as "the Maharajah Pratápa Chánd." By the advice of the Rajah of Bishenpore, the sannyási made an endeavour to procure some help from the Magistrate of Bankurah. But the Bankurah authorities were just then engaged in putting down a small rising of jungle people, and in the excess of their zeal they arrested the sannyási as a rebel and sent him to Hughli for trial. The sannyási wonderingly asked the Judge why he had been arrested. The Judge coolly replied:—"Your name is Alok Shah! you have collected men and endeavoured to break the peace of the State by calling yourself the Maharajah Pratápa Chánd." The sannyási spoke not another word, and suffered imprisonment for six months. On the day of his release there were great doings in Hughli. Vast crowds assembled to see him; many leading men went from Calcutta to escort him to the metropolis; the Rajás of Bishenpore and Panchakote waited to receive him at the Jail gate; horses, elephants and *ressaldars* stood in gorgeous array; bands of native and European musicians played; the people cried out *Haribol!* The sannyási was carried in triumph to Calcutta, where he was lodged at the residence of a wealthy man named Rádhiákrishna Basák. Then the sannyási instituted a suit in the Supreme Court at Calcutta for the properties in that town belonging to the Burdwan Raj. Many of the leading natives of Calcutta gave evidence in the case, and identified him as the prince Pratápa Chánd. By the advice of his lawyers, the sannyási next set about collecting evidence in Burdwan. Then there occurred a series of events of the most exciting nature—events which show what the author intends to illustrate in this curious story of the *Jála Rajah*, namely, the character of the Government at that time, the nature of the administration of justice, and what sort of a people the Bengalis of that period were. The Mofussil authorities, including a soldier of Christ—the Christian Padri of Culna—opposed the landing of the *Jála Rajah* at that place; the *Jála Rajah's* law-agents were summarily arrested and thrown into jail; the *Jála Rajah* and his party were attacked in their boats at dead of night by a company of soldiers headed by Captain Little, and several of his supporters were slain and many arrested: the *Jála Rajah* himself was soon after arrested, as also his attorney, W. D. Shaw. Then there were many trials disclosing a curious judicial system and a curious public opinion among natives and Anglo-Indians. The most important of those trials was that of the *Jála Rajah*, in which the question of his identity with the prince Pratápa Chánd was hotly contested. We leave it to the lawyers to

decide, whether or not the weight of the evidence collected in this volume from contemporary records inclines on the side of the Jāla Rajah, making room at the same time for the following letter of Mr. E. H. Samuells, Magistrate of Hughli, to Babu Dwarakanath Tagore, to show how evidence was collected against the defendant :—

“HOOGHLY, Sept. 4th, 1838.

“MY DEAR DWARAKANATH,

I was disappointed at your non-arrival, as I think you could speak more decidedly than any of the other witnesses to the man's non-identity; but it is not of much consequence. I have not much objection to make a bargain with you. I will let you off altogether, if you will procure me the names of half a dozen good respectable witnesses from Baranagore, who know him as Kristolall. I daresay you could do this through Kalinath Roy Chowdhry, Mothooranath Mookerji, or any of your own servants. Let me know what you say to this. What a scoundrel that Buddinath is! If I had known his character, I would rather have gone without evidence altogether than have had his.

Remember, I must have the evidence from Baranagore within a week or so. Persuade Mothooranath also to come. His *hoormut* and *izzut* shall be *hurech soorut se bahal*.

Yours truly,

E. A. SAMUELLS.”

The author seems inclined to disbelieve the evidence which was adduced to prove Pratāpa Chānd's death, and we are not disposed to quarrel with him here on this point. That there was a death scene at Culna was not denied by the defence; but the defendant explained it by saying, and even by showing in the jail, that he could perfectly simulate sickness and death. And the author quotes high medical authority to show that the simulation of death is *possible*. The defendant stated during his trial why he had simulated death and led a secret life for fourteen years. The reader may judge for himself whether that explanation can be accepted or not. The result of the trial was unfavourable to the defendant, and although he made many efforts to obtain what he deemed justice to himself, he did not succeed. The native community, however, passed a favourable verdict upon him, and severely criticised the conduct of the authorities. The last days of the Jāla Rajah were spent in a somewhat enigmatical style. He lived among men, but as a retired person, talking of truth and religion and receiving divine honours, especially from women of a particular class. It is very generally believed

that he learnt the meaning of the Sastras during his travels, and failing to recover his rights, found an occupation for himself in the foundation of what is now a very well-known and numerous Hindu sect. As the founder of that sect, he goes by the name of Satyanath.

This is a very brief outline of the story of the Jála Rajah, which is excellently told in the book before us. The narrative is the result of much curious reading and laborious research, and, throwing, as it does, a flood of light on the English administration and Native character fifty years ago, forms valuable material for history. The interest of the work is greatly enhanced by the singularly clear style in which it is written.

Gangádhara-Sarmá orfe Jatádhári'r Roj námchá. By Chandrasekhara Bandyopádhya. Printed by Iswara Chandra Basu & Co., at the Stanhope Press, and Published by Gurudás Chattopádhya at the Bengal Medical Library, Calcutta, 1880 A. D.

A *ROJNAMCHA* is a *diary*. Jatádhari's *Rojnamchá* contains some extracts from a diary which was kept by him in early life.

A story is indeed related in this *Roj námchá*, but the author's main object does not appear to be to relate a story. For the story given by him is exceedingly meagre, and the few incidents composing it are not arranged with any view to artistic effect. Indeed, it may be taken for granted, that Babu Chandrasekhara Banerji never meant to make his *Roj námchá* a work of art. It is obviously intended to be merely a book of sketches. For one event or incident described by the author, we have fifty sketches given us of men, women, dress, manners, &c. Of these sketches we cannot speak too highly; and they seem to us to be written with a purpose,—a very good and useful purpose. That purpose seems to be to give a vivid and minute picture of Bengali life just at the moment when the light or shadow (whichever we choose to call it) of English influence was beginning to change its appearance, with all that formed the soul, the stay and the strength of that life, as well as all that was its wickedness and weakness, painted in bold relief. We cannot attempt to reproduce in miniature the picture painted so graphically by Babu Chandrasekhara. But of some elements or factors in Bengali life which are brought out in relief, we feel tempted to give the reader a brief description. And, firstly, of the element of weakness and wickedness. That element is represented by Gajánan, the avaricious and miserly *Dewan* of the excellent Zemindar

of Srinagara, Babu Ashutosh Rāya. Dewan Gajānana is a typical head Amla of a zemindari, with an insatiable thirst for gold, a soul which never thinks of an hereafter and endows even the gods with rapacious instincts, a mind which is best engaged in concocting diabolical plans, a heart that is timid and cruel beyond description, and a moral sense which knows nothing wrong on earth and is a perfect stranger to remorse or compunction. Physical power is used by Gajānana only for the purpose of robbing men, making them unhappy, and introducing discord in the midst of social harmony. Thus the coalition of the mind of a Gajānana with the sinewy arms of a dacoit, like Raghubir, formed fifty years ago, and probably still forms in interior districts, the most powerful element of disorder and misery in village life in Bengal. And, next, of the element of strength in that life. In Babu Chandrasekhara's book, the element of strength in woman is represented by রাঙ্গা ঠাকরুণ, one of the highest and most beautiful female characters we have seen in Bengali, or indeed in any, literature. “তিনি যখন

শুভ পট্টবস্ত্র পরিধানে আনুখ্যাসু কাল কেশরাশি কপালের উপর ভাগে এল বন্ধনে, রাঙ্গা হস্তে দক্ষী ভরিয়া গৃহপ্রাঙ্গণে শত শত বালক বালিকাকে অহস্তে অন্ন বিতরণ করিতেন, সকলে কাণাকাণি করিত। যেন সাক্ষাৎ অন্নপূর্ণা অবতীর্ণ হইয়াছেন। * * তিনি নিজ হস্তে বাহাকে বাহা দিতেন তাহাই তৃপ্তিকর—তাহার দ্বিগুণ অপরের হস্ত হইতে পাইলেও কেহ সুখী হইত না। * * আজ অন্ন মেরু কাল তুলা, পরশু সাবিত্রী ব্রতদানের আনন্দেই রাঙ্গা দিদির রাঙ্গা অথচ নিরন্তর গ্লান মুখভঙ্গিটি কখন কখন ঐক্লভতায় উজ্জ্বল হইত। স্বয়ং নিঃসন্তান, কিন্তু দেশের ছেলে তাঁহার সন্তান ছিল বলিলে অত্যাক্তি হয় না। * * ক্রিয়াকাণ্ডের ভোজের দিনে কমলমুখীর কোমলাঙ্গ যেন ধর্ম্মবলে দৃঢ় হইত, সূর্য্যোদয় না হইতেই প্রাতঃস্নান করিয়া তৃতীয় প্রহর পর্য্যন্ত অনাহারে দেখ রাঙ্গাদিদি সমবাস্ত।”

The element of strength in man is represented by Babu Ashutosh Rāya, the benevolent and high-minded Zemindar of Srinagara. Between Babu Ashutosh and Babu Shibasahaya Sinha of Santipur, bitter zemindari feuds existed for a long time. But when Shibasahaya became involved in a criminal case through the machinations of the Dewan Gajānana and his honour seemed to be in jeopardy, the model leader of society, Ashutosh, forgot all feuds and anxiously asked his Dewan :—

তবে শিবসাহায়ের বড় বিপ, আদালতে কি তলব হবে?

গজানন। হাকিমের একান্ত জেদ।

আশুতোষ। এখন উপায়; তখন বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করেছিল, কিন্তু সে কথা ত আমার এখন মনে রাখা উচিত নয়। সে সময় ও গভ, সে শত্রুতা ও গভ, এখন রক্ষা করা চাই, উদ্ধারের উপায়?

গজা। উপায় মহাশয়, শিবসহায় ইহার যে কষ্ট দেয়—স্মরণ আছে—

আশু। সে কথা স্মরণ করে লাভ, সে শত্রু হউক, মিত্র হউক, এখন বিপদ গ্রস্ত, উদ্ধার করা চাই।

Ashutosh Ráya is an angel. And it is Hindus of such angelic character who have ever been the soul of Hindu society—its real cementing and guiding influence, more than all the Sanhitás, Mitaksharas and Dayabhagas. But, alas, such angels are fast disappearing. Ashutosh was all benevolence and charity. But truly has the author said :—

“এই কম্পতরুছায়া বঙ্গ দিনে দিনে ক্ষীণাকার হইতেছে, কারণ আমরা সভ্য হইতেছি, বাহ্যিক পারিপাট্রের অসার কার্যের ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি হইতেছে ও সভ্যতার সহিত উদার নয়ন মুদিতৈছি, দরিদ্রতা রূপগতা ঘেরিতেছে, বা স্বার্থপরতা দেশ সমাজে দিনে দিনে উৎসাহ-মলিলে বদ্ধিত হইতেছে।”

What we have said above, will show that Babu Chandrasekhara's *Rojnámchá* is a work of very great value and interest. We only wish that the sketches had been presented in a condensed and more select form and in a style free from the immense mass of provincialism which disfigures the book. For the *Rojnámchá* would then have been a model work of its kind in Bengali. We say, a model work of its kind, because we do not remember having seen in Bengali another book of sketches like the *Rojnámchá*, with the single exception of *Hootum*, indicating a habit of very careful and minute observation of all sorts of men and all sorts of things. And viewed in this light, the *Rojnámchá* constitutes a new and interesting departure in the vernacular literature of this country. Books based on observation and not on vapid sentiment or dreamy speculation are rare indeed in Bengali literature! It will be also clear to the reader from the account we have given of the work in this place, that the *Rojnámchá* forms very valuable material for the history of Bengal.

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Belinda.

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Success: and how he Won it.
Under a Charm.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The National Review for August contains two noteworthy articles, namely, Poisoning the Wells. By a Retired Politician, and Hodson of Hodson's Horse. By Mr. T. R. E. Holmes.

A Retired politician refers to a phase of liberal politics, which he describes with minute accuracy and denounces with fiery energy and eloquence. He says:—

"Hearing a great babel of tongues, and warned by previous experience not to take any political assertion on trust, I have given myself some pains to investigate the matter for myself; and, to my amazement I find, Firstly, that it is demonstrated with even more than mathematical precision—for human truths, when fully ascertained, are higher and more valuable than mere mathematical ones—that there is not one word of truth in the assertion that the House of Lords and the Conservative Party, who in this question appear to be absolutely at one, refuse or propose to refuse to pass the Franchise Bill, and admit two million new electors to the suffrage; and, Secondly, though this is so plain and clear, that not only a person of intelligence and capacity for obtaining accurate information like Mr. John Morley, but every man in the street who talks to any other man in the street, can by no possibility fail to know it, it is, nevertheless, deliberately proposed by the Liberal Party to persist in affirming that the House of Lords has refused to enfranchise the Agricultural labourers, and in organizing Demonstrations, Street Processions, and Public Meetings, in a word, conducting an extensive political campaign, for the purpose of inducing people to believe them. In other words, the Liberal Party propose to 'tell a lie and stick to it.'

"This is what I mean by poisoning the wells. It has always been understood that in military warfare, this particular operation was not permissible. What the most unscrupulous *condottieri* have abstained from doing in war, the Liberal Party are deliberately and with indefatigable ingenuity now doing in politics. The source of Representative Government is public opinion acting upon accurate information. This source they are now attempting to poison.

"I have already quoted Mr. John Morley, and the words I have cited show that he at least is fully prepared, and indeed eager to participate in the operation. He is a typical Liberal, no doubt; but he is not the highest type of Liberalism as classified even by Liberals themselves. At the head of the class is the Prime Minister; and I regret to say that it will appear, before I have finished my observations, that not only is the Prime Minister as ready as the most reckless of his followers to poison the wells, but that it was he who suggested and commenced the operation."

The article on Hodson is written in a spirit of mournful impartiality. As the result of a most careful and minute examination of the evidence *pro* and *con*, Mr. Holmes arrives at the conclusion that Hodson was a splendid soldier, but a most unscrupulous man. He thus sums up on the whole case :—

“There must have been something that was noble in the character of a man whose comrades, brave soldiers and high-minded gentlemen, could write of him in terms like these. Posterity will not indeed be blinded by the glamour of his military exploits. They will not admit him to a place among the nobler heroes of the Indian Mutiny. But, while they will not be able to forget that he enriched himself by dishonest means, that, heedless of justice, of gratitude, and even of honour, he was swift to shed innocent blood, they will remember that he was an affectionate son, a good comrade, a tender husband, that he rendered brilliant services to his country, and that he died, fighting to the last against the enemies of England.

North-East Frontier of Bengal, by Alexander Mackenzie, C. S.,
Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.

THIS admirable publication should be in the hands of every one to whom the study of a most interesting phase of Anglo-Indian administration is any object. The history of the more civilized parts of the country is in many respects far more important, but the element of routine enters very largely into our more settled administration, and what that administration gains in importance it loses in interest, incident, and variety. The book, besides being an admirable work of reference on all questions connected with the tribes on our north-east frontier is a clear and masterly exposition of the laws, as it were, which govern the dealings of civilized empires with savage tribes, on the borders of their territory. This is under it the distinctive excellence of Mr. Mackenzie's work. With the strongest temptations, owing to the pressure of other work, to become a mere compiler, he never sinks to that level. The philosophy of the subject is never for a moment lost sight of. Short views of history may be very valuable as a sort of royal road to knowledge, but the wider survey is essential to a correct appreciation of the wide general laws by which the sequence of human events is governed. Besides this an interest of another and not inferior description attaches to these records.

It may be said with truth that the history of frontier politics is the history of the English people, in relation to circumstances and events far better calculated to test certain peculiarities of the national character than the events and circumstances of our more settled administration. To oppress and circumvent in the name of justice and self-protection would only have been too easy.

Under these circumstances Mr. Mackenzie's record is one of which no Englishman need be ashamed. It is a history abounding in opportunities for good and evil : opportunities for interference, opportunities for self-restraint, opportunities for vengeance, opportunity for lust of territory, opportunities for strong but just and merciful dealings with races whom, owing to their ignorance, folly, treachery, it would only have been too easy to defraud. To say of the English frontier officers that the opportunities afforded them were now and then abused, that some of them were wanting at times in the tact, patience and self-restraint, which the righteous discharge of the duties entrusted to them indispensably required, is to say, that although English they were human, but that instances of failure in this direction should have been so few, and that resolution, combined with justice, patience and mercy, should have been the main characteristics of our administration, is a fact which Mr. Mackenzie has amply proved, and of which, as we have said, every Englishman may be proud.

Illustrated Naval and Art Magazine.

THIS is one of the best publications of its kind extant. The get-up of the book—type, paper and illustrations—are admirable and the literary contents are varied and interesting.

A Glimpse of Assam. By Mrs. A. Ward, "City Press," Calcutta.

A VERY clever and well written little book, giving a most useful glimpse of a part of India too little known to us and destined, when its industries are developed, to play a great part in the future of the country. Perhaps the most useful and interesting part of the book is, that which relates to the origin of the Tea industry in Assam. Mrs. Ward says:—

"When the news was first promulgated that indigenous Tea was found in Assam, the idea of cultivating it for trade with the people in the north was urged as an important incentive; this plan of the projectors has not yet been realized, but the prospect was never so bright as at present, that the trade-route will soon be opened to the tribes north and east of Assam.

"In 1823 Mr. Robert Bruce, a merchant, learned from a Singpho Chief that Tea was growing wild in the northern part of the province, and he exacted from him a promise to send him some plants and seed, which was not fulfilled. The following year when his brother Mr. C. A. Bruce, who was

in charge of a division of gun-boats at Sadia, the Singpho Chief again appeared, and this time fulfilled his former agreement and sent Tea plants and seed.

"Mr. Bruce sent a portion of these to Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent, and the remainder he planted in his own garden. Mr. Scott sent some to the Botanical Gardens, which were favourably reported on. The importance of the subject does not seem to have awakened an interest in Lord Amherst, then Governor-General, and not till 1834, when Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General was the subject taken up with earnestness by the Central Government. His Lordship brought the subject of the cultivation of Tea in various parts of India before the Council, and a Committee was appointed to devise a plan for its accomplishment.

"Mr. Gordon was sent to China to procure plants, seed, and Chinamen, to commence Tea operations.

"During his absence the Tea Committee received communications from Colonel Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, also from Lieutenant Charlton and Mr. Bruce, placing the report beyond a doubt that the Tea plant was indigenous in Assam. This was followed by the appointment of a deputation of three scientific gentlemen, Dr. Wallich and Asst. Surgeons McLelland and Griffith, to proceed to Sadia, in November 1835, for scientific research.

"Dr. Griffith, whose reputation ranked high as a Botanist, reported his conviction that success was certain to Tea cultivation, on the ground that the Tea plant was indigenous; also that there was great similarity in the configuration of the valley and in the climate to those parts of China, the best known as Tea producing.

"At the suggestion of Colonel Jenkins, Mr. Bruce was put in charge of the Tea nurseries by the Governor-General, and 20,000 plants and a few Chinamen, Mr. Gordon had brought from China, were sent up to him. Only 8,000 plants were living when they reached their destination, and these were reared so unskilfully, that not *one* survived; Mr. Bruce was, therefore, dependant on the indigenous plant, and was so far successful, that in 1837 he sent to the Tea Committee forty-six chests of Tea; twelve of these were sent to England, though it was not considered a favorable specimen on account of the difficulties attending the first manufacture, and the length of time it had been exposed to dampness in the transit to Calcutta, still it was pronounced by British brokers as capable of competing with China Tea.

"Mr. Bruce, Superintendent of Tea operations, traversed

unexplored regions, and discovered large tracts covered with indigenous Tea, and by his knowledge of the language, conciliatory manners, and judicious treatment of the natives, was mainly instrumental in establishing friendly relations with the hill tribes and their chiefs, through whom forests and waste lands were subsequently placed at the disposal of Government."

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Krishaka-bâlâ.—Printed by G. C. Basu & Co. at 33, Bechu Chatterji's Street, and Published by Ashutosh Ghosh. Calcutta, 1884.

THIS is a really good poem, and if it had only been written with a little more care and regard for artistic unity, we should not have felt the slightest hesitation in pronouncing it one of the finest in the Bengali language. Most Bengali poems are poems of shallow or sickly sentiment. Genuine man or woman you will not find there, but only shadowy persons whose language consists not of words which you can understand, but of puffs of wind from which, if you would not suffer the pain of suffocation, you would do well to turn your face away. But it is otherwise with the poem before us, which deals with persons occupying the humble condition of agriculturists, and has a ballad-like air about it which is really sweet and refreshing. The poem has, however, two very serious faults, without which it would have been the most charming ballad in Bengali. The first is, attributing to humble rustics, the utterly false and morbid sentiments of the fussy Bengali youth. When the Portuguese Captain calls upon the honest and simple rustics to give up the gods of their fathers and accept Christianity, the author makes his hero speak as follows:—

“হব না দীক্ষিত” কহিলা যোগিশ,
 “সেনাপতি যিনি কহগে তাহারে,
 তেজিব না দেবে, রহে যত দিন,
 একটু শোণিত ধমনী মাঝারে।
 পড়ে রবি শশী, পড়ুক খসিয়া;
 ডুবুক ভারত ভারত সাগরে;
 জীবন থাকিতে যাবনিক মৃত,
 লইব না কেহ ক্লষক নগরে।”

The other fault is visible in the concluding portion of the poem, where the lovers roam about searching for each other in a manner

and style which does not suit their station in life, and which is best adapted to those stories of modish and theatrical love which the majority of Bengali poetasters delight to describe. Both the faults are traceable to the prevailing influence of the low-class Bengali poetry of our time. It is extremely desirable, however, considering the exceptional merits of this poem, that it should be so revised as to make it a perfect ballad. And to do that, the author has only to exclude morbid sentiment and melo-dramatic representation. The whole poem, from the beginning to the end, should be plain, simple, stout and essentially descriptive or realistic with only a vanishing tinge of idealism.

Sankshipta Bhárat. By Bijaya Náth Mukhopádhya. Printed by Gopál Chandra Ghosál at the Jyotish Prakás Press, No. 7, Shibakrishna Dán's Lane, Jorásáuko. 1290 B. S.

THIS is perhaps the first abridged version of the *Máhabharat* published in Bengali. Such a version has been long felt to be a desideratum, and it is well that it has been supplied. Of the value of the *Mahabharat* as the greatest of Hindu, perhaps even human, compositions, it would be useless to speak in this place, because it is acknowledged by European and Asiatic alike. And it is because the *Mahabharat* is of such surpassing value and interest, that its study is felt to be an obligation and a necessity. Its great bulk, however, has repelled from its study all but the learned and the curious, and the immense educating influence which it is calculated to exercise over the minds of those who read it, has been therefore in a great measure lost to society. Káshidás's metrical version has done much to popularise this great work. It has in fact taught the great story and the great truths of the *Mahabharat* to all classes of men—the highest as well as the lowest—in this country. But it is not exactly the *Mahabharat*—it is sometimes more and sometimes less than that encyclopædic work. The work before us, which is compiled from the great original itself, is therefore particularly welcome, and the fact that with all its shortcomings and imperfections it is a good compilation renders it a valuable contribution to Bengali literature. The compilation, it should be also observed, is a work of industry, and industrious authorship is to us in this country a particularly pleasing and encouraging spectacle. For it means loving and earnest literary labor of which we have not much amongst us.

Debaduta. Printed by K. M. Mukharji at the Saraswati Press, 20, Jhámápur Lane, and Published by the Sanskrit Press Depository at 148, Bāránási Ghosh's Street, Calcutta, 1884.

WE have not up to this time read a book like this in any language. Englishmen eat beef, and cows are therefore slaughtered in this country, just as goats are slaughtered in Bengal, because Bengalis eat goat's flesh. The two cases are precisely similar; and yet the author, a Bengali, abuses Englishmen for killing cows and eating beef! And how violent is the author's abuse! Read one line, where the author is addressing Lord Macaulay:—

যে সকল গৃহ শৃগাল শকুনিগণ, পিশাচ পাবগণ ভারতের
কোন উপকার করে নাই, অথচ তোমার অনুকরণ করিয়া ভারতবাসী
দিগকে অজ্ঞান গালি দিয়া থাকে, সে সকল ইতর অন্ত্যাজ পাণ্ডি
দিগের দিক্‌ বাকাবাণ চির দিন ভারতবাসীর হৃদয়ে বিদ্ধ থাকিবে।

And the whole of the work, consisting of 204 pages, consists of such abuse and even worse abuse. We have not, indeed, seen in any other language a book consisting so purely of abuse of the most rabid and violent kind. We are not sure that a man possessing the smallest self-respect could give expression to such and so much abuse, and we cannot help confessing with shame and sorrow that a book so utterly infamous has been written in Bengali by one who is himself a Bengali. The author of *Debaduta* has certainly disgraced himself and his country's literature.

Prakriti Bijñán. By Suryakumár Adhikari, B. A. Printed by Pitambar Bauerji at the Sanskrit Press, 62, Amherst Street, and Published by the Sanskrit Press Depository, 148, Bāránási Ghosh's Street, Jorasanko. Calcutta, 1884.

IN the course of studies fixed for the Vernacular Scholarship Examinations in this country, elementary natural philosophy and physical science holds an important place. A few books on that subject have been already compiled by well known Bengali scholars, and those books are in use in the schools of Bengal. It must be freely admitted that they are all excellent compilations in their own way, and have been immensely useful in diffusing elementary scientific knowledge among Bengalis. It is observable, however, that they are not precisely what they should be. They do not include many of the subjects which come under the head of physics or physical science, such as *light, electricity,*

&c, and which, we are glad to say, we find treated of in the work before us. Their scientific nomenclature, moreover, is not always quite happy or accurate, a defect which is considerably remedied in Babu Suryakumār's new book. In the explanation of physical phenomena, also, we have found inaccuracies in the older text-books which are carefully removed from the compilation before us. For all these reasons, *Prakriti-Bijnān* appears to us to be an improved work on elementary physics, and we should be glad to see it extensively used in our schools.

Pradipa. By Akshayakumar Barál. Printed and Published by Chandranáth Guha at the Bharabi Press, 48, Wellington Street, Calcutta. 1290 B. S.

THE author seems to be a poet of the school of Babu Rabindranath Tagore, and his poetry, therefore, possesses many of the faults, which characterise that school—obscurity, vagueness, want of objective expression, &c. Take the piece entitled কল্পনা :—

লো কল্পনে! কোথায় আনিলি উড়াইয়া?
 একি সর্কিভেদী শূন্য-চারিদিকে চাই!
 হৃদয়ের দ্রুতরক্ত যেতেছে জমিয়া,
 নিশ্বাস টানিতে আর শক্তি যে নাই।
 এই ভীষণের বুকে, এমনি করিয়া,
 অনিচ্ছায় অভূষিতে, নিয়মের যার
 এমনি ভীষণ হ'য়ে যাইব মিলিয়া?
 —পাবে না খুঁজিয়া কেহ কে ছিল কোথায়!
 এ আমার যতনের সত্ত্বা এক কণা,
 মিলিতে কি না পারিয়া, মিলিতে যাইয়া,
 ঘুরিতে ঘুরিতে হায় যাবে না নামিয়া
 জগতের আকাশেতে?—ছিল এক জনা
 জগতের শিশুদের দিতে জানাইয়া
 লো কল্পনে কোথায়! আনিলি নামাইয়া?

This is not very clear, because it is not very expressive. And the want of expressiveness is owing to the fact of the poetry being the poetry of *abstract* thought and *abstract* sentiment. But abstractions are impalpable, and do not therefore admit of being presented in exact and well-expressed relief. The poetry of mere thought or sentiment is therefore always unintelligible, unimpressive and unpopular.

There are, however, poems in this volume which deal with more concrete things, and in which the author is sweet, clear, and truly poetical. We are therefore of opinion that he may fix his mark on Bengali poetry if he eschews abstractions and impalpables and concerns himself with real life and conditioned matter. Though belonging to Babu Rabindranath's School, he is not a slavish imitator of that poet. He has a clearly expressed individuality which he should endeavour to develop instead of merging it in the mannerism of another man. • We have liked some of his pieces immensely. They are deep, sweet and clear.

Arya Darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Jogendranath Bidyábhūsan. Printed and Published by G. C. Basu & Co., 33, Bechu Chatterji's Street, Calcutta : Sraban, 1291 B. S.

THE *Arya Darsana* is one of those celebrated Bengali monthlies, which began to appear eight or nine years ago, immediately after the *Banga Darsana* came into existence. It has been all along conducted with great power and ability, and the amount of public good it has done is very large. From various causes, whose influence no newspaper or periodical in this country can entirely escape or overcome, this excellent monthly had lately fallen so much into arrear, that fears were entertained about its continued existence and appearance. Those fears are now, however, happily removed. The *Arya Darsana* has killed all its arrears without misappropriating a single number. It is now flourishing with greater vigour than before, for it is now not only better managed but better written.

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Acting Agent.

